Valerius Flaccus, *Argonautica*, Book I

A COMMENTARY

BY

A.J. KLEYWEGT

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VALERIUS FLACCUS, *ARGONAUTICA*, BOOK I

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CONTENTS

Preface ix
Introduction xi
Note to the Reader xvii

Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica*, Book I

A. The prooemium 3
1. The announcement of the subject (1–4) 5
2. The invocation (5–21) 11

B. Thessaly 25
1. Assignment and acceptance (22–90) 27
2. Preparations and assembly (91–183) 71
3. prayers and farewells (184–349) 119

C. Outward bound 199
1. departure and catalogue (350–497) 201
2. protection and prophecy (498–573) 289
3. sea and storm (574–699) 339

D. Home and parents 403

Bibliography 493
Indices 505

PREFACE

The main purpose of this book is the elucidation of the text. There remain some places where the sense is still not clear and others where the text itself has not been established in a satisfactory way.

In addition to this philological aspect, literary issues are also taken into account, as far as considerations of space allow.

In previous articles I have discussed some problems more fully than is possible in a book (see Bibliography).

The Latin text is based on the edition of Liberman (1997), but see the Note to the Reader. When my work was almost finished, Spaltenstein's commentary (2002) and Dräger's edition (2003) became available to me. In a number of places I have found reason and opportunity to refer to or react to their views.

I cannot think of an adequate way to express my thanks for the support and encouragement of Professor Dr. Ineke Sluiter and Dr. Harm M. Poortvliet—*amici sine quibus non.*

INTRODUCTION

Anyone who takes up a commentary on a book of Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica* may be supposed to be reasonably familiar with ancient literature in general and the Roman epic in particular. The following remarks therefore do not pretend to impart information formerly unknown to the reader but rather to state my views on some issues concerning the poet and his work. More detailed discussions of these issues will follow in the commentary whenever occasion arises. An extensive treatment of these questions can be found in the introduction to Liberman's edition of 1997.

About the author practically nothing is known. Apart from *C. Valerius Flaccus*, the manuscript tradition mentions two other *cognomina*, namely *Setinus Balbus*, which give no further information. As a member of the patrician *gens Valeria* he appears to have been a member of the *quindecimviri sacris faciundis* (1.5ff.). Quintilian's remark (*Instit.* 10.1.90) on 'the recent great loss in (the death of) Valerius Flaccus' puts that event somewhere about 90 A.D.

This brings us to the question of the date of publication. Several answers have been given to this question: Valerius wrote his work during the reign of Vespasian, or of Titus, or of Domitian; moreover it is not certain that all the parts of the epic as we have it date from the same period. The sudden end of the manuscripts after less than 500 lines of the eigth book has been explained either as a result of the accidental loss of the rest of the (finished) work or as a result of the poet's untimely death. The words of Quintilian would be consistent with the latter explanation, but do not prove it. Finally, there is no unanimity about the number of books intended or completed (and then lost).

My opinions on these questions (which will be discussed in the commentary on the prooemium) are mostly in accordance with the majority of modern views, that Valerius wrote his work (or at any rate the first part of it) under the emperorship of Vespasian, but never finished it: among other arguments, this is the best explanation of some passages where the same content is put in two different forms.

As to the number of books, it seems to me very improbable that the poet would have extended his story beyond the return of the Argonauts; most likely he planned to skip the fantastic elements that filled a great part of his predecessor Apollonius' account of the journey home. Correspondences observed between books 1 and 5 strengthen the supposition that he intended to write his work in eight books, double the number of the Greek work.

This work was of course Valerius' main model, at least for the story. Earlier authors, notably Pindar, refer to the myth, but the only full version of it is in the work of the Rhodian. Of a Latin translation of it, written by Varro of Atax, nothing more has come down to us than scraps. While Valerius followed the story of Apollonius in outline, he repeatedly varies his account by addition, subtraction and modification, also in the first book. These differences will be noted in the commentary. However, greater than the divergencies in the events related by both authors is the difference in the way they are narrated. This of course has everything to do with the work of Virgil, which dominated each and every subsequent attempt at writing an epic. In the case of Valerius this is visible (apart from the style) chiefly in two respects. First, he took over from the *Aeneid* the idea of a divine or at least divinely sanctioned quest which would eventually alter the course of history. Moreover, this notion is embedded in an element taken from the *Georgics*, namely a 'cultural revolution' caused by Jupiter's introduction of (in this case) navigation after the sloth of the age of Saturn. Yet it would be false, in my opinion, to see in this idea the chief tenor of the work. Valerius was first and foremost a poet who wished to tell a story, albeit a known one, rather than a philosophizing historian. More or less the same point applies to the link he makes between the subject matter of his work and the maritime exploits of Vespasian—a reference which never occurrs afterwards. I believe it was certainly not his main intention to extol the emperor or to comment on recent history; he merely made use of a not-too-striking resemblance between the journey of the Argonauts and a minor event in Vespasian's life.

In other respects Valerius also shows the influence of Virgil. He gave the characters more depth than in the works of (Homer and) Apollonius, by accentuating the psychological, emotional and moral aspects of their behaviour, and added a view on changes in the course of history. With regard to Virgil's work, especially of course the *Aeneid*, later epicists had to contend without aspiring to surpass the master, who was recognized as such even before his last work could be read.

Inevitable as these reactions were, they also differed widely in character. Lucan disposed not only of all direct action by the gods, but also of the claim that the world is basically good. Something more must be said about the three so-called 'Flavian epicists'. As this formula implies, they are generally considered as a group, with or without a common literary 'programme'. This view tends to disregard the considerable differences between Valerius, Statius and Silius Italicus. Apart from their style, which will be discussed below, there are broad discrepancies in originality and outlook on life. Silius, not reverting as the other two did to the mythological epic, has generally and rightly been described as a competent but uninspired versifier who has next to nothing to contribute in depth. The general character of his story of the second Punic war is also fundamentally Virgilian: a lot of toil and trouble with a satisfactory end. Statius' *Thebaid* and the work of Valerius are written by better poets: they dared not merely follow the example of Virgil but, with more or less success, continued in the indicated direction and therefore demonstrated a larger degree of originality in their emulation. Both give their characters ample motivation for their actions and a quite broad range of emotions, Statius sometimes enhancing the stature of his heroes to amazing heights. A notable difference between them lies in their view of life. In the *Thebaid* the general picture of the world is as negative as that of Lucan: suffering is abundant and mostly pointless. In this respect Valerius is more Virgilian: the hardships are certainly not obscured, but the end of the story will be successful (for the Argonauts, after whom the work is named; Jason's later fate is sometimes hinted at, but falls outside the scope of the work). This view is well illustrated as early as the first book, in the prophecies of Mopsus and Idmon (1.205–239). Moreover, in Valerius' view on world history, inspired as we saw by Virgil's *Georgics, labor* (sometimes *improbus*) is also very present, but ultimately the ship will overcome (*ratis omnia vincet*, 1.236). The voyage of the Argo, hitherto an isolated heroic exploit, is now, as the first instance of seafaring, incorporated in the development of the world. As regards the temporal relation between the *Thebaid* and the *Argonautica* I am strongly inclined to believe that Valerius' poem is older than the work of Statius, though certainty cannot be achieved here.

As to style, the work of Valerius to a large degree follows the strongly innovative linguistics of the *Aeneid* (which of course to some degree goes for all later poets) and exhibits variations based on other poets such as Ovid, Horace and Lucan. His merits are more individual in

his continuation in a daring use of language, not just by ‘going one better’ following individual examples, but also by experimenting on his own in syntax and style, as the master had done. Two elements in particular are very marked: his brevity of expression (a number of examples are listed in Langen’s still-valuable commentary of 1896), and a great freedom in changing the natural word order. For more details see the commentary and the Index.

An issue raised particularly during recent decades is the degree of contemporary reference in Valerius’ work. Attempts have been made to show that not only was the work written under the direct influence of Roman history, but also that characters and the ship itself represent and symbolize historical persons. In my opinion, this will forever remain a point of speculation. Of course authors do not live in a cultural and social vacuum, and it is not at all improbable that poets after Virgil and Horace (who are explicit in these matters) were at times reminded of persons and events in their own history, but it would be hard to demonstrate that these reminiscences had a direct influence on the text as it has come down to us. After all most, if not all, occurrences and characters in the work were sketched or described by earlier authors, and the reign of Nero is not at all necessary to explain the role of traditional tyrants such as Pelias and Aeetes. Whether or not we look on the characters in the epic as symbols of recent or contemporary historical persons is ultimately a question of belief.

Something must also be noted on the constitution of the text, although this of course is primarily the task of editors (see here also Liberman’s full introduction). For a long time the text was chiefly based on the ms. known as V (Vaticanus latinus 3277), sometimes with the help of descendants of S (Sangallensis), now lost. This preference was challenged by Ehlers, who upgraded the importance of L (Laurentianus plut.39.38). Later, as a result of renewed interest and discoveries, the editions of Carrio with his *vetus codex* became the most important testimony for Liberman. This manuscript contains some readings which are very probably correct, but which could also be ascribed to Carrio himself as clever conjectures. We should therefore use this source with caution. In spite of all the recent efforts there are still passages where a satisfactory solution has not been found. In these cases I have based my choices (sometimes hesitantly) first and foremost on linguistic and literary considerations rather than on a general preference for any manuscript, but in places despair prevailed.

Finally, judgement of the poetic merits of the *Argonautica* is largely a matter of subjective evaluation. No one will contend that Valerius' work equals the *Aeneid*. Its qualities are, firstly, a style in which striving for novelty appears not to be sought for its own sake, reasonably balanced by a sense of an almost 'classical' equilibrium. Then there is the concept of a momentous change in the history of the world, which although of course not as original and surprising as in the *Georgics*, contributes to the unity and 'depth' of the poem. Valerius clearly seeks to give motivations for actions and explanations for events. On the other hand there are phrases and ideas which fail to carry conviction. To say that the poet would have found better expressions in a definitve version is easy enough, but of course also somewhat gratuitous. In conclusion, I would say that the *Argonautica* falls short of a masterpiece of poetry, but is a very respectable poem in its own right.

NOTE TO THE READER

The text as given in the commentary differs from that of Liberman's edition (1997) in the places listed below. Differences in orthography have not been taken into account, in punctuation only when relevant. * preceding a word denotes strong doubts about its correctness, no clear alternative offering itself. The sigla are Liberman's (unless indicated otherwise).

	Liberman	this book	
15	gentis	*genti	(mss.)
16	iam	tu	[S]
19	si … sed	sed … seu	Kleywegt (1986)
20	et	seu	Kleywegt (1986)
39	†fictis†	fictis	f
	†vultum et†	vultum et	f
45	inter … mensae	[inter … mensae]	Thilo
49	iamque	namque	(mss.)
51	tum	*vel	
58	hortatur	hortatus	L^{ac1}
66	†sectantem†	sed tandem	Fontius, Caussin, Ljung (?)
73	advocet? An	advocet, an	
74	speret	superet	(mss.)
88	tum	tunc	(most mss.)
90	tingent	cingent	(mss.)
130	insperatos	sperata ⟨deo⟩	Kramer
135	nitidis	nudis	(mss.)
136	alta	antra	(mss.)
149	nec	*haec	
150	et	*et	
156	cunctanti	conanti	(mss.)
173	quam	quae	Saenger
206	escendit	*escendit	
223	circa	circum	(mss.)
227	⟨uu-⟩	⟨…⟩ Minyas ⟨…⟩	
245	doli: deus	doli, deus	
250	vero, socii	vero, ⟨o⟩ socii	Burman
271	idem	*viae	[S]
281	mirantibus	miserantibus	(mss.)
283	vices	vias	(mss.)
306	currimus, incertus	currimus incertus	Ph. Wagner, Thilo
319	obruit	obruat	(mss.)

331	polumque	*polumque	
376	actis	annis	(some mss.; see Comm.)
389	felixque	*felevis	
403–410	post 382	403–410 post 402	(mss.)
393	moture	*moture	
399	vidua	vacua	(mss.)
410	discat eques	*discat eques	
436	hinc	hic	(mss.)
446	irato	ingrato	(mss.)
455	semiferum	*semiferum	
457	at	et	(mss.)
493	adverso	averso	Ven. 1523 (Ald.)
508	ratis? An	ratis, an	
515	frugum	rerum	Ven. 1523 (Ald.)
518	aversis	*aversis	
521	ultor	ultro	(mss.)
529	temptataque, contra	temptataque contra	
572	fudit	fundit	(most mss.)
593	†vi†	*in	C
602	—qualis … clausus!	qualis … clausus.	
628	patres.	patres?	
630	cautes?	cautes,	
631	Tristius an	tristius an	
637	†tota†	toti	Köstlin
646	aliis	malis	(mss.)
664	Atho	Athon	(mss.)
671	stare†t†	stare *et	
672	†pontus habet†	pontus habet	
678	pascet	pascit	(mss.)
	ibi, quamque	ubicumque	(mss.)
732	Alcimede, tanto	Alcimede tanto … nato,	
735	it	in	(mss.)
749	tremulos	*famulos	
755	vestemque	*vestemque	
766	dedit, potui	dedit potui	
771	aevum	aevi	Bon. 1474
781	tum	cum	(most mss.)
782	retro	*retro	
789	conciliis	consiliis	X
816	porrigit	contigit	(mss.)
827	abscisa	abscissa	Ven. 1523 (Ald.)
829a	⟨Iupiter … massae⟩	-	
848	quot	quae	Langen

Abbreviations for Latin authors are in accordance with the OLD with the exception of Ovid's *Heroides* (= *Her.*). Periodicals are abbreviated as in *L'année philologique*.

'*Mnem.*' and 'ANRW' with page number without author's name refer to my former publications on VF (see Bibliography).

VALERIUS FLACCUS' *ARGONAUTICA*, BOOK I

The first book of Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica* can be divided into the following parts:

A. Prooemium (1–21)
  1) theme (1–4)
  2) invocation (5–21)

B. Thessaly (22–349)
  1) assignment and acceptance (22–90)
  2) preparations and assembly (91–183)
  3) prayers and farewells (184–349)

C. Outward bound (350–699)
  1) departure and catalogue (350–497)
  2) protection and prophecy (498–573)
  3) sea and storm (574–699)

D. Home and parents (700–850)

PART A

THE PROOEMIUM

1–21

The prooemium of the *Argonautica* is divided into two sections: 1–4 the announcement of the subject, and 5–21 the invocation of Apollo and (chiefly) Vespasian, whose two sons are also referred to. Though this structure in some details resembles earlier prooemia, the present one is not in this respect identical to any of them, as will be clear from the following.

Apollonius Rhodius (henceforth AR) restricts himself to four lines stating the theme, with only a bare address to Apollo. The same applies to Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, where *di* in general are invoked. In other works the situation is more complicated. The first book of Virgil's *Georgics* begins with a passage (1–23) in which a prayer to the agricultural gods is combined with references to the topics to be dealt with; in line 5 a shift is made from *hinc canere incipiam* (the subject) to *vos* … etc. (the deities involved). 24–42 contain an invocation to 'Caesar'. The opening of the third book of the same work is different insofar as there the gods (or at least some of them) are only very briefly mentioned (1–2), whereas in 3–15 the poet explains and defends the choice of his subject. Here again 'Caesar' comes in afterwards (16–48). Much shorter is the prooemium of the *Aeneid* (1.1–11): the subject is announced in 1–7, and the Muse invoked in 8–11, without any reference to Augustus. Lucan on his part has the most elaborate introduction of all: 1–7 are about the theme, 8–32 look back reproachfully to the causes and consequences of the civil wars, while Nero is fulsomely extolled in 33–66. In Statius' *Thebaid* the address to Nero (22b–31) is sandwiched in the sketch of events to be narrated (the prooemium comprising 1–45); in his *Achilleid* on the other hand the announcement of the subject (1–13) is neatly separated from the address to Domitian (14–19). Finally, Silius in his opening lines (1–20) omits any mention of the emperor.

It seems therefore that Valerius (henceforth VF) wished on the one hand to adhere closely to the four opening lines of AR, his predecessor in the choice of subject, while on the other hand, by expanding the short reference to Apollo and combining it with an invocation to the emperor, he followed the example of Virgil (notably in *Georgics* 1) and Lucan.

PART A, I

THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE SUBJECT

1–4

Although both AR and VF spend four lines on sketching the contents of their respective works, the differences are noteworthy.

1) As we have seen, the (short) invocation of Phoebus is by the Latin poet transferred to the second part of the prooemium.
2) AR's rather general παλαιγενέων κλέα φωτῶν is vaguely reflected in VF's first line (in 11–12 the words are rendered more literally: *vetera … / facta virum*); neither the remoteness in time nor the glory of the expedition has a counterpart in the corresponding lines of the later epic.
3) Concerning the route of the Argo, the Greek poet mentions the entrance to the Black Sea and the Cyanean Rocks; VF states the final destination and refers to the Clashing Rocks, though not by name.
4) Neither Pelias nor the Fleece appear in the first lines of VF, as they do in AR.
5) The name Argo is replaced by the general *ratem* (on *fatidicam* see below), so that none of the five proper names in AR is kept by VF, who instead mentions the 'Scythian Phasis' (see 3 above) and adds a reference to the ship's later katasterismos (as the constellation of the same name), which element is absent in AR. In this way VF at once stresses his intent to emulate his predecessor in his own original manner.

1–4

prima deum magnis canimus freta pervia natis
fatidicamque ratem, Scythici quae Phasidis oras
ausa sequi mediosque inter iuga concita cursus
rumpere flammifero tandem consedit Olympo.

As in Virgil (both *G.* 1 and *A.* 1) and Lucan the theme is announced in one sentence comprising several lines.

prima … pervia: VF is here expanding the limits of the predicatively used *primus* (see *Mnem.* 1986:313ff.). In all other instances the word thus used still denotes the first person or thing to do or undergo something (cf. Housman on Man. 1.226), whereas here it does not mean 'the first sea (or seas) that was accessible, that could be sailed', but only 'the first occasion the sea was sailed, was made accessible'. Moreover *prima* here is not modifying a predicate but the adjective *pervia*, which is itself used predicatively or even in a 'dominant' way (as in the construction *ab urbe condita*); therefore the syntactical 'depth' is also different from that in the 'normal' use of *primus*. Stat. *Theb.* 5.346f. *illis in Scythicum Borean iter oraque primi / Cyaneis artata maris* is not a parallel, as Strand (9) thought: *primi*, qualifying only *maris* but not another adjective or participle, let alone a verb, cannot mean 'sailed for the first time', not even in Statius. In spite of Mozley's translation ('unattempted') it means 'the entrance of' (OLD 10b); the pleonasm with *oras* (if it is one) is almost usual. To what length VF goes with respect to *primus* is also clear from 6.686 *primaque ad infesti Lexanoris horruit arcus*; Medea (the subject) is alone when viewing the battle, and she is not 'the first to shudder at Lexanor's bow', but the bow is what she first shudders at, being the first threat to Jason. The 'rule' here would prescribe *primos* instead of *prima*.

In his very first word therefore VF introduces a linguistic novelty (cf. also 765 below) in a programmatic way. For *pervia* with a dative cf. Ov. *Her.* 19.209 *nanti … freta pervia*, *Pont.* 4.10.32 *freta … pediti pervia*, Sen. *Phaed.* 88 *pervium rostris*. For the general idea of sailing the sea for the first time see Introduction, Heydenreich and cf. 719f. below *celsis an si freta puppibus essent / pervia*, 4.711 *freta quae longis fuerant impervia saeclis*, Man. 1.412f. *tum nobilis Argo / in caelum subducta mari, quod prima cucurrit.*

canimus: after Virgil (*A.* 1.1 *cano*) the verb occurs in the prooemia of Lucan (*canimus* 1.2) and Statius' *Thebaid* (*canam* 1.4), but not in his *Achilleid* nor in Silius. Moreover Virgil has *canere incipiam* (*G.* 1.5) and *canemus* (ib. 3.1). For *arma virumque* VF has substituted *freta pervia* and *ratem* together balancing *arma*, whereas *virum* is reflected in *natis* (see below). The plural is significant: the poem is not about one man as are the *Odyssey* and the *Aeneid* (the title itself makes that sufficiently clear), but about a ship and her crew. Although the Argonauts will have to pass the straits of the Dardanelles (Hellespont) and the Bosphorus, the general drift makes it clear that *freta* stands for 'the sea(s)' in general.

nautis most mss., *natis* N and edd. from the Aldine on, but already mentioned by Pius. *nautis* was last defended by Getty (1940:260) and

refuted by Strand (9ff.). Neither *deum nautis* (Maserius, Carrio) nor *freta deum* (Barth, Bulaeus [in Alardus' edition], Vossius [in Burman's edition], Getty) yields a satisfying sense, whereas the prosaic word is hardly apposite for an opening line. The divine descent of the Argonauts on the other hand is repeatedly referred to: 3.504f. *reges / dis genitos*, 4.438 *divis geniti*, 5.503f. *deumque / nos genus*.

For the somewhat enigmatic *fatidicam* see *Mnem.* 1986:316ff. It is not clear why VF uses this epithet, and in so emphatic a way as well (in the second line of his work, and occupying the first position in the line). It is true that the Argo (or parts of it) is occasionally described as 'speaking' (Aesch. fr. 36 Mette, Lycophr. 1319ff., Apollod. 1.9.16; cf. RE s.v. *Argo*). But even if the adjective could be supposed simply to express doubly the notion of 'speaking' (*fati-* from *fari* and *-dicam* from *dicere*), which seems doubtful, the occurrence of *fatidicis* … *silvis* in 303 below makes it clear that the prophetic function of the Dodonaean oaks, out of which the ship was partly built, is alluded to. However nowhere in the poem does the ship itself utter a prophecy. In AR 4.580ff. we do read something that can be interpreted as such, but it concerns a situation which does not occur at all in the poem of VF. In 302–308 below, the ship's *tutela* mentions Juno's promise of future immortality in heaven for the Argo, but this can hardly be called a prediction made by the ship. Again, in 5.65 the Argo gives instructions as to the succession of the deceased helmsman Tiphys, but this is not a prophecy either. And while is it likely that the reference to the ship's katasterismos prepares the lines about the future existence of the emperor in heaven (11–17), this link is not strengthened by the use of the word *fatidicam*. There is perhaps a slight chance that VF wrote the prooemium first, intending to make the Argo utter a prophecy later in the work (which is nowadays generally and rightly considered to have never been finished).

For *fatidicus* in combination with Dodona cf. Sen. *Her.O.* 1473f. *quercus* … *fatidica*.

Scythici … *Phasidis*: the adjective *Scythicus* is often used (not only in VF) in a rather loose way, suggesting some country far to the north-east. In the *Argonautica* it mostly denotes the Colchian area and is immediately coupled with the river Phasis, as here, in 43 and 87 below, 2.379, 3.306f., 5.342 and 6.319. In the second half of the work, however, the Argonauts join in the battle against the 'real' Scythians, and there *Scythia* and *Scythicus* are regularly used in their proper, more restricted sense. Cf. also Juv. 11.139 *Scythicae volucres*, describing pheasants (*phasiana*, …*us*), named after the river Phasis.

oras: this noun may mean 'riverbank', which sense is attested both in poetry (Stat. *Silv.* 4.4.5 *dextras flavi … Thybridis oras*) and in prose (Var. *L.* 5.79 *ab extrema ora fluminis*). Perhaps here too it is used in that sense, as in 2.11 (*Amyron*) *curvas … per oras* (see Poortvliet). Cf. also 78 below *Phasidis in ripa*, 5.341f. *ripam …/ Phasidis*. On the other hand, there is much to be said for the more usual meaning 'region' (preferred by Bömer in Ov. *Met.* 7.438 *Cephisias ora*, to which passage Langen ad l. refers). Cf. *Phasidis arva* 3.306 and 662, *Phasidis … agris* 5.420. Clearly VF deliberately echoes the opening line of the *Aeneid*: *Troiae qui primus ab oris / Scythici quae Phasidis oras* (also in the position of the relative pronoun). *oras* therefore would have been taken in the same sense by the reader or listener.

ausa sequi: probably a conflation of V. *A.* 7.299f. (Juno speaking) *quin etiam patria excussos infesta per undas / ausa sequi* and Cat. 64.6 *ausi sunt* (sc. the Argonauts).

sequi as 'to make for, be bound for' (OLD 15) is not uncommon, even in prose (Cicero). Virgil has it in *A.* 4.361 *Italiam non sponte sequor* (also ib. 381; *A.* 5.629 not being a good example because of *fugientem*), of which VF has an echo in 5.480f. *nec tua … nomina …/ sponte sequor*.

Although *concita* in itself could denote a 'fast-moving' ship (Ov. *Am.* 2.4.8), here we cannot construe *ausa* and *concita* as participles both going with (*ratem) quae*, with *consedit* as the predicate: in 4.672 *per concita saxa* the participle clearly denotes the movement of the Clashing Rocks, and thus it does here too. Therefore *ausa* is construed both with *sequi* and *rumpere*.

iuga concita: 'moving boulders', describing the so-called Symplegades or Clashing Rocks. They are mentioned in several places by Euripides, the most famous being of course *Med.* 2. As here, so in most other passages they are identified with the 'Dark Rocks' (κυάνεαι) at the entrance to the Black Sea (or the Bosphorus). This name in itself came to denote the Symplegades, as in AR 1.2f. Originally they seem to have been πλαγκταί or Wandering (Rocks); in Homer (*Od.* 12.61, 23.327) it is this name which is used to describe the rocks through which the Argo passed on its home voyage. Obviously the distinctions were blurred at a rather early stage and all three names were used to denote the same phenomenon. In Latin the rocks are never called **planctae*, but *Cyaneae* occurs first in Ov. *Tr.* 1.10.34 *instabilis* (a rendering of πλαγκταί) … *Cyaneas*; VF has it as a noun (1.60, 4.562, 681, 5.85, 167, 8.181) and the adjective *Cyaneus* (first *Eleg. Maec.* 1.108; Luc. 2.716) in 630 below and five times later. In Statius we find it in *Silv.* 1.2.40, *Theb.* 11.438 and

the noun in *Theb.* 5.347, also in Plin. *Nat.* 4.92 and 6.32. The name *Symplegades* is also used from Ovid on (*e.g. Tr.* 1.10.47); VF has in only twice (4.221 and 5.299), both times in the singular. *iuga* for the same rocks he uses again in 4.658 *Cyaneae iuga praecipites inlisa* and ib. 692 *parsque* (sc. *navis*) *deprensa iugis*. The noun may have been chosen because the rocks were a pair.

The participle *concitus* with a short penultima, as here, recurs in VF 211, 291 and 577 below, 3.556, 6.705 and notably 4.672 (cited above) *per concita saxa*, equally denoting the Symplegades. The form with a long *-i-*, which before VF is only attested in Lucr. 2.267 and Luc. 5.597, appears in 2.460 (where see Poortvliet) and 5.576.

medios … cursus: different from both Cic. *Vat.* 16 *medium quendam cursum tenebant* (a middle course, between two opposites) and from V. *A.* 5.1f. *medium … tenebat /… iter* 'was in mid-course'. Here it must mean 'straight through'.

cursus … rumpere: on the analogy of *rumpere aditum* (V. *A.* 2.494, … *viam*, 10.372, al.). In 3.241 VF has *rumpit iter*. Silius' *rupitque in proelia cursum* (7.568) probably means nothing more than 'rushed into the fray' (Mozley), because the gates are already down, whereas VF here wants to express the notion of 'to force its way between (through) …, so as to burst the barriers they formed'.

flammifero … Olympo: the metonymy of *Olympus* for 'heaven' is of course common enough. *flammifer*, first read in Ennius, is in TLL (6.1.872.65) declared to be a favourite of VF (who has it four times) and Silius (eight instances); in Ovid it occurs five times. Its meaning here must be derived from *flamma* = star 'the starry heaven'. The noun *flamma* meaning 'star' is attested in several passages; cf. TLL l.c. 866.65ff. Also relevant are Stat. *Silv.* 1.2.119 *et si flammigeras potuisset scandere sedes*, ib. 3.1.181 *flammigeri … machina caeli* and Sen. *Her.O.* 1907 *stelligeri … Olympi*. Whether the sense of the adjective *flammifer* is new depends on the interpretation of Luc. 5.402 *flammifera confectas nocte Latinas*, where TLL 6.1.872.79 paraphrases *stellas ferens*, but ib. 83 champions '(translate) *calidus, ardens*', whereas OLD opts for 'torch-lit'. In view of Luc. 1.550f. however (*ostendens confectas flamma Latinas / scinditur in partes geminoque cacumina surgit*) the notion of 'stars' may be safely discarded, so that VF seems to have given the word a new meaning. In the other passages where he uses it (6.434, 7.185 and 233) it refers to the 'flame-emitting' bulls of Aeetes.

consedit: 'came to rest' (OLD 3b). V. *A.* 3.378 *Ausonio possis considere portu* is not quite parallel, being used of a human being; the same goes

for *A.* 11.323 *considant, si tantus amor* ('to settle'). *consedit* is the result of *componere* (*Arg.* 5.294f. *puppem quam struximus ipsae* [*i.e.* Juno and Pallas] / *iactatam tandem* (!) *nostro componere caelo*).

PART A,2

THE INVOCATION

5–21

This part of the prooemium poses some rather dificult questions (see *Mnem.* 1986:317ff.). (Most of) these are the subject of the following studies: Meerum Terwogt 1898, Syme 1929, Scott 1933 and 1934, Getty 1936 and 1940, Smallwood 1962, Waszink 1971, Strand 1972, Ehlers 1971–1972, and, in particular, Ussani 1955, Cambier 1969 and Lefèvre 1971.

In his distribution of space and attention allotted to the Olympic deities and their future companion, the reigning sovereign, VF seems to have struck a balance between AR and the prooemium of the third book of the *Georgics*. Like the Greek poet he invokes only Phoebus among the traditional gods; Virgil begins with two lines of these (among them Apollo in circumlocution), while from 16 to 48 'Caesar' holds the centre. VF spends somewhat more than two lines on Apollo; in the rest, almost 15 lines, Vespasian is addressed. The transition within one line is not found in the other epics.

5–7a

> Phoebe, mone, si Cumaeae mihi conscia vatis
> stat casta cortina domo, si laurea digna
> fronte viret.

From these lines it has long since been inferred that VF was a member of the *XVviri sacris faciundis* (Boyancé 1964). This is an assumption (though not improbable in itself), not a proven fact, and Spaltenstein 2002 is very sceptical about it. The tasks of this college included the consultation and interpretation of the Sibylline books, and their connection with the cult of Apollo is clear. This membership—if true—implies a special relation of VF with Phoebus, but the chief reason for the invocation of the god would have been his traditional role as a protector of poetry and poets; as such he is mentioned by AR. VF may

have wished to stress his right to expect inspiration and help by a reference to his special function. Later he invokes Clio (3.14) and the Muse (3.213, 5.217 [*dea*], 6.34 and 516).

For *mone* used as 'to inspire' (also 6.34 *Musa, mone*) cf. V. *A.* 7.41 *tu vatem, tu diva mone*, Ov. *Fast.* 3.261 *nympha, mone* and 5.447 *Pliade nate, mone.*

The *cortina*, originally a cauldron to be put on the sacred tripod, later appears to denote the tripod itself. It is mentioned as belonging to the *XVviri* in Serv. on *A.* 3.332 *quindecimvirorum cortinis*; the plural indicates that every priest had his own *cortina*, which makes it plausible that these sacred objects were indeed kept at their individual homes.

Between *Cymaeae* (Lα) and *Cumaeae* (XΠ) there is little to choose; in Sil. 9.57 too the mss. are divided. Cf. TLL Onom. 744.68 '*Cumaeus* passim libris *Cymaeus*'. The combination *Cumaeae … vatis* occurs also in Prop. 2.2.16 and Luc. 1.564; fem. *vates* denoting the Sibyl also in V. *A.* 6.65.

Although commentators (Burman, Wagner, Langen, Dräger 2003) take *Cumaeae … vatis* as being governed by *conscia*, Liberman is probably right in construing it with *cortina.* The usual interpretation would make *vatis* an equivalent of '*vaticinationum*' (so Langen), for which there seems to be no parallel. Genitives in the immediate vicinity of forms of *conscius* need not belong to that adjective: 2.254f. *ad conscia Bacchi / templa*, where *Bacchi* surely goes with *templa*; an even closer parallel is 3.301 *mens conscia vatum.* Furthermore *Cumaeae … vatis /… cortina* is comparable with Prop. 4.1.49 *tremulae cortina Sibyllae.* Liberman takes *mihi* as going with *conscia* 'sharing (hidden) knowledge with me'; one could also consider a possessive dative 'in my house', since (the tripod of) the Sibyl of course possesses knowledge, which does not have to be specified.

casta: as the house of a *XVvir.* The adjective qualifies houses in Cat. 64.384 (*heroum*), V. *G.* 2.524 (of peaceful countryfolk), Luc. 9.201 (of Pompey). Cf. also [Tib.] 3.4.23 *casta … lauro.* For the traditional justification of a prayer introduced with *si* the first example is Hom. *Il.* 1.39f.

laurea: since the laurel branch was associated both with religion and with poetry VF is entitled to it on both counts. Cf. Ov. *Rem.* 75f. *adsit tua laurea nobis /… Phoebe* and Prop. 4.6.10 (where the poet acts as a priest) *pura novum vati laurea mollit iter*. Both *cortina* and *laurea* occur only here in the *Argonautica.*

digna; ablative of course, constituting a phrase *castā cortină … laureă dignā*. Not the laurel is worthy, but the poet's brow.

viret: the verb does not seem to be used previously of the laurel, but cf. Cic. *Prov.* 29 *an … laurea illa … amittit … viriditatem?*

7b–10

tuque o pelagi cui maior aperti
fama, Caledonius postquam tua carbasa vexit
Oceanus Phrygios prius indignatus Iulos,
eripe me populis et habenti nubila terrae,

The personal pronoun here is followed by a relative clause but not by a vocative, for *sancte pater*, whether it be read in 11 or in 13, is preceded by the imperative *eripe* and so cannot belong directly to the *tu*-clause. This construction may be 'paullo insolentius dictum', as Langen states, but it does not stand isolated. In the plural at any rate we have V. *A.* 2.638 *vos o quibus* … and Ov. *Fast.* 3.827 *vos quoque* … *qui.* In V. *G.* 1.24 *tuque adeo* … *quem* is made explicit in the next line *Caesar*. VF has exploited the various possibilities to the full, as may be seen from the following scheme.

	pers. pron. (name)	*o*	rel. cl.	vocative
V. *G.* 1.12	+	+	+	+
1.24	+	-	+	+
A. 2.638	+	+	+	-
Ov, *Fast.* 3.827	+	-	+	-
Arg. 1.7	+	+	+	-
87	+	-	-	+
194	-	+	+	-
215	+	+	-	+
5.250	+	-	+	+

In Stat. *Theb.* both 1.22 (somewhat different because the *te*-clause forms part of a long sentence begun in 16) *teque o Latiae decus addite famae* and 6.916 *tuque o quem* … have the same structure as *Arg.* 1.7.

pelagi … *aperti*: cf. 169 below *pelagus quantos aperimus in usus* and Plin. *Nat.* 2.122 *ver* … *aperit navigantibus maria*, but Lucilius (1291M) already has *pelagus* … *apertum.*

The parallel drawn between Vespasian's 'opening the sea' (*i.e.* new seas) and the achievement of the Argonauts, who were the first to sail any sea, is obvious. Still, it seems doubtful whether *maior* could mean 'greater (than the fame of the Argonauts)', as Langen thought (also Dräger 2003). This would indeed be flattering to Vespasian, but would impair the significance of VF's work; moreover, his flattery of the

emperor is relatively sparing. Neither is the interpretation of *maior* as *aucta* ('greater than before') very likely, because the actions ascribed to Vespasian in Britain occurred early in his career. Finally 'greater (than his other claims to glory)' would take too much for granted: then the comparative would stand for *maxima*. So probably the implied superiority is to Caesar's former, less successful attempts (*prius*): Vespasian's maritime exploits and their ensuing fame are considered to be greater than his predecessor's.

The genitive 'of reason' with *fama* is normal classical use.

Caledonius … *Oceanus*: of course not in the strict sense. We need not suppose a conscious exaggeration but rather a vagueness, as is so often observed in the use of geographical names in Latin literature. Lucan, who was the first to use the adjective, simply writes (6.68) *Caledonios* … *Britannos* and VF may have meant nothing more.

carbasa, 'sails', is here for the first time used by synecdoche for 'ships', as in 575 and 607 below (TLL 3.429.49f.).

vexit: at first sight *Oceanus carbasa vehit* seems a rather strange expression for *carbasa vehuntur per Oceanum*, but Virgil's *hi, quos vehit unda* (*A.* 6.326) is very similar.

indignatus: cf. V. *A.* 8.728 *pontem indignatus Araxes* and, without an object expressed, *G.* 2.162 *indignatum magnis stridoribus aequor* and Ov. *Met.* 11.491 *freta indignantia*. The glory of the Flavian dynasty is compared positively to the limited success of Caesar's campaigns in Britain, which were hampered by rough weather: the 'Ocean', then 'resenting' and even obstructing the Roman efforts, now willingly bears the Flavian vessels and is truly 'opened'.

Phrygios … *Iulos*: the adjective *Phrygius* was previously only used in the sense of 'Trojan'. Here it must mean 'ultimately descending from Trojan ancestors'. The nearest verbal approach to calling the Julian dynasty itself 'Phrygian' is Luc. 3.213 *Phrygiique ferens se Caesar Iuli.* The plural *Iuli* also occurs in Calp. *Ecl.* 1.45 *maternis causam qui vicit Iulis* (= Nero), where *maternis* … *Iulis* must mean something like 'by his descent on the mother's side from Iulus and his offspring', and further Stat. *Silv.* 1.2.190 *Lydius unde meos iterasset Thybris Iulos*; here *iterare Iulos* probably expresses 'to make a new generation of Trojans, *i.e.* the Romans'.

eripe me: also 87 below (without further modification expressed, but clearly referring to Jason's dilemma). In the sense of 'to rescue, deliver from', *eripere* is usually construed with *ex*, *ab* or *de*. If used without a preposition the accompanying case is often ambiguous (dative or ablative). In V. *A.* 1.647 *Iliacis erepta ruinis* it is rather 'saved out of', whereas

in Quint. *Inst*, 6.1.35 *Murenam Cicero accusantibus clarissimis viris eripuisse videtur* it seems preferable, on account of *clarissimis*, to take *accusantibus … viris* as an ablative absolute. In V. *A.* 6.365 again *eripe me his, invicte, malis* clearly means 'rescue me from'. In our passage, however, the sense is different in that here no rescue is implied: the poet asks the emperor, who is supposed to give him inspiration, to 'exalt, raise, lift' him from the common people. This meaning is not attested elsewhere (TLL 5.2.792.10). For *populis*, somewhat contemptuously denoting 'the general public' (OLD 3b; cf. 833 and 845 below) Burman aptly compares Sil. 2.578f. *pergite primi / nec facilem populis nec notam invadere laudem.* For the general thought cf. V. *G.* 3.8f. *temptanda via est, qua me quoque possim / tollere humo*, Hor. *Carm.* 1.1.30ff. *me gelidum nemus / nympharumque leves cum Satyris chori / secernunt populo*, Prop. 3.1.9 *me Fama levat terra sublimis.*

nubila: the clouds near the earth symbolize unclear, foggy thoughts, as opposed to the radiant and blessed state prevailing in the upper regions of the world and the mind. Probably Strand (9) is right in seeing here the traditional opposition between the supralunary and the sublunary parts of the universe. For *habenti* cf. Ov. *Met.* 1.633 *terrae non semper gramen habenti*, Stat. *Silv.* 1.3.23 *habentes carmina somnos.*

11–14

> namque potes, veterumque fave, venerande, canenti
> facta virum: versam proles tua pandit Idumen,
> sancte pater, Solymo nigrantem pulvere fratrem
> spargentemque faces et in omni turre furentem.

At the beginning of line 11 the mss. have *sancte pater*, whereas most of them present *namque potes* in l.13, some from the fifteenth century reading *potest.* The first to put this right was Samuelsson (1905/06:82), who interchanged the positions of these word groups. Later Getty (1940:269) proposed the same. Their arguments convinced Waszink (1971:297f.), Courtney, Liberman and Spaltenstein; the latter three printed the text as cited above, in spite of Lefèvre, Strand, Ehlers and Dräger, who adhere to the vulgate. The transposition is indeed necessary (cf. *Mnem.* 1986:318f.). For one thing, the formula *namque potes* is traditional in prayers, especially with *eripe (me)*: 2.490 *eripe, namque potes* (cf. 7.241 *quando potes, eripe curis*), V. *A.* 6.365 *eripe me his, invicte, malis …/… namque potes.* On the other hand, no parallels have been adduced for *namque potest*, and since the expression 'he sings of … for he is able to do so' sounds

almost ridiculous, the traditional reading practically necessitates still another conjecture, namely *pandet* or *pandat* (both have been accordingly proposed). Moreover if the words *namque potes* were originally in line 11 and then transposed to 13, either by accident because they are outwardly very similar to *sancte pater*, or intentionally by 'un diorthote' (Liberman), then it is easy to see why in later mss. the change into *namque potest* was made, but no-one has even tried to explain how the second person could arise if the words belong in line 13. Finally, the argument of Ehlers (1971/72:113–116, 124ff.), that the important words *sancte pater* occupy a position exactly in the middle of the prooemium, is double-edged: in line 13 they are exactly at the mid-point of the invocation 5–21.

fave: of deities favouring poets also Ov. *Fast.* 4.723 *alma Pales, faveas pastoria sacra canenti.* Cf. [Tib.] 3.4.43f. *casto nam rite poetae / Phoebusque et Bacchus Pieridesque favent.* Ov. *Ars* 3.548 *numen inest illis* (= *vatibus*) *Pieridesque favent.*

venerande: this conjecture, made by Bährens and printed in their editions by Courtney and Liberman, has much to recommend it. Good parallels are 8.182 *pater … venerande* (Tiphys), *Culex* 25f. *Octavi venerande, meis adlabere coeptis / sancte puer* (Liberman furthermore refers to Ov. *Fast.* 1.646, Germ. *Arat.* 3, *Laus Pis.* 129). Since the other vocative *sancte pater* is now placed in 13, *venerande* has a good chance of being correct, though it must be borne in mind that the neuter plural is perfectly defendable: cf. Ov. *Tr.* 5.3.55 *veterum digne veneror cum scripta virorum*, where the ancients are revered for their writings in a like manner as in VF (if he wrote *veneranda*) for their deeds. *veterum … / facta virum* stands in opposition to recent history as referred to in the next lines: 'I choose a theme from the distant but glorious past, (because) the exploits of your son Titus are already being extolled by his brother Domitian'.

fave venerande: the repetition of a syllable at the end of a word and the beginning of another was disapproved of by Quintilian (who of course primarily wrote with regard to prose composition) *Inst.* 9.4.41, but it is not sure whether he would call syllables identical if their vowels are of different length, as here. Even this difference is clearly not necessary in poetry: cf. for instance Stat. *Silv.* 1.5.30 *pando domus*. Cf. 59 below *Scythico concurrere* and 4.154 *temnite tempus*. To modern ears 8.440f. *quin nunc quoque quaero / quid iubeas* is somewhat cacophonous. Cases with the same consonant but different vowels are less rare (Hirschwälder 16ff.)

versam … furentem: this is not a *recusatio*, because in that literary figure the thought is 'I cannot treat this subject in a way worthy of it; let

someone else do that'. Here, however, the theme to be dealt with is presented as already chosen by no less a person than the emperor's son, so that it would be pointless and even presumptuous for VF to select it. By stressing the emperor's maritime achievements (and the inspiration expected from him), Titus' military successes in the Middle East and Domitian's poetic activities on that subject, VF adroitly underscores the unity of the Flavian family and later dynasty.

proles tua: Domitian, whose interest and achievement in poetry are flatteringly mentioned by Quintilian (*Inst.* 10.1.91, the same paragraph where the name of VF also occurs); Stat. *Ach.* 1.14ff., Sil. 3.620f.; and in a more sceptical way by Suet. *Dom.* 2.2 and Tac. *Hist.* 4.86. His intention, whether or not put into practice, of glorifying his brother's exploits in Judaea is not recorded elsewhere.

pandit: in the sense 'to reveal' (OLD 6) this verb is used from Lucr. 1.55 (*rerum primordia pandam*) on. It seems at home in a didactic poem (cf. also V. *G.* 4.284), whereas in Stat. *Silv.* 5.3.156f. *pandere … / carmina Battiadae* and in Petr. 89.1 *opus* (= the painting) *versibus pandere* it must mean 'to expound'. Here it denotes 'to relate, write about; to choose as a subject', but with the suggestion of 'revealing', as in 3.14f. *tu mihi nunc causas infandaque proelia, Clio, / pande virum.* Parallels in Statius are *Silv.* 1.5.29f. *vestra est quam carmine molli / pando domus*, ib. 1.4.91f. *depositam Dacis pereuntibus urbem / pandere*, *Theb.* 4.34 *pande viros.*

versam … Idumen refers to the capture and destruction of Jerusalem by Titus in 70 A.D. The name *Idume* (derived from Edom) originally denoted a region in the south of Judaea, but apparently in Luc. 3.216 (the first occurrence of the noun in Latin) it was already used for 'Jerusalem', included as it is in a series of city names. The adjective *Idumaeus* is read for the first time in V. *G.* 3.12. For *vertere* used as *evertere* 'to destroy' cf. V. *A.* 1.20 *Tyrias … quae verteret arces.*

The construction *versam … Idumen …, (nigrantem) … fratrem* has been called into question as a harsh asyndeton, and several attempts were made to get rid of it. Heinsius suggested *versa … Idume* (as an ablative absolute), while in the next line Carrio[2] thought of *Solymoque*, Bährens proposed *Solymo ⟨ac⟩*, Schenkl *Solymo ⟨et⟩* and Getty *nigrantem ⟨et⟩*. Waszink (1971:299) explained *versam … Idumen* as 'the destroyer of Jerusalem', on the analogy of V. *A.* 11.268 *devictam Asiam (subsedit adulter)*; he was followed in this by Ehlers (1971/72:124) and Liberman. This is possible, but if *subsidere* in the *Aeneid*-passage means 'to lay in wait for' (and what else could it mean?), it must have an animate object; *pandere* on the other hand is, as we have seen above, regularly used to express the

notion 'to make known, expound (a thing)'. It is questionable whether the traditional text and the 'normal' interpretation of *versam … Idumen* as 'the sack of Jerusalem' constitute an asyndeton, since the nouns do not denote separate items: Domitian speaks of 'the destruction of Jerusalem—his brother, blackened by the dust of the siege'. The second element is not identical with the first and does not add a new item: it visualizes the scene by focusing on its principal character (Langen; Strand 16).

sancte pater combines the honorific address to the supposedly inspiring emperor with a reference to Vespasian's sons, the one victorious in Palestine, the other singing his brother's praise. For the former element compare Ov. *Fast.* 2.127 *sancte pater patriae* (Augustus of course) and Prop. 4.9.71 *sancte pater salve* (Hercules); for the latter V. *A.* 5.80 *salve, sancte parens*; but already Cicero has *pater sanctissime* (*Rep.* 6.15).

Solymo … pulvere: both this adjective and the nouns *Solyma* (the city)—*Solymi* (the people) are not attested previously. Later they occur in Statius, Martial, Tacitus and Juvenal. The element *Hiero-* was obviously regarded as formed from the Greek adjective. For *pulvis* as the dust resulting from the destruction of a city cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.6.14f. *pulvere Troico / nigrum* and ib. 2.1.22 *non indecoro pulvere sordidos*. See also *Arg.* 2.419 *mediae … pulvere pugnae* and 7.645 *Getico de pulvere*. Statius seems to have imitated our passage in *Silv.* 5.2.138f. *an Solymum cinerem palmetaque capta subibis / non sibi felices silvas ponentis Idumes?*

nigrantem: OLD 1b 'black with dirt or grime', not of a natural colour; also Stat. *Theb.* 10.298f. *nigrantia tabo / gramina*. Likewise *niger* in Hor. *Carm.* 1.6.15 (quoted above).

spargentem … faces: of the sometimes rather bold combinations formed by VF with *spargere* (see ANRW 32.4:2471ff.) this one is not far removed from Ennius' *spargere hastas* (*Ann.* 284V). Similar expressions also occur in Virgil (*hastilia*, *A.* 11.650), Ovid and Lucan. VF moreover has *vulnera* (one step further; 6.193), *hastilia* (6.229) and *sagittas* (6.698).

in omni turre furentem: TLL 6.1.1658ff. 'de cupiditate pugnandi'. There seem to be no other instances of *in* used in a local sense and with this meaning of the verb ('fighting furiously in or near every tower'). In 4.5 *solisque furit Tirynthius oris* is different, for there despair and grief are the emotions described. The sg. *omni* returns, sounding almost like an echo, in Juvenal's *in omni monte laborat* (8.239, of Cicero on the alert against the Catilinarian conspiracy). The enclosing word order *spargentem … furentem* signals the end of a longish sentence.

15–17a

> ille tibi cultusque deum delubraque *genti
> instituet, cum *tu, genitor, lucebis ab omni
> parte poli

Here the main problem concerns the identity of *ille* and the date of the prooemium (see *Mnem.* 1986:319ff.). Which son of Vespasian is addressed, Domitian (subject of the preceding sentence) or Titus (the last one referred to)? And when were these lines written: during the lifetime of Vespasian, after Titus' succession to the throne, or under the reign of Domitian?

This last solution, proposed by Syme 1929 and Scott 1934, rejected by Lefèvre 16ff. and Strand 23ff., has now been revived by Liberman XVIIIff. It is however very improbable, for it would mean that the poet is addressing an emperor already dead as if he were still alive. There is not one parallel for this, and in this case it is still less likely because Domitian in particular was not someone who would take kindly to being relegated to second place. Liberman's defence of this interpretation on the grounds that in this case a deceased emperor can be addressed as if still alive because it happens in 'le cadre fictif de la prophétie *ante eventum*' (XX) is nullified by the fact that not only in this sentence with the predicate in the future tense, but also previously (10–11) Vespasian is addressed in this way. It would be almost grotesque to say *namque potes* to someone who is in fact no longer alive. Ehlers on the other hand, rightly excluding (1985:337ff.) the possibility of the prooemium having been written during the reign of Domitian, wishes to pinpoint the date of 5–21 to the year 79, shortly after Vespasian's death. But in this case too the improbability of dedicating the poem to a deceased emperor remains. We must conclude therefore that the lines discussed were written during the lifetime of Vespasian, as was upheld by Lefèvre, Strand (see above) and Courtney (in his apparatus). The *ille* surely refers to Titus, who was the intended, and eventually the actual, successor.

The problem then remains of what exactly is meant by *cultus deum* and particularly *delubra genti(s)*. For this shrine several identifications have been proposed, the most successful being that with the *templum gentis Flaviae*. This building, however, dates from about the year 90, and how, it is argued, could VF have known about it when Vespasian was still alive? The answer is probably: he need not have known. The apotheosis of deceased emperors, implied in *cultus deum*, was expected as

a matter of course, and while this was not the case with temples erected to their memory, there is at least the testimony about a *sacrarium genti Iuliae* at Bovillae (Tac. *Ann.* 2.41). It did not require the extraordinary visionary powers of a poet to express the expectation that a shrine would be erected in honour of the reigning dynasty (for thus it was, the succession being settled beforehand); see also Strand 28ff.

There remains the problem of the double dative (*tibi* and *genti*). The first of these is easily paralleled by *illi* in V. *G.* 3.17, but the combination with *genti* has been declared impossible from a grammatical point of view, since it would hardly do to take *tibi* only with *cultus deum* and *genti* with *delubra*. Although grammatical 'rules' are not always imperative when it concerns a work of poetry, it must be admitted that this combination is not very smooth and the conjecture *gentis* (first in the cod. Bon., later put forward by Heinsius) is understandable. It is now printed by Liberman, whereas Courtney preferred Haupt's unfortunate *centum* and Ehlers kept *genti*, taken as '*tibi et genti*' (1985:336). It seems better to accept the interpretation given by Strand (17), though it is not fully convincing either: 'a cult and a temple to the Flavian family in the honour of Vespasian'. *gentis* is certainly easier and perhaps to be preferred. For the double notion contained in *instituet* (with *cultus* 'to establish', with *delubra* 'to erect') cf. V. *A.* 6.69f. *templum / instituam festosque dies*. The poetic plurals lend more weight to the prophecy.

After *cum*, S and a (possibly late) supralinear correction in V have *tu*, which is printed by Kramer and Courtney, after their predecessors had preferred *iam* (the reading of L). Ehlers, Liberman and Dräger return to *iam*. Since there is no clear mss. authority for either reading and both meanings are unobjectionable, it is hard to choose. In spite of Thilo's criticism (XXVIII), a repetition of *tu* after *tibi* does not appear to be 'displeasing' but rather elegant: *ille tibi* ('he … for you') is well balanced by *tu genitor* ('you … his father' and at the same time 'you (yourself), father').

ab omni / parte poli: correctly explained by Strand (19f.): the 'predominant luminosity' of the future star 'Vespasian' will make it visible everywhere; it will emit light in every quarter of the sky. Not, as Ehlers (1985:341f.) suggested, 'not setting, always visible': the location of the new heavenly body 'im Zirkumpolarbereich' is not easily extracted from the words. Servius on *A.* 8.427 paraphrases *toto … caelo* with '*ab omni parte caeli*'. The hyperbole implied is paralleled partly by Luc. 1.53ff. (the emperor's star is not to take its place on either pole, for fear of disturbing the world's equilibrium), partly in *Arg.* 5.368ff.

(the fires of Sirius outshining other heavenly bodies). Cf. also Sen. *Phaed.* 663f. *quacumque siderei poli / in parte fulges* and *Her.F.* 1202 *parte ab omni, genitor* (!), *iratus tona.*

17b–21

neque enim Tyriis Cynosura carinis
certior aut Grais Helice servanda magistris,
sed tu signa dabis, seu te duce Graecia mittet
seu Sidon Nilusque rates. nunc nostra serenus
orsa iuves, haec ut Latias vox impleat urbes.

For the interpretation of this difficult passage (see *Mnem.* 1986:323ff., where the text as printed above was proposed) it is essential to look closely at the parallels, especially those anterior to the *Argonautica.* The first mention of Cynosura and Helice, denoting the constellations Ursa Minor and Maior respectively, occurs in Arat. *Phaen.* 36ff., translated by Cicero *N.D.* 2.106 (and alluded to in *Ac.* 2.66); further in Latin literature Ov. *Fast.* 3.107f., *Her.* 18.149, *Tr.* 4.3.1f., Germ. *Arat.* 39, Man. 1.296ff., Luc. 3.219, Sil. 3.665. The common element is the statement that Cynosura was observed by Phoenician sailors, whereas the Greeks preferred Helice in this respect. The latter is repeatedly called 'greater', but to the Phoenicians Cynosura is *certior* (than Helice of course) in Manilius, Germanicus and Lucan. This must be borne in mind when we confront the difficulties concerning the text. The mss. readings are:

neque in Tyrias Cynosura carinas
certior aut Grais Helice servanda magistris
seu tu signa dabis, seu te duce Graecia mittet
et Sidon Nilusque rates.

A great many conjectures have been proposed, the most important of which are:

neque enim for *neque in* (from the first editions on; printed by Courtney and Liberman);

neque erit (Heinsius; printed by Ehlers);

Tyriae … carinae (Heinsius, Courtney, Ehlers) or *Tyriis … carinis* (Friesemann 1786, Liberman) for *Tyrias … carinas*; *si tu* (Gronov, Liberman), *sed tu* (Caussin), *tu si* (Bury, Courtney) for *seu tu* (kept by Ehlers); *sed te* (Caussin or Lemaire; Courtney and Liberman) for *seu te* (Ehlers); *seu* (Slothouwer) for *et.*

As regards the first item, since *in* is clearly impossible, the plural (*Tyriis … carinis*) seems more plausible than the singular (cf. Luc. 3.219,

cited above). Then the double *seu* in 19 should be discarded: it may be usual in hymnic style, but here two alternatives are not opposed. Ehlers supposed (1985:342) that *signa dabis* should refer to weather prognostics as in V. *G.* 1.428f., 462, but that would mean the introduction of a new element totally foreign to the nautical context and not present in the parallels for this passage; moreover, the emphatic *tu* would be pointless. However, the opposition between the Phoenician and Greek sailors is traditional, so that the counterpart of *seu (te)* must be found not before but after, namely at the beginning of line 20, as Slothouwer saw; read there (the second) *seu*. In the place of (the first transmitted) *seu* there originally stood *sed* (Caussin). This in its turn has another advantage: hitherto it has been assumed that *certior* should compare Cynosura with the future constellation 'Vespasian', whereas in all earlier passages it characterized the Lesser Bear as 'more trustworthy in the eyes of the Phoenicians sc. than the Greater one', and this is what Lucan writes in 3.219: *(certior) haud ullis … (carinis)* meaning: 'not for any other ships more trustworthy (than for those of the Phoenicians)', *i.e.* only for the ships of the Phoenicians, Cynosura is more trustworthy sc. than Helice. This is a somewhat more complicated expression than we see in Germanicus 45 (after having mentioned Helice): *certior est Cynosura tamen sulcantibus aequor* (in 47 follows *Sidoniamque ratem)* and Manilius 1.299 (Helice having been mentioned) *angusto Cynosura brevis torquetur in orbe* (301: *Poenis haec certior auctor*). Surely VF meant the same as his predecessors when he chose the same word (*certior*), only now the glory predicted for Vespasian is enhanced because his guidance is said to take over that of both Helice and Cynosura: '(you will be seen in every part of the sky,) for (*enim*, not *erit*) neither Cynosura, more trustworthy (sc. than Helice) for the ships from Tyre, nor Helice, which must (until now) be observed by Greek sailors, but you will guide seafarers, whether it is Greece or Phoenicia and Egypt who will send out their vessels under your guidance'. The future 'star' will not just be 'more reliable' than Cynosura; it will take its place completely, and the Bear will no longer have to be observed at all. In this way the importance of the celestial emperor for the entire world is accentuated (with Egypt thrown in for good measure). The sentence is very carefully construed too: the thematic opposition Phoenicia—Greece is first expressed in a negative clause (*neque … aut*), then in a positive way (*seu … seu*), the emperor himself taking pride of place (*tu signa dabis*). This interpretation is now accepted by Dräger, who prints accordingly.

For *servare* as 'to observe' see OLD 2, for *magistris* 'helmsmen' ib. 3b. *signa dare* in an agricultural context occurs in V. *G.* 1.439 (TLL 5.1.1669.36 'talia passim'). Both Tyre and Sidon (or adjectives derived from them) are regularly mentioned in the parallel passages: Sidon already in Aratus and Germanicus' translation, then in Ovid (*Fast.* and *Tr.*) and Silius, Tyre in Manilius and Ovid (*Her.*), whereas Lucan, like VF, has both (3.217). The metonymy *Nilus* for 'Egypt' is less well documented, but cf. Mart. 3.63.5 *cantica … Nili* 'songs from Egypt' (probably Alexandria).

te duce: as in V. *A.* 6.59; but in *Ecl.* 4.13 and *A.* 10.92 and 12.260 the personal pronoun precedes the noun. In Ovid *duce* comes first in *Am.* 3.12.11 and *Met.* 14.836, against 12 instances where it follows the pronoun. Lucan has only *duce* first (3 times), Statius *me duce* in *Silv.* 4.3.131, *sub te duce* ib. 4.3.82 and *Theb.* 2.448, Silius two instances, both with the pronoun first. Therefore, as far as statistics go, only Lucan seems to prefer the postposition of the pronoun. In 177 and 507 below VF has *duce te*.

nunc: 'now (while you are still with us)'. This is a subtle variation on the theme 'may you still long remain on earth' (*serus in caelum redeas*, Hor. *Carm.* 1.2.45). After the imperatives (*mone, eripe, fave*) and the future forms (*instituet, lucebis, dabis*) the invocation is rounded off with a prayer-like wish.

serenus: this epithet can be used both of a person and his/her countenance and of a star. It is evident that both notions are present here. Regarding the former, the original meaning is 'undisturbed, relaxed', and thus it is used in most, if not all, instances cited in OLD 3a; the added element of 'propitious' (Pius, Langen) may be discerned here and in Martial (2.24.7, 5.6.9, 9.24.3, all quoted by Langen). In the last two cases *Iovis … sereni* seems to merge the personal and celestial aspects of Jupiter. For *serenus* said of a star cf. Ov. *Fast.* 6.718 *cinget geminos stella serena polos*.

orsa: 'undertaking' (OLD 1), as in 5.195 and 291 (where see Wijsman), but probably already in V. *A.* 10.632 *in melius tua qui potes orsa reflectes* (see Harrison). Elsewhere it simply means 'words' (OLD 2), as in 2.243 (where see Poortvliet) and 5.470. Silius' first words (*ordior arma*) seem to partake of both senses.

haec … vox: 'this voice of mine', already in Cic. *Arch.* 1.

Latias … urbes: cf. V. *G.* 2.176 *Ascraeumque cano Romana per oppida carmen.* The adjective *Latius* in the sense of 'Roman, Italian' (OLD 2) is poetic, but possibly the noun *vox* adds the connotation 'wherever Latin is

spoken' (cf. OLD 1b). It occurs again in 2.245 and was a favourite of Lucan, who has it 30 times (never with *urbs* or *oppidum*), of which twice in the prooemium. Cf. further Germ. *Arat.* 15 (also in the prooemium) *haec ego dum Latiis conor praedicere Musis*.

impleat: the verb is quite often used with words denoting 'news, fame, topics of conversation' (OLD 5b), either in the ablative or in the nominative. It is also sometimes construed with words meaning 'sound, voice, noise' (OLD 1c), again in the ablative or, as here, in the nominative. See 2.241 *ignotaeque implebant aethera voces*, 2.167 *tum voce deos, tum questibus implent* (6.726). With the nominative Virgil has *Fama* (*A.* 11.139, with *replet*) and *nuntius* (ib. 896), with the ablative *sermone* (*A.* 4.189, with *replebat*), *clamoribus* (*A.* 5.341), *questibus* (*A.* 9.480).

This prooemium is a piece of fine and elegant writing.

PART B

THESSALY

22–349

This first part of the story proper is about the events in Thessaly prior to the sailing of the Argo.

It contains first the cause of the expedition (22–90), then the preparations for it (91–183), and finally the solemn leave-takings (184–349).

PART B,1

ASSIGNMENT AND ACCEPTANCE

22–90

Here the reader is informed about the situation in Thessaly, the request of Pelias, and the eventual acceptance by Jason of the imposed task.

22–63 (The assignment)

The first part of the narration proper is clearly focused on Pelias; it is only from 64 on that Jason takes the centre.

First (22–30) the king's political (22–25) and mental (26–30) situations are sketched. The resulting decision is described in 31–39. In 40–57 his command, cloaked as a request, constitutes the first speech in the *Argonautica*. It is followed (58–63) by the narrator's comment.

The relationship between Pelias and Jason is not presented uniformly in the ancient sources. In the earliest surviving account Pindar (*P.* 4.70–168) makes Pelias a usurper, who is warned by an oracle against the 'man with one sandal'. The contact between uncle and nephew runs quite peacefully, inasmuch as Jason asks for his rightful kingdom, but is willing to leave all his possessions to Pelias. The king consents, but mentions a dream sent to him by the late Phrixus, asking to bring back his soul and the Fleece from Colchis. Being too old himself, Pelias then requests Jason to undertake this enterprise. He does not pretend, as he does in VF, that Phrixus was murdered in Colchis; his treacherous intent in sending Jason may be inferred from the situation, but is not explicitly stated.

Varying versions are (Apollod. 1.9.16): Pelias asks Jason what he would do if he received an oracle that one of his people would kill him. When Jason answers 'I would send him to Colchis to bring back the Golden Fleece', he is forthwith ordered to do so himself. In Diod. Sic. (4.40) Jason spontaneously utters the wish to acquire renown by some glorious deed; Pelias supports this idea and points to the possibility of recapturing the Golden Fleece, hoping his nephew will perish in the event.

AR is remarkably succinct, mentioning only the warning of the oracle concerning the man with one sandal; he is silent about the family relations and the usurpation of power, the mental reactions of Pelias to the oracle, and the alleged dream about Phrixus. Later (3.333ff.), in Argus' speech to Aeetes, we are given a (purposely?) somewhat garbled account of Pelias' intentions (see Hunter ad l.).

VF expanded this short section (13 lines) to the present passage of 42 lines, first by insisting upon the psychological aspect, and further by the use of direct speech (as in Pindar). Throughout the work he clearly wishes to provide his characters with an adequate motivation for their actions. The feelings of distrust and insecurity here ascribed to Pelias (26 and 30), as well as the hypocrisy in his words and facial expression (38f., 59f.), are features of the typical tyrant, and thus VF portrays him as the first in a series leading through Laomedon and Amycus to Aeetes. It has often been observed that Latin literature in imperial times represents many rulers in very dark colours, supposedly as a consequence of contemporary experiences. In the case of Pelias and Jason a parallel has been suggested with the relation between Tiberius and Germanicus (Summers 55). The supposed relation between the work and recent or contemporary history is also discussed by Preiswerk 1934:433ff.; McDonald 1971:39–86; Burck 1971 (Vorber.):48f. and (Man.):99f.; Scaffai 1986; McGuire 1989; Toohey 1993, and Taylor 1994. It is, however, not necessary to suppose that VF had reasons of his own to depict his kings and tyrants as appalling monsters. Pelias, at any rate, is called 'an overweening king, an insolent and wicked wrongdoer' as early as in Hesiod (*Th.* 995f.). Amycus and Laomedon too, set off against the friendly Lycus and Cyzicus, are traditionally royal scoundrels, and Aeetes' role in trying to eliminate Jason, as Pelias had tried to do previously, is fixed as well. After all, a conquering hero needs some villains for enemies—Virgil also has his Mezentius—and VF's view of the world is decidedly not as pessimistic as that of Statius or the one presented in Seneca's tragedies. If he emphasizes the tyrants' characters and reflections, this may be be due on the one hand to the literary influence of his predecessors, and on the other hand to a general tendency to describe mental processes and motives for actions. This is not to say that historical events and situations cannot have contributed to the pictures VF presents, only that this is neither demonstrable nor necessary for the interpretation.

22–25

> Haemoniam primis Pelias frenabat ab annis,
> iam gravis et longus populis metus; illius amnes
> Ionium quicumque petunt, ille Othryn et Haemum
> atque imum felix versabat vomere Olympum.

Haemoniam: Haemonia was (Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* 1.37.20) 'properly an area of Thessaly, but used by the Alexandrian and Roman poets as a name for Thessaly in general (RE 7.2219f.)'. The noun occurs in Latin from Ovid on (*Met.* 1.568 and other places), and in the *Argonautica* further (4.736) *Haemoniae … viros*. The Argonauts are called *Haemonidae* (4.506, 5.127, 6.371), while *Haemonius* is fairly frequent, both in VF and in other writers.

primis … ab annis: since these words evidently cannot refer to babyhood, they must mean 'from his first adult years', or at least 'from the time that he was supposed to act on his own responsibility'. The same meaning, which is not commonly acknowledged, must be present in V. *A.* 2.87 and Ov. *Tr.* 4.4.27, *Pont.* 2.2.1. and *Ars* 1.181; probably in V. *A.* 8.517 as well. Comparable expressions occur with *in* and *sub*. With these words VF implicitly rejects the version that Aeson had been king first and was afterwards dethroned by Pelias. In other sources too (Apollod.1.9.16) the succession to Cretheus has nothing irregular in itself, but obviously was felt to be unfair to Aeson as the son of the former king, whereas Pelias sprang from the union of the queen, Tyro, with Poseidon: Hom. *Od.* 11.235–259. Cf. RE 19.1.318, 9.765, DNP 9.493f.

frenabat: in itself this verb need not have the connotation of a harsh rule (Langen: ad indicandum durum Peliae imperium). Ilioneus describes (V. *A.* 1.523) Dido's activities in Carthage as *iustitia … gentis frenare superbas* 'to rule, control' (where, incidentally, some dispute has arisen concerning the question of whether the Carthaginians themselves are to be included in the *gentes superbae*). On the other hand, when Statius uses the word (*Silv.* 4.4.61 'to command', 5.2.140 'to subdue', 5.3.188 'to keep under control'), it usually implies some measure of force. This seems absent from *Silv.* 3.3.52, so it is not necessary in itself to assume that the choice of the word implies a not very mild reign, but when we read *metus* in the next line this suggestion is clearly made. The verb occurs once more in the *Argonautica*, in its literal sense (68 below).

gravis: the expression *gravis metus* can mean 'grave fear' (Sen. *Ag.* 246, *Tro.* 315 and 1072, Tac. *Ann.* 16.5); therefore it is possible to take both *gravis* and *longus* as qualifications of *metus*. Some commentators (Hein-

sius, Burman) here took *gravis* as belonging to *Pelias* to mean 'oppressive (to his people)'. *iam*, however, in opposition to *primis … ab annis*, decidedly points to the meaning '(now) an old man' (cf. 1.296 *gravis Aeson*). The sentence as a whole is clearly meant as a negative counterpart to Virgil's characterization of Latinus in *A.* 7.45f.: *rex arva Latinus et urbes / iam senior longa placidas in pace regebat.* There *arva* corresponds to *Haemoniam*, *urbes* to *populis*, (*placidas* and *in pace* contrasting with *metus*), *longa* to *longus* and *regebat* to *frenabat*, and so *iam senior*, also at the beginning of the line, to *iam gravis*.

longus: 'since long' (OLD 10 d). *longus metus* occurs also in 2.368f. as '(a source of) prolonged fear' (Poortvliet ad l.), whereas *longum … timorem* (1.325; 6.754) simply means 'long lasting fear'. It is possible but not necessary to take *iam* with *longus* as well.

populis: rather 'his people' than 'the (surrounding) peoples'; there are no indications in VF of Pelias being a menace to his neighbours (unless it be *Ionium*, see below). For the plural, occurring in the same sense also at 833 and 845 below, see Sz. 21, Venini on Stat. *Theb.* 11.654 and Smolenaars on ib. 7.244.

metus used metonymically as 'a person or animal causing fear' (TLL 8.912.42ff.) is restricted to poetry. VF further has (2.16) *metus deum* for the (now petrified) Giants, and (4.320) *hominum pavor* for Amycus (cf. Sen. *Her.O.* 27 *taurusque populis horridus centum pavor*). In 4.181 (*varii … metus*), 1.402 (*metus alios*) and 3.404f. (*arvaque nigro / vasta metu*), *metus* denotes a cause of fear which is not a living being. Whereas *timor* in this sense already occurs in Augustan poetry (*e.g.* Hor. *S.* 1.4.67), *metus* seems to have been introduced (and frequently used) by Seneca: *Phaed.* 29, *Thy.* 1049, *Phoen.* 516, *Tro.* 62, 243, 742, *Med.* 516, and *Her.F.* 230 *non levem populis metum* (the nearest parallel). For *pavor* in this sense (4.320, cited above) parallels are scarce; cf. Sen. *Her.O.* 27, cited above.

amnes, Sabellicus' correction of the mss.' *omnes* and printed in all editions from Heinsius on, explains the use of *petunt*, which would hardly make sense with *omnes*; cf. V. *G.* 3.522 *campum petit amnis*. 'His were the rivers …': it is not unusual to denote a realm by means of a river name: 5.484f. (Pelias) *tenens … / … tot vigili pulcherrima flumina cornu.* There is, however, a difficulty in *Ionium*, because all rivers in Thessaly flow eastwards into the Aegaean, not westwards into the Ionian sea. Geographical accuracy is not a conspicuous feature of Roman poetry, but this goes rather far. It is hard to believe that the poet wanted to say that the kingdom of Pelias extended far beyond the bounds of Pelasgian Iolcus (in which case *populis* of course could be a 'real' plural);

a hyperbolical expression seems more probable. Cf. Ov. *Pont.* 1.4.28 (Pelias) *qui vix Thessaliae fine timendus erat.* Or did the poet hold mistaken ideas about the direction of Thessalian rivers?

Ionium, with a long *i*, denotes the sea to the south of the Adriatic, west of Greece; the noun *mare* is omitted here and 4.512, as in Prop. 3.11.72, Ov. *Met.* 4.535, and Luc. 6.27. *Ionicus* (also *Ioniacus* or *Ionis)* on the other hand, with a short *i*, are the adjectives belonging to Ionia, but do not define any sea.

Othrys is a mountain in the south of Thessaly (cf. Luc. 6.337f.), but *Haemus*, mod. Balkan, lies far to the north in Thrace. This would be an even more striking exaggeration on the part of VF, but for the fact that the name *Haemus* had been connected with Thessaly in earlier poetry: V. *G.* 1.492 *Emathiam et latos Haemi pinguescere campos* (where the battles of Philippi, in Macedonia, and Pharsalus, in Thessaly, are merged into one picture of civil war), Luc.1.680 *latosque Haemi sub rupe Philippos*, 7.173f. *multis concurrere visus Olympo / Pindus et abruptis mergi convallibus Haemus* (on the eve of the battle of Pharsalus), 7.480 *excepit resonis clamorem vallibus Haemus* (at the beginning of the battle itself); 10.449 *Thessalici … rupe sub Haemi.* Cf. also Serv. on *G.* 1.492 and 2.488. VF then had good authority for the association Haemus—Thessaly, but the names of *Haemonia* and *Haemus* occurring so close to each other suggest that he also intended to produce at least a paronomasia, if not an etymology. In the only other passage where VF mentions Haemus (1.727) the location is clearly Thrace.

imum … Olympum: 'the lower slopes of Mt. Olympus'. Luc. (6.341) has *imi … habitator Olympi.* The mountain is situated on the northern boundary of Thessaly.

felix in the first place stresses the king's economical as well as political prosperity, to be offset by his inner unrest. In the context the adjective also seems to convey an allusion to its original meaning 'fertile, fruitful'. Since ploughing on mountains is not easy, we will have to supply *imum* with *Othryn* and *Haemum* as well, or (less likely) to assume a zeugma, *e.g.* ⟨*regebat*⟩.

versabat vomere: Ov. *Ars* 1.725f. … *agricolae, qui vomere semper adunco / et gravibus rastris sub Iove versat humum*; Luc. 3.192 *Thessalus Haemoniam vomer proscindit Iolcon.* Of course, the king's function would have been different from that of Ovid's farmer. It is difficult to tell whether *versat* (32), meaning 'broods over', is an intended repetition. With more certainty we may assume a link between *letique vias ac tempora versat* (32) and *rerumque asperrima versat* (725), because the meaning of the verb and the

subject of the phrase are identical and the objects similar. For repetition of the same word (whether or not used in the same sense) within a few lines see Austin's note on V. *A.* 2.505. It occurs frequently in VF as well. As in Virgil, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Lucan, Statius' epics and Silius, in all 13 passages where VF has a form of *Olympus* the word occupies the last position in the line.

26–30

> sed non ulla quies animo fratrisque paventi
> progeniem divumque minas. hunc nam fore regi
> exitio vatesque canunt pecudumque per aras
> terrifici monitus iterant; super ipsius ingens
> instat fama viri virtusque haud laeta tyranno.

After four lines describing the king's political power and material success, we are now told about his mental state.

animo: probably ablative, and *paventi* going with understood (*erat ei*) 'there was no rest in his mind, as he feared …', rather than dative in concord with *paventi* ('his mind had no rest, fearing …'). *animus* can be construed as the subject of verbs meaning 'to fear' (Pl. *Bac.* 237 *meus formidat animus*, Pub. *Sent.* S 13 (= 596 Friedrich) *semper plus metuit animus ignotum malum*; TLL 10.1.808.9ff.) and the combination *animus pavens* is attested in Luc. 9.406f. The caesura, however, does not point in that direction. The nearest parallels offer no clear solution: V. *A.* 2.755 *horror ubique animo* (if that is the correct reading) is also ambiguous, whereas Ov. *Met.* 12.48 *nulla quies intus* is different in that *intus* denotes the inner part of a building. Ov. *Pont.* 4.9.91 has *quies animi.*

fratris: his half-brother, the son of Cretheus, Pelias himself having been born from the union of Tyro with Poseidon.

For *pavere* see Wijsman's note on 5.5. There is one clear example in VF of the word with a causal ablative: 756 below *subitisque pavens*; for 309 below see note.

fratris … progeniem divumque minas: VF does not, as Pindar and AR had done, include the feature of the 'man with one sandal' in this warning. Since the 'threats of the gods', as the following sentence shows, refer explicitly to his brother's offspring, there are, in spite of -*que* …-*que*, not two sources of Pelias' uneasiness: it arises from the fear of his nephew which results from the gods' warnings. These forebodings are echoed in the fifth book (226–262) by the portents and dreams sent to Aeetes, the distant fellow tyrant of Pelias. In general, the correspondences between bks. 1 and 5 (2 and 6, and so on) have been elucidated by

E. Frank (1967:38ff.). For *minae* cf. OLD 2 '(transf., of portents, etc.) Warning signs, prognostications of evil'. A 'subjective' genitive is added in Sen. *Oed.* 411 and *Phaed.* 952, whereas Statius has *minas divum* in *Silv.* 5.3.174.

hunc nam fore regi / exitio: V. *A.* 1.444f. *sic nam fore bello / egregiam*, on which see Austin ad l. for the line ending and the postponement of *nam*. VF has *nam* twice in the third place (3.564 and 4.158; perhaps also 8.139), and twice in the fourth place (2.278, 4.709).

exitio: Summers 44 notes that the predicative dative is very rare in VF; he mentions only two other certain instances, also in bk. 1: *curae* (64) and *dono* (528), and an uncertain one (*morae* 3.599). In itself *exitio esse* is normal Latin, also in prose: *e.g.* Cic. *Mur.* 56.

vatesque canunt: likewise, Pindar (*P.* 4.71), AR (1.5) and Hyginus (12) are not specific in stating the source of the oracles (unless τέην in AR 1.8 is correct). In Apollod. (1.9.16) it is not clear whether 'the god' is indefinite or a reference to Apollo.

After the general situation in Pelias' kingdom has been sketched with two verbs in the imperfect tense (*frenabat* and *versabat*), the forms of the present now used (*canunt, iterant, instat*) describe a series of events immediately before the narrative proper (*pergit* etc.) and gradually leading up to it.

pecudumque: the word order might suggest a construction with *aras*, but the combination *pecudum arae* does not have much to recommend itself, so we had better construe *pecudum … monitus* (TLL 8.1422.49); the latter noun regularly takes a genitive denoting the source of the warning: Ov. *Met.* 7.600 *monitusque deorum*, *Her.* 17.239 *vatum … monitus*, Luc. 1.588 *monitus errantis in aere pinnae*.

For *per aras* cf. V. *A.* 2.501 *Priamumque per aras* and Sen. *Oed.* 197 *prostrata iacet turba per aras*.

terrifici monitus iterant: clearly inspired by V. *A.* 4.464f. *multaque praeterea vatum praedicta priorum / terribili monitu horrificant*. For *terrificus* qualifying prophecies cf. also V. *A.* 5.524 *terrifici cecinerunt omina vates*, Plin. *Ep.* 6.20.19 *terrificis vaticinationibus*. Spaltenstein unconvincingly takes *monitus* as an accusative governed by *(vates) iterant*.

iterant (with accusative and infinitive): OLD 2b 'to repeat, say again and again (that)'. As in the case of Aeetes (5.259f.), it was not just an isolated warning, likely to pass unheeded. Cf. Virgil's *multa* (4.464, quoted above).

super: for *insuper* 'besides, moreover'. Strangely enough, Langen asserts that VF does not use *insuper*. It occurs and is printed by L. four

times: 4.428, 6.9 and 57, 7.603. VF has *super* in this sense again in 8.19 (not in 4.680f., where it means 'above'), as do other writers before him (OLD 3; cf. Munro on Lucr. 1.649).

There is a strong alliteration here (*iterant … ipsius ingens / instat*). The reason for the introduction of this ornament here, apart from mere euphonic considerations, seems to be a wish to stress the end of the paragraph.

instare here does not mean 'to threaten' (of dangers in the future; OLD 6), but 'to press hard on …' (of present troubles; OLD 7). In this sense it is sometimes combined with *urgere* (*e.g.* Cic. *Div.* 2.149, *Mil.* 87) or with *premere* (Cic. *Tusc.* 3.71).

For *haud laeta* cf. Wijsman on 5.1. *laetus* with dative as 'giving pleasure to someone' is already attested in classical prose: Cic. *Vat.* 6 (*dies*) *tibi laetissimus*.

ingens probably goes with both *fama* and *virtus*, which combination recalls Cicero's *gloria* following *virtus* like a shadow (*Tusc.* 1.109). There is hardly any record of Jason's courage displayed and his reputation acquired before the expedition of the Argo, but the aversion of tyrants to noble-hearted men is of course topical (Horace's third Roman ode is a notable instance). Justin also refers to Jason's virtue (42.2.10 *Iasonis … quem cum perditum propter insignem periculosamque regno suo virtutem Pelias rex cuperet …*). He subsequently presents an interesting report on the hero's later career: after his return to Thessaly, Jason was expelled from there by the sons of Pelias. He then organized another expedition to Colchis, having been reconciled with Medea whom he had first repudiated, and restored Aeetes (who had been driven from his kingdom) to the throne.

31–32

> ergo anteire metus iuvenemque exstinguere pergit
> Aesonium letique vias ac tempora versat.

According to Mehmel, the story proper begins here, introduced with *ergo*, which word constitutes a narrow link with the 'Vorgeschichte'. This is true to a certain extent: VF does not make a sharp distinction between the description of Pelias' situation and the start of the narration. Here the king turns his brooding into actual planning, until in l. 37 he hits upon the idea of a naval expedition.

Since *anteire* (a hapax legomenon in VF) means 'to forestall, to prevent' (TLL 2.148.63ff. 'praevenire, praeveniendo ad irritum redigere'), *metus* here is not the fear itself, but the danger; cf. Ov. *Met.* 4.111 *loca*

plena metus and Tac. *Ann.* 5.6 *anteibo periculum.* This is akin to, but not the same as 'the feared thing or person', which Pelias himself was to others (l. 23). For the synaloepha in *anteire* see OLD.

iuvenem … Aesonium: as a man (*viri*) Jason is credited with *virtus*; as an (inexperienced) youth he may perhaps be eliminated.

For *Aesonius* see Wijsman on 5.35 (this form always, *i.e.* 14 times, an attribute in VF, *Aesonides* (53 times) always a noun). VF has this specific combination (for which cf. Ov. *Her.* 12.66) again in 7.188.

exstinguere: 'to cause the death of, to kill' (OLD 2, not only in poetry; Sal. *Iug.* 24.2).

pergit is at first sight not easy to explain, hence the conjectures *quaerit* (suggested by 'some' according to Pius) and *fervet* (Heinsius). Burman defends *pergit* by referring to 4.121 *sic te olim pergere sensi* and 8.404 *haud ultra sociis obsistere pergit*, and assuming that Pelias had planned attempts on Jason's life before. This, however, is very unlikely: the consequence (*ergo*) of Pelias' fears is not the prolongation, but the initiation of malicious designs. There are in fact parallels for the verb denoting not 'to proceed with (an already begun action)', but 'to proceed to an action'. Cf. Conington on V. *Ecl.* 6.13 *pergite Pierides*: '*pergere* is used both of continuing to do a thing and of proceeding to do what one has not done before. Here the latter is the sense'. This use is not, as OLD 2b suggests, restricted to passages where a speaker proceeds 'to a topic, conclusion, etc.': cf. Cat. 61.27 *perge linquere.* Of course these actions are not undertaken out of the blue, but prepared for by earlier actions or existing situations leading up to them.

leti vias ac tempora: 'ways and opportunities to have (his nephew) killed'. For *leti vias* 'approach to death, way of dying' (OLD 8b) cf. Lucr. 2.917 *leti … vias*, Hor. *Carm.* 1.28.16 *via leti*, Tib. 1.3.50 *nunc mare, nunc leti mille repente viae*, V. *G.* 3.482 *via mortis*, and see Verdière on Grattius 357. *tempus /-ora leti / mortis* on the other hand seems to be exceptional. There are no other instances of the combination *viae et tempora* in the epic poets.

versat 'to turn over in the mind, ponder, debate' (OLD 8). Pelias again *rerumque asperrima versat* in 1.725; cf. 8.408f. *timores / versat.*

33–36

sed neque bella videt Graias neque monstra per urbes
ulla: Cleonaeo iam tempora clausus hiatu
Alcides, olim Lernae defensus ab angue
Arcas et ambobus iam cornua fracta iuvencis.

bella ... monstra: cf. Sen. *Her.F.* 30–40 (*quae bella?* 30; *monstra iam desunt mihi* (sc. Iunoni) 40); ib. 527f. *bella per omnia / monstris exagitet caeliferam manum.* We should not take *bellum,* as Strand (39f.) does, as simply 'arduous tasks imposed on ... heroes'. The usual way to dispose of a possibly dangerous opponent was to let him confront a formidable adversary, whether man or monster, against which he would have to fight. The element of 'combat, struggle' is clearly prevalent (not necessarily implying a full-scale war). TLL 2.1824.69ff. 'fere i.q. pugna, proelium'. Behind Pelias' thoughts lurks the traditional opposition, soon to emerge, between fighting and sailing (Shey 18).

The marked hyperbaton of *Graias* and the following mention of names of localities in Greece already point to the fact that Jason's undoing will have to occur far away, whereas the strong enjambement of *ulla* emphasizes the complete absence of monsters, some of which are mentioned as examples.

Cleonaeo: Cleonae was the name of a town near Nemea. The adjective *Cleonaeus* is used as a poetic equivalent for 'Nemean' from Nero's time on (Luc. 4.612 *Cleonaei ... leonis*): Sen. *Her.F.* 798 *Cleonaeum caput*, and (always in the same metrical position as here) Stat. *Theb.* 1.487 *ante Cleonaei vestitus proelia monstri*, Sil. 3.34 (*leonis*) *ora Cleonaei patulo caelantur hiatu*, Mart. 5.71.3 *rura Cleonaeo numquam temerata leone.* In all these passages it refers to the Nemean lion as one of the labours of Hercules; elsewhere it denotes Hercules himself or the constellation Leo. Both Nemea and Lerna are mentioned again 3.511, Nemea also 8.125.

hiatus, in VF only occurring in the ablative (8 times), is first connected with the same lion in Lucr. 5.24f. *Nemeaeus ... magnus hiatus / ille leonis*; cf. Sil. 3.34 (quoted above). In other contexts V. *A.* 11.680, Luc. 1.209, Stat. *Theb.* 11.28 (always at the end of the line, as here).

clausus: Carrio's reading, not even mentioned by Kramer and Liberman, who still print the mss.' *clusus*, which in its turn does not figure in Courtney's and Ehlers' apparatus (Courtney refers to it in his *praefatio*, XLVII). The same applies to *cl(a)usos* (1.239) and *cl(a)userit* 7.230. Some of the instances of *cludere* given in K/H (843) are still kept in modern editions, some are not. See TLL 3.1300.29ff. and Heubner on Tac. *Hist.* 1.33.

cl(a)udere in the sense 'to envelop, surround, cover, conceal' (OLD 6; TLL 3.1308.37) is not previously construed with a retained accusative (*tempora*), as *tegere* is (Ov. *Met.* 12.291 *prima tectus lanugine malas.* Later Statius (*Theb.* 10.841) uses the same construction: *gemina latus arbore cl(a)usus.* More remarkable is the recurrence of *tempora* so soon after 32,

and in a different meaning as well (we do not know whether a native speaker of Latin would have regarded this as a case of homonymy). Anyhow, VF saw no problem in repeating the same word within the space of a few lines (see n. on *versat* 25).

iam … olim … iam: there was no complete unanimity in antiquity about the order of Hercules' exploits, nor about the time of the Colchian expedition with respect to his labours in the service of Eurystheus. Diodorus states (4.15.4) that the journey of the Argo took place after the eighth of these labours, or (4.48.6) before them; AR implies that Hercules took part in the Argonauts' expedition shortly (?) before the completion of the tasks (1.1318ff.; cf. also ib. 125ff.). Anyhow, the killing of the Nemean lion always takes first place, and the victory over the Hydra second; RE Suppl. III, 1021ff., DNP 5.388f. VF adds three other exploits of Hercules as having been performed already: those concerning the dragon of the Hesperides (2.382), the Erymanthian boar (2.495, where the hydra of Lerna and the Nemean lion also figure again), and the battle with the Amazons (5.132ff.). With *ulla* he clearly suggests that Hercules had rid the world of all monsters and therefore presumably had completed the tasks allotted to him by Eurystheus.

Alcides: for the function of Hercules in the story, partly as a counterpart to Jason, see Piot 1965, Adamietz 1970 and Edwards 1999. He is treated as the outstanding hero he was by tradition, but in such a way as not to detract from Jason's role as the leader of the expedition. There is, for instance, no discussion in VF, as there was in AR, about the leadership. In the first part of the work the role of Hercules is important, but at the beginning of the fourth book he is, after some discussion, left behind in Mysia, searching for his lost friend Hylas. In this way the danger that he might outshine Jason, for instance in the war against the Scythians, is avoided.

olim with pluperfect ⟨*erat*⟩ as in Ov. *Met.* 2.466 (*senserat hoc olim magni matrona Tonantis*) 'a long time ago'; cf. Sen. *Ep.* 34.1 and Stat. *Theb.* 11.634f. This is not quite the same as with present tense 'for a long time now' (as in 53 and 72): the Arcadians no longer needed to be defended, because there was no longer a hydra.

Lernae: cf. V. *A.* 8.300 *Lernaeus … anguis*. Strictly speaking, the locality belonged to Argolis, not to Arcadia (Mela 2.51), but geographical precision is more often than not absent from Roman poetry. In this case, the connection could very well have been established, as Langen remarks, by V. *A.* 12.518, where the Arcadian Menoetes is said to have been a fisherman *circum flumina Lernae*.

ambobus ... iuvencis: here several identifications of the 'two bulls' have been proposed: the Cretan bull, one of Hercules' labours (the seventh or eighth); the river god Achelous; the Marathonian bull, and the Minotaur. About the first there seems to be unanimity; according to some sources (Diod. 4.59.6, 77.1–3; Hyg. 30) it was the same as the one who by his union with Pasiphae became the father of the Minotaur. In most versions he is identical with the third one mentioned above, the bull from Marathon: the original Cretan bull, defeated but obviously not killed by Hercules (except in V. *A.* 8.294), later emigrated to Attica, where he was subdued by Theseus, either tamed or killed (Apollod. 2.5.7; Paus. 1.27.10; RE Suppl. III 930 and 1052f.; Ov. *Met.* 7.434; cf. also Diod. 4.13.4). If this bull (whether or not the same as the Cretan one) is meant, VF is thinking of Theseus' exploits as well, not only those of Hercules. It is indeed, as Langen states, not necessary to think exclusively of Hercules' achievements. It would, however, be unwise to overlook the fact that in the case of Achelous it is explicitly stated that Hercules broke (*fracta*) his horn in their fight over Deianira (Ov. *Met.* 8.883f., 9.85f.). This seems more important than the geographical argument that made Liberman opt for the Cretan bull and the (equally Cretan, of course) Minotaur. Anyhow, it is also not very probable that *ambobus iuvencis* must be split into one Herculean victim and a Thesean one (as Ehlers prefers). It has been observed (Dureau de Lamalle, ap. Langen) that Achelous is not one of the *monstra* defeated by Hercules; but neither were the Marathonian bull and the Minotaur endangering the world like the monsters eliminated by Hercules. So all in all, the best interpretation is the one proposed by Strand and Adamietz, namely that VF had in mind the Cretan bull, tamed by Hercules, and Achelous, and that he wished to sketch an overall impression of Hercules' activities, with a view to parallelizing Jason with that great hero.

37

ira maris vastique placent discrimina ponti.

In one isolated line the outcome of Pelias' planning presents itself like a flash of insight. Through the opposition between the former possibilities (which can no longer be realized) and the chosen method, the poet implicitly refers to the fact that the dangers of the sea still exist; that this element has not yet been subdued and, in short, that this is something completely new (*prima* 1).

ira maris: Ov. *Met.* 1.330 (and 12.36) *maris ira*; ib. 14.471 *iram caelique marisque*. VF has furthermore *aequoris irae* (2.232) and *pelagi rabies* (6.355). *ira maris* is a kind of periphrasis for 'the raging sea', like *ira deum* (3.224), *ira Tonantis* (4.474) and *ira Iovis* (4.580 and 7.568).

discrimen with a genitive denoting the source or cause of the 'dangerous or critical situation' (OLD 5) first occurs, according to TLL (5.1.1362.23ff.), in Livy 6.17.1 *discrimine periculi*. However, these nouns being more or less synonymous, it seems better to label the genitive there 'explicative'. Clearer instances of the 'subjective' genitive are Vell. 2.2.2 *vel indicii vel poenae metuens discrimen* and Scrib. 70 *a summo discrimine mortis*; cf. *Arg.* 1.714 *discrimina leti*, Luc. 3.336 *discrimina Martis*, ib. 4.48 *armorum discrimina*.

vastus of course is a stock epithet of the sea (OLD 2), but here it is functional as well.

38–39

tum iuvenem tranquilla tuens nec fronte timendus
occupat et fictis dat vultum et pondera dictis.

From planning, Pelias proceeds to persuading, in a strongly alliterative line. *timens* (almost all mss.) was printed in the early editions; from the Aldine on *tuens* (D^c, according to Ehlers; also attributed by Carrio to his codex) took its rightful place.

tueri with a neuter plural form of adjective occurs from Lucretius on (5.33 *acerba tuens*); this was taken over by Virgil (*A.* 9.794), who also has *acerba sonans* (*G.* 3.149) and *acerba fremens* (*A.* 12.398). Cf. also *torva tuentem* (*A.* 6.467), imitated by VF in 2.555 *torva tuens*. Slightly different is *transversa tueri* (V. *Ecl.* 3.8, VF 2.154), in that it properly denotes the direction of the gaze and only indirectly the disposition of the one who looks. There are no other instances with *tranquilla* in Virgil, Lucan, Statius or Silius.

nec fronte timendus: 'not to be feared by reason of his facial expression'. Cf. Cic. *Pis.* 20 *neque tam fui timidus ut … frontis tuae nubeculam … pertimescerem*. Pelias does not want to show his *vultus instantis tyranni* (Hor. *Carm.* 3.3.3).

occupare aliquem, 'to be first in speaking (to someone)', not implying the notion of preventing the other from doing so. Langen refers to Hor. *S.* 1.9.6 *'numquid vis?' occupo* and *Ep.* 1.7.66 *occupat et salvere iubet prior*. Here, as in 2.137 and 8.413, a conversation is started, so that the expression includes the meaning 'to accost'.

fictis … dictis: there has been some doubt about the text, and Liberman even goes so far as to obelize both *fictis* and *vultum et*. It is not clear what he means by calling the expression *fictis dictis* 'amphigourique', but there is nothing wrong with it. It surely means 'to his dissimulating, hypocritical words', as in the parallels from Cicero which he himself quotes (*Off.* 2.43 *ficto non modo sermone sed etiam voltu*, *Dom.* 28 *fictis sermonibus et falsis criminibus*. The homoeoteleuton *fictis … dictis* with shift of ictus has led critics (see Thilo LV) to replace *fictis* by *falsis* or *dictis* by *verbis*. But this type of verse, from the Middle Ages on called 'versus Leoninus', occurs quite frequently in Latin poetry. Langen gives some parallels (*e.g.* Prop. 1.8.11 *nec tibi Tyrrhena solvatur funus harena*); cf. V. *A.* 9.634 *verbis virtutem illude superbis* with Hardie's note. VF has it further in 1.78 *stantem … vocantem*, 3.552 *instantem … minantem*, 5.303 *undantem … novantem*, as in V. *A.* 4.260 *fundantem … novantem* (where see Austin).

As for *vultum et pondera dare*, the first element is a clear echo from Ov. *Fast.* 5.503 *addidit et vultum verbis*, whereas *pondus* (OLD 6b 'claim to belief, authority, convincingness') is more than once coupled with 'words': Prop. 3.7.43f. *si … verbaque duxisset pondus habere mea*, Ov. *Her.* 3.98 *mea pro nullo pondere verba cadunt*, ib. 6.110 *cur tua pollicito pondere verba carent?* The words *vultum et pondera* do not constitute a hendiadys proper ('*pondera vultus*', Langen); Pelias' facial expression is one of the means he employs to lend credibility to his feigned words, other possible ways being his tone and general demeanour. By aspiring to *pondus* Pelias hopes to appear as a *vir gravis*. Hypocritical speech is in the *Argonautica* ascribed to other tyrants as well: Laomedon, not controlling his countenance as Pelias had done (2.555 *torva tuens atque acri lubricus astu)*, and Aeetes (5.533 *fingit placidis fera pectora dictis*).

In lines 40–57 Pelias tries to induce Jason to undertake the expedition. These lines constitute the first speech in the *Argonautica*.

We gather from Lipscomb (7f.) that in the work of VF the frequency of direct speech is a trifle smaller (34 %) than in the *Aeneid* (38 %), and the first book exhibits almost exactly the percentage of the work as a whole. The average length of the speeches is also about the same as in Virgil's epic: approximately 10 lines as against 11 in the *Aeneid*. So Pelias' address to Jason is relatively long (17 lines). If we try to define its character through the categories of Highet (1972: App. 2), it will be clear at once that this belongs to the category of a formal persuasion, which is in fact almost a command: 57 *hortatus … propior … iubenti*. In this respect, it resembles the first speech in the *Aeneid* (apart from

Juno's soliloquy) *A.* 1.65–75; cf. Aeolus' reaction 76f. *quid optes … iussa.* Its function consists on the one hand in starting the action proper (the beginning *in medias res* is no longer practised in the post-virgilian epics which have come down to us), and on the other hand (Barich 97) in implicitly characterizing the guileful tyrant: he is lying in 43f., telling his nephew a false dream (although this is not apparent at the time), and is silent about the real dangers awaiting Jason on his quest (58f.).

The structure of the speech is remarkable, in that it opens directly with *hanc … militiam*, which words are explained in the following. So 40–41a constitute an as-yet-unspecified request (with the recommendation *veterum … actis*); 41b–54 motivate this request in two ways:

a) 41b–50: an account of what has happened before (partly a lie, as stated above);
b) 51–54: the explanation of Jason being selected for the task:
   1) Pelias himself is too old (51–53a);
   2) his son Acastus is too young (53b–54).

55–57 contain the details of the request.

For formal stylistic aspects see the detailed commentary.

Later on Jason himself entices young Acastus into joining the expedition (156ff.), not of course being in a position to give out disguised orders as Pelias had done, but neither quite honest to his cousin regarding his own motives.

40–42

hanc mihi militiam, veterum quae pulchrior actis,
adnue daque animum. nostri de sanguine Phrixus
Cretheos ut patrias audis effugerit aras.

hanc … militiam: Prop. 1.6.30 *hanc me militiam fata subire volunt* (of course the *militia amoris*). Although Pelias is represented as first and foremost having in mind the dangers of the sea (37), he is obviously thinking of the ensuing military actions as well; there are no wars to be seen for him (*neque bella videt* 33), but undoubtedly they are waged elsewhere. Cf. 52 *regis caput … atque arma*; 54 *belli rebus*.

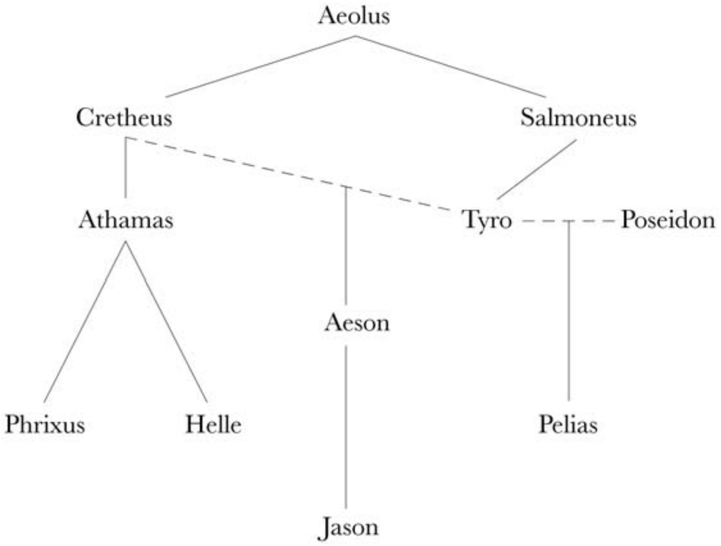
adnuere with object (OLD 4 'To grant, concede, promise') as in V. *A.* 1.250 *caeli quibus adnuis arcem*, 12.187 *sin nostrum adnuerit nobis Victoria Martem*, and in other authors as well. VF has it again in 2.94 and 577, and in the passive construction 5.258. *Adnue* without accusative at the beginning of the line occurs 2.489 and 5.199.

pulchrior: OLD 2b '(of achievements, institutions, etc.) splendid in respect of fame or distinction, glorious, illustrious, etc.'.

veterum … actis: cf. Sal. *Iug.* 85.12 *acta maiorum* and Luc. 1.121 *nova ne veteres obscurent acta triumphos.*

da … animum probably means something like 'grant (me your) willingness', and is not easily paralleled as such. More often *animum dare* stands for 'to lend courage', *e.g.* Ov. *Met.* 12.242 *vina dabant animos*, Cic. *Fam.* 1.9.16 *cum res p. maiorem etiam mihi animum quam umquam habuissem daret.* Sen. *Tro.* 3 *animumque rebus credulum laetis dedit* is also different, in that *animum* is hardly more than a peg for *credulum*. Langen compares Ov. *Met.* 2.384 *datque animum in luctus* (Bömer: 'singuläre Wendung'). In our passage however, *animus* seems to be more than the equivalent for the person.

nostri de sanguine Phrixus / Cretheos: Athamas, father of Phrixus, is, as Langen points out, in the traditional genealogy represented as the brother of Cretheus, both being sons of Aeolus. VF makes him Cretheus' son: in itself, *de sanguine* with a genitive can denote a family relationship other than direct descent (5.476; 7.136), but Jason declares (5.477) Cretheus and Aeolus to be common ancestors of both himself and Phrixus, whereas Helle, Phrixus' sister, is called *Cretheia virgo* (2.611). Calling Cretheus *noster*, Pelias is straining the truth: his mother Tyro was married to Cretheus, but bore Pelias to Poseidon (see note on 32). The use of *noster* is intended to create a feeling of family ties. Tyro was, in her turn, daughter of Salmoneus, another son of Aeolus, so that Pelias, if he wished, could style himself *Aeolides* (like Phrixus: 1.286) in the female line, but not appropriate Cretheus as a forefather.



For the wording cf. 7.136 *nostri de sanguine Phrixi.*

Cretheos is the usual genitive form of proper names on *-eus*: 68 *Perseos*, 131 *Peleos*, 114 *Eurystheos* (K/H 469 A.).

ut … aras: Carrio introduced *audisti* (*audis* mss.) with considerable but undeserved success. After Samuelsson's defence of the present tense (1906:83), the three successive Teubner editors and Liberman kept *audis*. Cf. K/S 1.117.5 for the present tense to denote past events with verbs of perception. Samuelsson referred to 8.187 *accipimus* (like V. *A.* 7.48); still closer parallels are Ov. *Tr.* 4.4.61 *illi quos audis hominum gaudere cruore* and *Fast.* 5.197f. *campi felicis, ubi audis / rem fortunatis ante fuisse viris*. We can also compare V. *A.* 6.791 *hic vir, hic est, tibi quem promitti saepius audis*.

Phrixus, son of Athamas and his first wife Nephele, was victimized by his stepmother Ino, who nearly caused him to be sacrificed by his father (*patrias … aras*). He was saved (*effugerit*) by a ram sent by Nephele. See 1.277ff.

43–50

hunc ferus Aeetes, Scythiam Phasinque rigentem
qui colit (heu magni Solis pudor!), hospita vina
[inter et attonitae mactat sollemnia mensae]
nil nostri divumque memor. non nuntia tantum
fama refert: ipsum iuvenem tam saeva gementem,
ipsum ego, cum serus fessos sopor alligat artus,

> aspicio, lacera adsiduis namque illius umbra
> questibus et magni numen maris excitat Helle.

ferus Aeetes: Castor, reporting on Jason's first appearance at the court of Aeetes, hopefully states (5.553) *nec ferus Aeetes, ut fama*, which will prove to be untrue. Yet the king of Colchis is not guilty of the crime here ascribed to him by Pelias, since Phrixus was welcomed in Aea and married the king's daughter Chalciope: 1.522ff.; 5.224f. In spite of these passages and the rather explicit *fictis … dictis* Spaltenstein does not believe that Pelias is lying here. Still, there was another version, in which Aeetes did kill Phrixus: see Langen ad l. and Zissos 1999. In this way, VF alludes to this different tradition, while stressing the deceitfulness of Pelias, who will later (1.716) call Jason himself *ferus*, suspecting him of wicked designs with regard to Acastus.

Scythiam Phasinque rigentem: Jason takes over this combination in his prayer (1.87) *da Scythiam Phasinque mihi*. In both these places, the mss. have *Phasim*, whereas the form *Phasin* is read in 2.379 (where it is necessitated by the metre) and 7.220. Courtney, followed by Ehlers and Liberman, introduced uniformity.

Of course, Aeetes did not inhabit 'Scythia with its river Phasis', but Colchis. This inaccuracy (to say the least) is not an error of Pelias: the names of Colchis and Scythia are often interchanged, even by characters who should know better, such as Aeetes (5.525) and the poet himself (1.503; 5.224), in spite of the fact that he later makes Scythians and Colchians engage in bitter warfare.

rigentem: *rigere* is regularly used to denote a cold country or region (Cic. *Tusc.* 1.69); in combination with Scythia it occurs in Luc. 6.478f. *solibus et nullis Scythicae, cum bruma rigeret / dimaduere nives*; Plin. *Nat.* 2.135 *Scythiam et circa rigentia*. VF has it again 1.515f. *nube rigens …/… zona* (to the north of Colchis), and applies it to waters as well: *unda … riget* (4.725f.) and *imus equis qua vel medio riget aequore pontus* (6.328, Gesander, king of the Scythian Iazyges, speaking), both of the Black Sea; cf. *rigidos … amnes* (4.345: the Bosphorus). In the second of these instances he is clearly thinking of the frozen surface of the sea; elsewhere the meaning of the verb does not stretch beyond the notion of 'cold'.

For *heu* with a nominative of exclamation (also 6.374 with *pudor*, and 1.172 *quis pudor heu*) cf. V. *A.* 6.878f. *heu pietas, heu prisca fides invictaque bello / dextera* and Luc. 2.708 *heu pudor*; K/S 1.274 A.6. The genitive with *pudor* in the sense of 'disgrace, dishonour for someone' is not common, but cf. Luc. 8.597 *pro superum pudor!*, ib. 605 *superum … pudore*.

hospita vina: the adjective form *hospita* is quite common with neuter plurals (2.649f. *hospita .../ tecta*, 661f. *arma .../ hospita*, 4.58 *hospita moenia*; V. *A.* 3.377f. *hospita .../ aequora*), but the combination with *vina* seems to be unparalleled (TLL 6.3.3030.44).

Line 45 was first expunged by Thilo, who was followed in this by Kramer and Courtney. His arguments were twofold, apart from his low esteem of L in which the line occurs (not in V or S): he objected to the present form *mactat* and he thought *sollemnia mensae* was not good Latin. We may discard the first of these points: such a use of the present does occur elsewhere and in fact Thilo himself adduced parallels for it. His remark on *sollemnia mensae* carries more weight: *sollemnia* always seems to denote a ceremony or a rite (also in the only passage where VF uses it: 2.599) and it may be doubted whether a meal, even in a king's palace, can be called a ritual or a ceremony. The principal reason for denying the authenticity of the line (see *Mnem.* 1986:326ff.) is the position of *inter*. VF never places this preposition after a noun with a modifier (as would be the case here), whereas he has 28 instances of it being placed before noun and modifier or between them. Still more remarkable are the numbers for the epic works of Virgil and Ovid: the construction of *inter* after noun and attribute with another noun following (as would be the case here) does not occur in 150 instances each. What may have happened is this: there was a line missing between 44 and 46 (Liberman writes [LXVIII] '1,45 sans lequel le passage est moins bon mais acceptable', but in fact it would yield no sense at all). Then someone who was well acquainted with the diction of VF inserted the verse, knowing that the poet is fond of *attonitus* (17 occurrences) and changing his *silentia mensae* (3.608 and 4.67), which would not scan here, into *sollemnia mensae*, but unaware of the restrictions on the position of *inter* in epic poetry.

nil ... memor: *nihil* (*nil*) is unusual as a negation with adjectives (K/S 1.818.2); this is the only instance in VF. *memor* 'taking into consideration, thinking about' (Liberman: 'sans avoir aucun égard'), rather than 'remembering', as often, also in prose (*e.g.* Liv. 5.38.1 *non deorum saltem si non hominum memores*).

nuntia ... fama: cf. V. *A.* 9.474 *nuntia fama ruit.* The object is easily understood, *haec* or something like that (V. *A.* 2.547 *referes ergo haec et nuntius ibis*). Neither Jason nor the reader is supposed to ask how such rumours from far-off Colchis could have reached Greece. The expression *fama refert* is Ovidian: *Fast.* 2.203, *Tr.* 5.12.12, *Pont.* 3.2.51, 3.4.41, 4.3.28.

saeva gementem: *saeva* is, *pace* Schulte's Index (145) and Spaltenstein, not used here adverbially; neither does it mean 'piteously' (Mozley), nor should the phrase be translated with 'de si terribles gémissements' (Liberman). *saeva* is the object of *gementem*, already a transitive verb in classical prose (K/S 1.262). Phrixus is said to lament the cruel treatment Aeetes made him suffer. Likewise in 1.372f. and 530 VF has *gemere* with an accusative.

ipsum ego: cf. 83 *ipse ego* and 202 (7.206) *illum ego*. The combination *ipse / -sa ego* occurs in Virgil (*Ecl.* 2.51, *G.* 4.401, *A.* 5.650 and 846, 8.57) and occasionally in Lucan (once), Statius (five instances) and Silius (once), but never in the form *ipsum* (or *ipsam*) *ego*.

cum serus … artus: this may simply indicate that the king, for whatever reason, fell asleep only late in the night. But, as Burman remarked, it may also refer to the belief that dreams occurring late at night were true. Cf. Hor. *S.* 1.10.33 *post mediam noctem visus, cum somnia vera* (Porphyrio: *ferunt autem post mediam noctem somnia veriora esse, quia tunc iam mens et a potu et a cibo purior est*). Ov. *Her.* 19.195f. *namque sub aurora, iam dormitante lucerna, / somnia quo cerni tempore vera solent*; Tert. *De An.* 48 *certiora et colatiora somniari affirmant sub extimis noctibus, quasi iam emergente animarum vigore prodacto sopore*. Also Moschus 2.1–5, Artemid. 1.7 (who denies the difference), Philostr. *Vita Apoll.* 2.37. Cf. further on 'dreams' Grillone 1966/67 and Gärtner 1996.

The phrase *fessos sopor alligat artus* is clearly modelled on V. *A.* 3.511 *fessos sopor irrigat artus*. There, however, sleep is represented as relaxing and refreshing (see Williams ad l.), whereas *alligat* implies strain and unpleasant situations, as in Germ. *Arat.* 294 *nautis tremor alligat artus*, Sen. *Her.F.* 1079 (the nearest parallel) *sopor indomitos alliget artus* (of Heracles in his madness), *Oed.* 181f. *piger ignavos / alligat artus languor*, *Her.O.* 1413 *sopore fessas alligat venas dolor*, Luc. 4.289f. *frigidus artus / alligat … torpor*. Cf. Stat. *Theb.* 10.280ff. *ut quemque ligatum / infelix … sopor … / … obruerat*, and see Nordera 35ff. VF has the combination of *alligare* and *sopor* again in 6.443, but the text is uncertain there. *sopor* occurs nine times in the *Argonautica* as against 17 instances of *somnus* (not counting the name of the god, 8.70).

aspicio: the tense, in combination with *cum … alligat*, suggests a repeated appearance of the alleged dream.

lacera adsiduis namque illius umbra: this is the reading of all extant mss., and was consequently printed in the early editions, until Carrio found in his 'vetus codex' *meque assiduis lacera illius umbra*. This was followed (only Zinzerling objecting to it) by all subsequent editors up to and

including Schenkl. Then Loehbach (1876) proposed *lacera assiduis meque illius umbra*, and this is what Langen and Mozley printed. Only Langen accounted for his choice: he stated that the phrase does not give an explanation of the preceding one, but adds new information, viz. that Pelias is awakened from his sleep. On the same grounds Liberman now prefers and prints Renkema's *iamque*. Kramer, however, had already rightly remarked (LXX) that the shade of Phrixus and the apparition of Helle do not wake up Pelias, but stimulate him to action; he quoted V. *A.* 12.440 for this meaning of *excitare* (= OLD 5), and returned to the mss. reading, followed by Courtney, Ehlers, Spaltenstein and Dräger. Since this is a perfectly normal use of the verb, and also very appropriate here, we should not reject the unanimous mss. reading. The thought is: 'I see him, for his shade rouses me (= comes rousing me) to activity, as does Helle'. The word order is very complicated: the first half of the sentence contains the first subject (*lacera umbra*) and an ablative *adsiduis questibus* with a strong double hyperbaton (ab … AB),; this ablative modifies the common predicate *excitat*, which is placed within the second subject (*magni … Helle*).

lacera: the idea that ghosts retain the mutilations which their bodies have undergone is common (cf. V. *A.* 6.495 *Deiphobum vidit, lacerum crudeliter ora*), but the express wording *lacera umbra* 'the mangled ghost' is not attested before VF: [Quint.] *Decl.* 12.28 *laceros video manes et truncas partibus suis umbras*, Stat. *Silv.* 1.4.87f. *primusque insigne tributum / ipse palam lacera poscebat Regulus umbra* (if this reading is correct), Sil. 12.547 *ante oculos astant lacerae trepidantibus umbrae.*

adsiduis … questibus: also 2.364 *adsiduo … questu*. Cf. Cic. *Arat. Progn.* 4.6 Soubiran *assiduas … querelas*.

magni … Helle: Phrixus' sister did not survive the voyage (286–293; 2.601–607), but was promoted to be a sea goddess. In V. *A.* 10.221 *numen maris* is what the ships transformed by Cybele have got, not what they are: (*numen) habere (maris)*. Cf. *G.* 1.30 and *A.* 5.768. Comparable are *numina ponti* (Ov. *Met.* 5.369, *Tr.* 1.4.25; *n. ponto*, V. *A.* 12.182) and *numen pelagi* (Ov. *Fast.* 6.543).

magni maris: not the Hellespont, but the sea in general (Langen); as early as Livius Andronicus and Ennius. In geographical contexts it may denote the Mediterranean (Plin. *Nat.* 9.47) or the Atlantic (Cic. *Rep.* 6.21).

51–52

si mihi quae quondam vires, *vel pendere poenas
Colchida iam et regis caput hic atque arma videres.

Until Madvig, no-one found fault with the mss. reading. Yet there is a real problem in *vel*, which could only mean 'even', whereas, as Langen puts it, there is nothing here 'quod gradationem admittat'. Hence different corrections were proposed: *tu pendere* (Madvig 1873), *ut pendere* (Bährens), *expendere* (Langen; this had been anticipated by Schrader, as Clausen 1955 shows), *tum pendere* (Courtney), *et pendere* (Ehlers), *vae pendere* (Delz, 1976:97). Two of these are supported by Virgilian parallels: *expendere poenas* occurs in *A.* 10.669 (cf. ib. 11.258), *tum pendere* in *A.* 6.20. There is a similar problem in 7.421 *voluit* ⟨…⟩ *pendere poenas*. It seems best to follow (with Liberman) Courtney and read *tum pendere*. For *tum* corresponding with *si* cf. K/S 2.387 A.1.

si … vires: cf. V. *A.* 5.397f. *si mihi quae quondam fuerat …/ … si nunc foret illa iuventas*; cf. also *A.* 8.560ff. and 11.173ff. Ellipsis of the imperfect subjunctive of *esse* denoting 'unreality' is unusual (Sz. 421 d, K/S 1.12, A. 1). There is one more instance in the *Argonautica*: 1.336, in a comparable context, and two in Statius: *Ach.* 1.142f. (with participle), 780. (Maurach (1983) 64, §86b).

pendere poenas … caput hic atque arma: VF shows a strong tendency to vary the constructions with *videre*. Here he combines an acc. and infin. with an object in the accusative, as in 7.85f. (in reversed order) *nusquam ostia, nusquam / Ausoniam videt et saevas accedere Syrtes*. Elsewhere he uses different tenses in the subordinate clause (1.85f. *reposci … raptam*), an acc. and infin. coupled with a predicative participle (1.123ff., 3.512ff.), an object in the accusative with an indirect question (1.700f.), or a temporal clause with a predicative participle (3.538ff.). See ANRW 2459f.

53–54

olim annis ille ardor hebet, necdum mea proles
imperio et belli rebus matura marique.

Though *olim* has been taken with *ardor* (Schottus; Pius) or with *annis* (Zinzerling; Bulaeus), it certainly belongs to *hebet* ('long since'). For the causal ablative *annis* Langen gives some parallels with other nouns; K/S (1.395b) quotes Pacuv. 340 R. (= 376 W.) as *aetate hoc corpus putret*, but the exact words are *quamquam annisque et aetate hoc corpus putret*.

ardor hebet, 'my enthusiasm is (has become) sluggish', repeated 7.156 (Medea's love dwindling before her *pudor*), is one step further than

Virgil's rather physical *gelidus tardante senecta / sanguis hebet* (*A.* 5.395f., the same passage as mentioned on *si … vires*). VF has the verb with other nouns 4.41 (*corpus*; see Korn's note) and 5.370 (*Arcas*; cf. Wijsman ad l.).

The combination *ardor hebet* may have been influenced by V. *A.* 4.581 *ardor habet.*

ille 'that former' refers to *quondam* 51.

mea proles: Acastus, his only son. His daughters will later kill him unwittingly through Medea's trickery (Ov. *Met.* 7.297ff.).

maturus imperio first occurs in Livy (1.3.1). This quality may have indeed been lacking in young Acastus. As regards *belli rebus*, he was obviously old enough to do a good job in battle (6.720). *marique (maturus)*, however, casually introduced in an effort to keep emphasis on military achievements, is insincere, because Pelias assumes that no-one is equal to the task of seafaring: 1.719f. Jason in his turn, persuading Acastus to take part in the quest, appeals to his sense of honour (*pudor*): 1.172f.

55–57

> tu, cui iam curaeque vigent animique viriles,
> i, decus, et pecoris Nephelaei vellera Graio
> redde tholo ac tantis temet dignare periclis'.

tu, cui iam: lines beginning with three monosyllables are not so uncommon as might be expected; in the first book alone the phenomenon occurs twice more: 332 and 503.

curaeque … animique viriles: a clear echo of V. *A.* 9.311 *ante annos animumque gerens curamque virilem*. Because Iulus there is temporarily taking over his absent father's responsibility, *curae* is better justified than here, since as yet no specific 'care' or 'task' has been entrusted to Jason. For *animi* with respect to one person, Langen gives several parallels. The plural generally seems to have a stronger element of courage, the singular denoting rather 'attitude'. In this case several notions are blended: '(disposition of) mind, courage, eagerness, enthusiasm'.

Replacing *gerens* with *vigent*, VF strengthens the expression, at the same time adding a syllabic alliteration *vi- vi-* to *ma- ma-* in the preceding line. *vigere* (OLD 3 '(of conditions, practices, etc.) To thrive, flourish') is in the *Aeneid* only used for people (2.88) or personified entities (4.175).

i decus: of course, this reminds one of V. *A.* 6.546 *i, decus, i, nostrum*, with the difference that in our passage *decus* is not modified by a gen-

itive or a pronoun. This made critics feel uneasy, and they proposed several 'corrections' (*i, precor*, Renkema; *in decus*, Heinsius) or constructions other than taking *decus* as a vocative: *decus* as an accusative of the goal towards (Pius: *vade ad hoc decus*) or *decus et vellera* as a hendiadys (Burman). Courtney 1965 suggested that VF did not realize that Virgil's possessive pronoun completed the construction. All this does not seem necessary: as Koster 1973 remarks, VF may well be going one better than the master, and with a purpose too: because Jason is not Pelias' 'pride and glory', the king cannot bring himself to add 'my' or 'our'. Liberman adds several instances of *o decus* without a qualifying adjective / pronoun or genitive.

vellera: VF has plural forms of this noun 40 times, singular only 15 times. The adjective *Nephelaeus* is attested only here in Latin literature; Ovid has *Nepheleis* (*Met.* 11.195) and Lucan *Nepheleias* (9.956; also Auson. *Mos.* 287). Nephele was the mother of Phrixus and Helle; see note on 41.

pecus n., in contradistinction to *pecus, -udis*, is not often used in the singular to denote a single animal. OLD 2b quotes three instances, the first of which (Acc. *praet.* 20) is obviously false, since the sentence runs on *duos consanguineos arietes inde eligi.* Ov. *Her.* 18.145ff. comes nearer: (Leander) *invideo Phrixo, quem per freta tristia tutum / aurea lanigero vellere vexit ovis, / nec tamen officium pecoris navisque requiro.* Propertius has (2.16.8) *stolidum pleno vellere carpe pecus* (*i.e.* the 'dives amator'), 2.33.10 (Io) *pecoris duro perdere verba sono.*

tholo: Langen adequately compares V. *A.* 9.407f. *si quae ipse meis venatibus auxi / suspendive tholo*: the Fleece is to be hung in a temple. The same context (votive offerings) also occurs in Stat. *Theb.* 2.733f. *figamque superbis / arma tholis*, ib. 4. 332f. *sacrisque / exuviae cecidere tholis*, *Silv.* 1.4.32f. *dives praedae tamen accipit omni / exuvias Diana tholo.* The Fleece may be hanging in a temple now, but it belongs in Greece (*Graio*; *redde*).

For *dignari periclis* cf. 8.430 *nullis ego* (Medea) *digna periclis?* There, however, the meaning is different in that Medea thinks she (*i.e.* her deliverance) is worth the dangers other people are incurring, whereas Jason here is said to be worth (equal to) the dangers which await him (but are concealed from him by Pelias: *conticuit* 59). Otherwise neither verb nor adjective seem to be combined with *periculis (-o)*.

se dignari is unusual, but Virgilian: *A.* 1.335 *haud equidem tali me dignor honore.*

temet: only here in VF, who has *egomet* five times (1.88, 3.670, 4.213, 5.200 and 476). *semet* has been conjecturally restored in 7.127 and pro-

posed in 7.319 (see Perutelli). The suffix -*met* is not attached to other pronominal forms in the *Argonautica*. Virgil has three instances of *egomet* and one of *vosmet;* Lucan uses *vosmet* once, but Statius and Silius took a fancy to the suffix: 22 and 16 instances respectively.

Pelias ends his speech with emphatic alliteration (*tholo … tantis temet*).

58–63

talibus hortatus iuvenem propiorque iubenti
conticuit, certus Scythico concurrere ponto
Cyaneas, tantoque silet possessa dracone
vellera, multifidas regis quem filia linguas
vibrantem ex adytis cantu dapibusque vocabat
et dabat externo liventia mella veneno.

hortatur is the reading of most mss. (including V); *hortatus* is by Thilo ascribed to M, by Courtney to 'Itali', and by Ehlers and Liberman to L before a correction in the scribe's own hand. It was furthermore suggested by Burman and printed by Courtney. Howard 1956 advocated this reading, assuming *propiorque* to be equivalent to *propiorve* 'in such words or rather like one issuing a command'. Ehlers 1971 agreed with this, yet printed (1980) *hortatur*, as do Liberman and Dräger. The participle however provides the correct construction. *propiorque iubenti* can hardly be considered an appropriate qualification of *conticuit*, which is rather modified by the following *certus* (see below). The coordination (*-que*) is between *talibus* and *propior … iubenti*, though it does not seem necessary to take *-que* as meaning 'or': 'after encouraging the young man with such words and more like one commanding, he fell silent'. Parallels also show *propiorque* to continue a preceding qualification, not to link two predicates: Liv. 27.17.10 (*locutus*) *cum verecundia ac gravitate, propiorque excusanti*; Stat. *Ach.* 2.95 *ambiguus paulum propiorque coacto*. For *propior* cf. OLD 6 'Closer (in aspect or appearance), having more resemblance'.

conticuit certus: very probably *certus* (some mss. in the S tradition, others reading *certis*) is correct (see *Mnem.* 1986:329). With Loehbach's suggestion *cautis* (*cautes*), defended by Strand and printed by Courtney, the acc. and infin. would have to depend either on *conticuit* or on *silet*, but neither verb presents that construction, whereas *certus* does (Cic. *Att.* 2.19.5, Prop. 1.6.36). By writing *conticuit, certus* ('he fell silent, although he knew with certainty …') VF makes it clear that Pelias is purposely withholding important information. We should not ask whence Pelias got that information. In the sequel, the same impression

is conveyed by means of the construction *silet possessa … vellera*. VF has *Cyaneae* as a noun again in 4.562 and 681, 5.85 and 167, and 8.181.

Scythico … ponto: this appellation of the Black Sea was apparently first used by Ovid; Langen quotes *Tr.* 3.4.46, 4.1.45 and *Scythicum fretum* 5.2.62, 5.10.14. VF has it furthermore 1.331, 2.379 (where see Poortvliet for more parallels) and 2.574; *Scythicum mare* 1.345.

concurrere already denotes the clashing of the Symplegades in Ov. *Am.* 2.11.3f. (*pinus*) *quae concurrentis inter temeraria cautes / conspicuam fulvo vellere vexit ovem*, and *Met.* 7.62f. *mediis concurrere in undis / dicuntur montes*. After VF it occurs in the same context in Stat. *Theb.* 11.438 *Pontus Cyaneas vetuit concurrere montes*; Juv. 15.19f. *concurrentia saxa / Cyaneis*; Mela 2.99 *duae parvae parvoque distantes spatio et aliquando creditae dictaeque concurrere et Cyaneae vocantur et Symplegades*. Cf. 3.621 *scopulis errantibus*.

For *Cyaneae* see note on 3 above. VF has *concurrere* with the same reference to the 'Clashing Rocks' combined with *Cyaneae … cautes* in 1.630, 4.562 and 8.196.

possessa: a dominant participle 'he is silent about the Fleece being guarded'. Langen detects a hyperbole in the choice of the word instead of *servata*, but *possidere* can mean not only 'to hold in property', but also 'to have control of' (OLD 3).

dracone: VF has this word to denote the guardian of the Fleece eight times, as against *anguis* five times. *tanto*: its enormous size being 'implied in the context', OLD 1. *vellera* is another instance of a word being repeated shortly after having been used (56; see n. on the pl. of the noun being preferreed to the sg.).

multifidas … linguas: the dragon had only one head (8.89, 92), and presumably only one tongue (8.63), but this being cleft like a snake's, one would sooner expect *bifidus* to denote this phenomenon. There is no other instance of *multifidus* used in connection with a snake's tongue. However, in Latin literature a snake's (or dragon's) tongue is sometimes referred to as three-forked: V. *G.* 3.439, *A.* 2.475, Ov. *Met.* 3.34 (where see Bömer), Plin. *Nat.* 11.171 (*lingua) … tenuissima serpentibus et trisulca … lacertis bifida et pilosa*. This has been explained (by Mynors on V. *G.* 3.439) as arising from misunderstanding the element τρι- in τριχῶδες (Arist. *Part. An.* 2.17, 660b8). Evidently, the step from 'three' to 'many' is somewhat easier than from 'two'. Moreover, VF's choice of the word may have been influenced by its occurrence both in Ovid's Medea-story (*Met.* 7. 259 *multifidasque faces*) and in Seneca's *Medea* (111 *multifidam … pinum*). He uses it furthermore in a more normal way to denote the

sun's rays (4.93, where see Korn's note on adjectives ending in *-fidus*), and lightning (4.661).

vibrantem: the first instance of this verb to describe the motion of a snake's tongue is Lucr. 3.657 *lingua vibrante*, but there, as in V. *A.* 2.211 *linguis vibrantibus*, it is used intransitively. As to 'dart out' with *linguam* as the object (OLD 4b), it first appears in Ov. *Met.* 15.684 *et repetita dedit vibrata sibila lingua*; then Luc. 9.631 (*angues*) *stridula fuderunt vibratis sibila linguis*. In *Arg.* 8.61 the dragon *suis haec vibrat fulgura cristis*.

ex adytis: there are no further suggestions of the dragon residing in a sanctuary. On the contrary, he is in the *Argonautica* consistently represented in or near the tree where the Fleece hung: 7.166ff., 519, 527; 8.56ff., 78, 82, 102, 113. We have either to assume that VF uses the word *adyta* here in the unparalleled sense of 'the innermost of a sacred grove' or that this is an inadvertence on his part. The wording of this passage makes it probable that it was in the poet's mind when he wrote 8 62f. *meque pavens contra solam videt ac* ***vocat*** *ultro, / ceu solet, et blanda poscit me* ***pabula lingua***, and ib. 96f. *nec talis hianti /* ***mella dabam*** *ac nostris nutribam fida* ***venenis***. There, in any case, the dragon is located in the wood. Like Virgil (see Austin on *A.* 2.404), VF only has the form *adytis* (2.437, 5.404, 8.241).

cantu: 'incantation' (OLD 3), as in 6.448, 7.184, 488, 492, 574, 8.85, 354.

dapibus: called *pabula* (the appropriate word for an animal) 8. 63, and *epulas* 8.96. Cf. V. *A.* 4.484f. *epulasque draconi / quae dabat.*

et (*cui*) *dabat*: an omitted second relative pronoun in the genitive, dative, or ablative to be supplied from a nominative or accusative is much less frequent than the other way round (K/S 2. 323f.). For the link between Medea and the dragon cf. also 7.550 *tuum … draconem.*

externo: to the conjectures listed in *Mnem.* 1986:329ff. add Cazzaniga's *ex trito* and J.W. Wilkinson's *ex Toryno … liquentia melle venena*, put forward in an unpublished London thesis. The explanation of *externo* depends on the interpretation of *venenis*, which very probably means 'charm, spell, magic substance or potion'. This is the case in most other instances in the *Argonautica*, exceptions being 1.108f. and 6.85, where it means 'poison' (as it does secondarily in 5.450). This meaning is here excluded, firstly because dragons produce fire (this one as well: see 8.56ff., 87), not poison, which is the weapon of snakes, but chiefly because Medea is faithfully feeding the dragon (8.97, quoted above), certainly not with the intention (or the result) of poisoning him. Obviously the honey which Medea gives the dragon contains some magic stuff. This is not

contradicted by *liventia*, since *livere* and *lividus* in those cases where poison is administered, or at least illness described, apply to parts of the body (TLL 7.2.1543.64ff., 1545. 56ff.); the words do not suggest any unhealthiness when they describe natural products (*racemi*; *pruna*). In this case, the honey may be discoloured by the addition of the drug, but that does not mean that it was poisoned. When Medea says (8.97) *nostris … (venenis)*, she may simply mean 'administered by me', but equally well 'growing here, in our country'. This, then, is the most probable meaning of *externo*: magic and the ingredients it requires were at home in Thessaly too, but the point VF is making here is that Medea has foreign, exotic, non-Greek charms at her disposal, against which any possible knowledge of a born Thessalian would be of no avail. Liberman, though admitting that ancient testimony denied that dragons were venomous, thinks this one may have been an exception, and moreover assumes that Medea administered additional poison to the dragon ('not his own', *externo*) in its food, 'to make it more aggressive'. For these assumptions however there is no sound basis. As Barich (72f.) notes, in the reference to Medea there is a suggestion that she will in the end prove a formidable danger to Jason, beneath the more immediate threat of the dragon she is feeding. We may translate the phrase: 'and gave him honey grey-blue through foreign magic stuff'.

64–90 (The acceptance)

Now the task has been imposed, Jason has to make up his mind about how to respond. Here for the first time he takes his place in the centre of the story. Having made his decision, he calls upon Juno and Pallas.

As we have seen, in the previous section Pelias was the central figure. Focus now shifts to Jason and his reactions. Soon after the conversation, truth dawns upon him about the treacherous intent of his uncle. He is at a loss how to reach Colchis, navigation being represented as still not practised. After vainly wishing for some mythological means of transport, the hero even considers rousing the people against king Pelias, but in the end is inspired by the image of Glory to accept the challenge. He then invokes Juno and Pallas for help.

The elaborate description of Jason's inner deliberations, totally absent from the work of AR, is in tune with Virgil's adoption of this

feature into epic. Interest in psychology and motivation is strongly present in the *Argonautica*; see Wacht, *Rat.*[1] 101ff. and for this passage esp. 109ff.

64–70

> mox taciti patuere doli, nec vellera curae
> esse viro, sed sese odiis immania cogi
> in freta; qua iussos sed tandem quaerere Colchos
> arte queat? nunc aerii plantaria vellet
> Perseos aut currus et quos frenasse dracones
> creditur ignaras Cereris qui vomere terras
> imbuit et flava quercum damnavit arista.

Cf. for this and the following paragraph U. Auhagen (*Ratis* [2]) 59f.

mox: apparently Jason was deceived at first (Shelton [4] seems to overlook the adverb when he writes: 'Jason is not at all deceived by Pelias' trickery'), though his answer to the king's words is not recorded. *mox* does not denote an immediate reaction; the poet suggests that Jason realized his uncle's wicked designs not during but 'shortly after' the conversation. The wording suggests Virgil's *nec latuere doli* (*A.* 1.130) and Lucan's variations *ut primum patuere doli* (4.746) and *virginei patuere doli* (5.141). There is probably also influence (conscious or not) from the fourth book of the *Aeneid*: 283 *heu quid agat?*, 289 *taciti*, 296 *dolos*. For *taciti* cf. OLD 8 ('Hidden, concealed, secret'); the nearest parallel seems to be *tacita … fraude* (Man. 5.412). The construction shifts from a subject in the nominative (*taciti … doli*) to an accus. with infin. (*nec vellera curae / esse viro*) as subject. It is much more usual to have such a variation in the objects (see on 52). The second subject, however, is not a new item here, but an elaboration of the first. For the plural *vellera* see note on 56, for the predicative dative *curae* note on 28 *exitio*, for *patere* with an acc. and inf. OLD 6c (TLL 10.1.663.16ff.).

viro: not much more than a pronoun (OLD 6).

sese refers to Jason, since *patuere doli* (with a dative implied) means 'he realized …'. It stands in opposition to *viro* on the one hand, to *vellera* on the other: it was Jason himself (or rather his death) which was the object of Pelias' wish, not the Fleece.

immania: suggests both enormous size and awe-inspiring aspect, as it usually (if not always) does. The seas were as yet unknown territory.

odiis: for the plural, referring to the feelings of only one person, cf. V. *A.* 12.938 *ulterius ne tende odiis* (OLD 2).

cogi in combines the notions of 'to compel, force to' (*thalamos … in*

illos 7.239; TLL 3.1529.14ff.) and 'to drive, compel, into (fundamentally some confined space)': TLL ib. 1519.41ff., 1521.24ff. Cf. 2.505 with Poortvliet's note.

sed tandem: the choice is between this conjecture and *sectatur*, the mss. having *sectantem*. The former reading (printed in Courtney's edition) was proposed by Summers (70), ascribed to Ljung (whose work I have not been able to find and view) by Courtney, to Caussin by Kramer, and to Fontius / Caussin by Liberman. *sectatur*, preferred by Ehlers, was Haupt's idea (1869). *sed tandem* is probably right (cf. *Mnem.* 1986:331f.): Jason at this stage is not yet 'searching for' (*sectatur*) a way to reach Colchis. He asks himself rhetorically how on earth (*qua* … *tandem* … *arte*) he could get there; there is no way. So what to do (*quid agat?* 71)? Start a revolution or trust to divine aid after all in making a way by 'taming' the sea? It is not till then that he decides to enter upon the voyage, and the means are at his request (*eripe me* 88) provided by Pallas. The deliberations of Jason are very similar to Pelias' groping for a way to eliminate his nephew: after reviewing traditional methods, provided by myth, and finding them not available, both hit upon a new solution. Liberman, who suggests *distantes* for **sectantem* but does not print it, rejects *sed tandem* because *tandem* should either denote an 'aboutissement' (which it clearly does not here) or an 'impatience', but it rather expresses a kind of despair. For its combination with *sed* and a form of the interrogative pronoun cf. V. *A.* 1.369 *sed vos qui tandem?* The repetition of the same word (*sed*) in successive lines is not problematic in VF (see on *tempora* 32 / 34), neither is the position of *sed* as the third word of the sentence, or the broad hyperbaton of *qua* … *arte*: cf. 3.206 *qua patiens non arte?* and 2.53 *quanta quotiens et Pallados arte*. Watt's suggestion (Delz-Watt 1998) *trans mare* is rather far from the mss. and not very attractive immediately after *in freta*.

qua … *arte*: 'by which skill'. There was not yet an 'ars navigandi', so Jason presently thinks of earlier mythological means of transport, which are not available to him.

iussos: sc. *quaeri*. Pelias 'iussit Iasonem Colchos quaerere', and so 'Colchi (a Pelia) iussi sunt quaeri (ab Iasone)'; K/S 1.717. Comparable instances are *aequore iusso* (V. *A.* 10.444) and, closer still, Ov. *Met.* 11. 591 *tecta petit iussi* … *regis*, ib. 8.816 *ad iussam* … *domum*.

queat: the same deliberative subjunctive as in *heu quid agat*? 71. The verb occurs in the *Argonautica* seven times (four of which in the first book: see 76, 84, 831; and in six instances in the form *queat*), as against twice in the *Aeneid*.

plantaria: a very rare word. OLD mentions as the only instances Stat. *Theb.* 1.304 *plantaribus … alis* (adjective; 'the wings on the soles of his feet') and our passage ('sandals'). Usually this footwear is called *talaria.* Possibly the inspiration for coining this new noun came to VF from V. *A.* 4.259 *alatis … plantis.* Perseus is credited with this equipment in Ov. *Met.* 4. 667. *plantaria* in (for instance) V. *G.* 2.27 is derived from the other word *planta* 'shoot, slip, cutting'.

aerii: 'traveling through the air', combined with a proper name as in V. *A.* 9.803 (Iris). *velle* 'to desire to have' (OLD 2).

For the genitive form *Perseos* see note on 42 *Cretheos*.

The situation and the mythological examples are Ovidian: *Am.* 3.6.13ff., where the wings of Perseus (*Danaeius heros*) are combined with the wagon that bore Ceres' seeds, in a wish to surmount an obstacle. Immediately after, Ovid emphatically denies that this wish can be realized. He repeats this procedure in *Tr.* 3.8.1ff., this time adding Medea's dragons to the wagon of Triptolemus and the wings of Perseus (and of Daedalus too), equally declaring this wish *puerile.* VF lets the reader draw his own conclusions about the possible fulfilment of the wish.

The rest of the sentence is very intricate. Accepting, as most editors have done, Haupt's *currus et quos* instead of the transmitted *curru saevos*, we can rephrase it in prose 'vellet currus et dracones, quos frenasse creditur (is,) qui terras ignaras Cereris imbuit vomere et quercum damnavit flava arista'. *currus* (poetic plural; cf. 2.411 and Austin on V. *A.* 1.486) *et dracones* 'the chariot drawn by dragons'. Of course, *frenasse* in its proper sense belongs in the first place to *dracones*: Ov. *Met.* 7.220 *frenataque colla draconum* (Medea's), *Tr.* 3.8.3 *nunc ego Medeae vellem frenare dracones*, *Fast.* 2.41 *frenatis per inane draconibus (Aegeus)*, ib. 4.497 *frenatos curribus angues* (Ceres, as in our passage; see Bömer ad l.). However, since Virgil has (*A.* 12.287) *infrenant alii currus*, both nouns may be the objects of the infinitive here. The reference to the dragons of Ceres calls to mind the two dragons Jason will be confronted with: the one Medea is taking care of now (*dracone* 59), and the other she will use later to flee from Corinth after killing her children (Shelton 6).

creditur: the mss. reading *creditus*, implying an ellipsis of ⟨*est*⟩, would not in itself present a problem. Liberman however adduces good arguments for Burman's *creditur* by pointing out that this form with a perfect infinitive is a regular construction, especially in Ovid. The one who 'is believed to have bridled the dragons and their chariot' is Triptolemus, who was sent by Demeter/Ceres to spread the knowledge of corngrowing. It is certainly possible that the poet wished in this way to point to

the traditional link between the discovery of both agriculture and navigation. The story is told by Ovid (*Met.* 5.642ff.), and referred to by him (*Fast.* 4.559f.); cf. also Apollod. 1.5.2, Hyg. 147, *Rhet. Her.* 4.9 and Ov. *Pont.* 4.2.10. Statius mentions his aerial voyage in *Silv.* 4.2.35f., possibly (*aetherii ... Triptolemi*) echoing our passage (*aerii ... Perseos*).

ignaras: the earth can be described as 'not knowing, without prior experience' (OLD 2), as here and possibly in Ov. *Am.* 3.6.16 *semina venerunt in rude missa solum*, though there the primary meaning of *rudis* 'not cultivated' seems predominant. Cf. also Ov. *Met.* 5.646f. *rudi ... humo*. It is therefore not necessary to take *inexpertae* in Tib. 1.7.31 *primus* (Osiris, in a rival tradition) *inexpertae commisit semina terrae* as a passive with K.F. Smith and (with some hesitation) Murgatroyd. On the other hand, the earth may equally well be described as 'unknown (to men)', as in the other Ovidian parallel *Tr.* 3.8.2 *misit in ignotam qui rude semen humum*. In itself *ignarus* can denote either 'not knowing' or 'unknown' (cf. Gel. 9.12.20), and here, as in V. *Ecl.* 6.40, the choice is not obvious.

Cereris belongs to *ignaras* rather than with *vomere*: an indication of what earth's ignorance is about is more desirable than particulars about the ploughshare. Cf. Hor. *Carm.* 2.1.33f. *flumina .../ ignara belli*. Therefore the active meaning, in any case the most usual one, is preferable here.

Note *frenasse* (68)—*vomere* (69) occurring close to each other as in *frenabat* (22)—*vomere* (25).

imbuit: OLD 4 'To give ... initial instruction, experience ...'. Cf. Cat. 64.11 *illa* (= Argo) *rudem cursu prima imbuit Amphitriten* (if this is the correct reading). Triptolemus 'acquainted earth with (the use of) the ploughshare'. In view of *rudem / ignaras*, the subject-matter of Catullus' epyllion, and the absence of other instances of *imbuere*+abl. in this sense, our passage almost certainly contains a deliberate verbal echo. *imbuere* has the same meaning in Prop. 4.10.5 and in Ov. *Ars* 1.654 and *Tr.* 3.11.52 (and perhaps also in Virgil: *A.* 7.542).

flava ... arista: cf. *Mnem.* 1986:332ff. This obvious variation on V. *G.* 1.8 *pingui glandem mutavit arista* was in a way prepared for by Lucan's use of *damnare* in the sense of 'to reject, repudiate' (*e.g.* 4.270; 8.127; 9.1035; TLL 5.1.17.68f.). VF is original in supplying the ablative denoting 'that in favour of which something is rejected'. This ablative does not occur in the passages in Lucan, but is clearly derived from the *Georgics*-line cited above. This is therefore another instance of VF's technique of 'combination of imitations' (cf. ANRW 2488f.) Incidentally, 2.153 *damnataque paelice proles* might be another instance of this new combination: 'children (unwittingly) rejected (by the Lemnians) in favour of

their new concubines (because these will kill their stepchildren)'; differently Poortvliet ad cf. Cf. also *Culex* 135f. *quercus ante datae Cereris quam semina vitae / illas Triptolemi mutavit sulcus aristis* and Ov. *Fast.* 1.676 *quernaque glans victa est utiliore cibo*. The construction with *damnare* was taken over by Statius (*Silv.* 3.2.126 *Eoas iaculo damnare sagittas*) and Silius (8.494 *Lycios damnant hastilibus arcus*).

flavus is used to denote the colour of grain in V. *G.* 1.73 *flava … farra*; cf. *flava Ceres* ib. 96 and Tib. 2.1.48 *deponit flavas annua terra comas*.

For the well-known topos of acorns as the food of primitive man see V. *G.* 1.8 (cited above), 149, 159, 2.67 and Mynors ad ll.; furthermore Lucr. 5.965 and Ov. *Fast.* 1.676 (cited above).

71–76a

heu quid agat? populumne levem veterique tyranno
infensum atque olim miserantes Aesona patres
advocet, an socia Iunone et Pallade fretus
armisona superet magis et freta iussa capessat,
si qua operis tanti domito consurgere ponto
fama queat?

heu quid agat: because neither Perseus' winged sandals nor the chariot of Triptolemus are at Jason's disposal, he is at a loss what to do, seeing no way to reach Colchis; he has not yet decided to accept the task imposed by Pelias. The words themselves are Virgilian: *A.* 4.283 and 12.486 (cf. also ib. 9.399 *quid faciat?)*, and are used again by VF 7.309 (Medea) and 8.370 (Absyrtus). In the second of these instances the immediately following *qua vi* … echoes V. *A.* 9.399. Cf. Auhagen *Ratis*[2]: 59f.

populumne … advocet: there is an alternative for Jason. Instead of obeying Pelias' orders, he could try to rouse the people and the 'senatorial opposition' against the tyrant, with some chance of success in view of the general dislike for the king and pity for Aeson. *levem* in this context has a positive note, in that the well-known fickleness of the common people heightens the chance that they will be ready to follow a revolt headed by Jason. For the same reason, however, their willingness to keep up a sustained struggle may be doubted, although this thought is not presented as influencing Jason's final decision. At the end of the book his father, faced with Pelias' threats, will equally consider but eventually reject the possibility of an insurrection (761: *an patres regnique acuat mutabile vulgus*).

populum(ne) levem: this exact expression seems to have no parallel. Ov. *Met.* 10.14 is different (denoting the shades in the underworld);

comparable is *leve vulgus* (of rumours) ib. 12.53. More usual is *mobilis*: Hor. *Carm.* 1.1.7 *mobilium … turba Quiritium*, Ov. *Tr.* 1.9.13 *mobile … vulgus*, Sen. *Her.F.* 170, Stat. *Silv.* 2.2.123. Cicero ascribes *levitas* to the *populares* (*Phil.* 7.4).

veteri … tyranno: cf. 22f. *primis … ab annis, longus populis metus.*

olim: as in 53, with present tense 'for a long time already'.

miserantes: VF has forms of this verb 23 times (including the nine instances of *miserandus)*, against *misereo(r)* 5 times. The Virgilian numbers are 30 (of which 10 in the gerundive)—14, those for Lucan 5 (always in the gerundive)—2, for Statius 27 (19 in the gerundive)—7, and for Silius 21 (15 in the gerundive)—7 (always in the perfect participle). The word does not imply that Aeson was dethroned by Pelias: VF did not choose this form of the myth (see n. on 22 above); possibly the people felt that Aeson had not been treated fairly.

advocet: with *populum*, the verb occurs in Livy 1.59.7, whereas Caesar has (*Civ.* 3.33.1) *adhibitis compluribus senatorii ordinis, quos advocaverat Scipio.*

an: since *-ne* and *an* regularly introduce a question with two alternatives it is not advisable to put a question mark after *advocet*, beginning a new sentence with *an*, as Liberman does.

socia Iunone et Pallade: Ov. *Pont.* 1.4.39 *illum* (= Iasonem) *tutata est cum Pallade regia Iuno.* Juno's support of the Argonauts was part of the tradition and is explained by VF in the following lines (81–86) as a reward for services rendered by Jason. AR mentions (3.63f.) a second reason for Juno's assistance, viz. her hatred of Pelias; cf. ib. 1.14. This motif was not taken over by VF. For the role of Juno in VF see Schubert *Ratis*[1]:101–120, and for the relation between the goddesses in assisting Jason, Schenk *Ratis*[2] 233ff., 246.

No specific explanation is given for the appeal to and the eventual cooperation of Pallas. It is natural to suppose that she was involved in her capacity as patroness of art and technology (Apollod. 2.1.4 makes Pallas inspire Danaos to build a ship). This accords with the role they play in 91–99, Juno gathering the crew and Pallas taking care of the construction of the ship. The function of Pallas in the *Argonautica* is discussed by Schenk *Ratis*[2]:233–248.

We should probably take both *socia Iunone* and *Pallade … armisona* as governed by *fretus*, rather than assume a coordination of an ablative absolute (*socia Iunone*, 'with Juno's help') with an adjective (*fretus*), particularly because Juno was already Jason's ally for the reason stated above. There seem to be no parallels for *socius* used to denote a divine 'ally'.

armisona: cf. V. *A*. 3 544 *Palladis armisonae* (and Williams ad l.). For compounds with *-sonus* in VF see Poortvliet on 2.583.

superet (mss.) was printed by the editors until *speret*, independently conjectured by Gronov (ap. Schenkl) and Weichert (*Ep. crit.* 15f.), was preferred by Bährens, Langen, Mozley, Courtney, Ehlers and Liberman. In spite of this unanimity the mss. reading has a fair chance of being the correct one. It is true that it would imply a hysteron proteron (*freta superare et capessere*), but this is hardly a serious problem. On the other hand, it seems very doubtful whether *magis sperare* could be the Latin expression for 'to entertain higher hopes' (= *plus sperare*). With *superet* on the other hand *magis* would mean 'rather', which is not uncommon (OLD 6); in VF 3.270f. and 7.75. The expression *freta superare* would, certainly in this context, combine the notions of 'to pass, traverse' (cf. Poortvliet on 2.545f. *superabat … litora*) and 'to surmount, overcome' (difficulties, etc.: OLD 5), like *superare labores*, which combination occurs three times in VF (5.617, 6.599, 7.131). So the alternative is probably 'to start a rebellion' versus '(rather) to make for the sea in order to overcome the problems of the situation'. The sea-voyage is called *iussa* (cf. *iussos* 66) because Jason is now very well aware of the fact that it was in fact ordered (*cogi / in freta* 65f.). For *capessere (loca adeundo)* see TLL 3.310.42ff. and cf. *Arg.* 4.344f. *capessunt / aequora*.

si (qua): *si* 'to see if' (OLD 11). There is no good reason to make one word of this expression.

operis tanti, governed by *fama*, is explicated by the abl. abs. *domito … ponto*, for which compare Sen. *Med.* 2f. *domituram freta /… ratem*, Prop. 2.26b.52 *hic deus et terras et maria alta domat*, Sen. *Phaed.* 307 *domuit profundum* and in VF 1.600 *domat aequora*, 5.299 *domitis … undis*.

consurgere is combined earlier with abstract nouns like *bellum* (*e.g.* V. *A*. 8.637), though not with *fama*; OLD 7c.

fama clearly harks back to 8f. *pelagi … aperti / fama*.

queat: another case of short distance repetition (cf. 67).

76b–78

tu sola animos mentemque peruris,
Gloria, te viridem videt immunemque senectae
Phasidis in ripa stantem iuvenesque vocantem.

The expectation that the second alternative will be chosen is strengthened by this amplification of *fama* in the form of *gloria*.

sola: Barich (37, n. 10) states that *gloria* is not 'Jason's only motivation', but that the adjective 'marks the uniqueness of *gloria* and is positive in implication'. Perhaps we had better say that *gloria* is indeed not the only deciding factor (*religio* 80 is added), but that it constitutes the only instinctive urge, which will later result in an actual decision. The phrase *tu … gloria* can be seen as one of VF's relatively few *sententiae* (Summers 62), and is incorporated as such in the florilegia, with the plural *mentesque*, which is printed by Liberman. In the context, however, the reference is primarily to the effect on Jason's mind, and the combination of *mentem* and *animos* is remarkable (hence Barth's *animum*). Lucan has (1.354) *mentes animosque*, but he is describing a collective reaction. Two singular forms occur for instance in Lucr. 1.74 *mente animoque* and Hor. *Ep.* 1.14.8 *mens animusque*. Though *animi* is quite frequently used of one person, the combination with sg. forms of *mens* stands isolated (TLL 8.714.6ff.).

peruris (a hapax legomenon in VF) has a close parallel in Cic. *Fam.* 13.15.2 *hominem perustum inani gloria*. Cf. also Sen. *Her.O.* 620 *urit miserum gloria pectus* and in VF 1.476 *magnorumque viros qui laudibus urat avorum*. The verb does not occur in Virgil, but is in its literal sense quite frequent in Lucan (14 instances). The metaphor returns in Sil. 6.332f. *fax mentis honestae / gloria*.

Gloria: the pursuit of glory was made to be Jason's primary motive by Lüthje (passim). His view has been challenged by Adamietz, who (6, n.11) regards Jason's desire for glory and his religious faith as equally strong factors leading to his decision, whereas Barich (36ff.) sees the voyage as enforced by Pelias and denies that Jason acts freely. Yet, as has been remarked before, Jason had a choice to make. Instead of complying with Pelias' virtual command, he could have invoked the assistance of the people and the elders to depose Pelias, which course of action promised little glory and uncertain success, or do neither and (for instance) go into voluntary exile, which would yield no glory at all. The situation he was forced into was admittedly created by Pelias, but the answer to the question *heu quid agat?* (71) was prompted by the enticing figure of Gloria. Trust in the gods, on the other hand, ultimately (*tandem*) comes in to confirm (*firmat*) his still-wavering and half-formed decision. He asks the goddesses for help (80f.), but he is not fulfilling a divine mission here, as Aeneas did. *religio*, therefore, is not paramount in determining his line of action, and *pietas* is not foremost in his mind. This is not to say that it plays no role at all: within the scope of his commitment he can and will try to act in an honourable

way, as may be expected from someone inspired by a heroic vision. Gloria is of course, as Barich notes, to be evaluated positively. For the personification of *Gloria* cf. TLL 6.2.2069.28ff. and U. Gärtner *Ratis*² 71f.

viridem: the adjective had been used before to denote youthfulness, as for instance in V. *A.* 5.295 *viridique iuventa* (OLD 5 'Marked by youthful vigour, energy, or sim.; [sim. of a person, etc., in his prime']). *Gloria* is not 'in her prime', but 'eternally young', and the expression is made clearer by the following *immunem senectae.* Nowhere else is eternal youth attributed to her, nor are there other instances of *immunis* with *senectae.* There is of course an echo to be heard of V. *A.* 6.304 *viridisque senectus*, and Silius varied VF's combination in 6.546f. *longo revirescet in aevo / gloria.* The distribution of *senecta / senectus* in VF is 11–13. While the numbers in Virgil (9–8, once personified), and Lucan (5–5) are about equal, in the Flavian poets *senecta* is clearly favourite (Statius 14–18, Silius 22–29). For *videt* cf. OLD 7 'To obtain a mental picture of, see with the mind's eye'.

Phasidis in ripa: the river's banks characterize the end of the voyage, as in l. 2 above, but here the river's name is not coupled with 'Scythia' as in 2, 43 and 87.

For *stantem* … *vocantem* see note on 39 *fictis* … *dictis.*

iuvenes: for the first time the necessity of companions in this quest is suggested, whereby the poet prepares the way for the gathering of the crew in 96ff.

As Lüthje (6, n.1) remarks, this vision of stimulating *Gloria* may well be meant as a positive counterpart to the warning figure of *patria* in Luc. 1.186ff.

79–90

When Jason has made up his mind, he prays to Juno and, almost in passing, to Pallas. This is the first of his six speeches in the first book, of which two more constitute a prayer: 194–203 to Neptune, and 667–680 to the sea-gods in general. The function of this one is twofold: it stresses the fact that the decision has been made, Jason's impulse to strive after glory having been strengthened by his hope of divine help, and it also introduces the important role the goddesses will play during the expedition. They will start their activities at once after hearing Jason's prayer; after l. 90 the hero himself moves out of focus until l. 149.

The construction of the speech is not very complicated:

1) *omnipotens regina* (81): the invocation itself;
2) *quam* (81) … *vidi* (86): an elaboration of the former, serving both to identify the addressee (who is not mentioned by name) and to provide a motive for hearing the prayer;
3) *da* … *mihi* (87): the request proper;
4) *tuque* (87) … *eripe me* (88): a short word to Pallas;
5) *vestris* (88) … *cingent* (90): the traditional promise of sacrifices after receiving the object of the prayer.

For stylistic details see below.

79–80

tandem animi incertum confusaque pectora firmat
religio tendensque pias ad sidera palmas

animi mss. edd., *animum* Jortin, Courtney. Both *animi incertus* (*e.g.* Ter. *Hec.* 121, Stat. *Theb.* 3.444) and *animus incertus* (*e.g.* Ter. *Hau.* 123) are grammatically correct. *firmare* in its turn ('to hearten, reassure'; OLD 7a) may have either people as object or *animum* (V. *A.* 3.611 *animum praesenti pignore firmat*). Of course, *animum* would make a smoother and more symmetrical construction, and the absence of a good parallel for the coordination '… someone and his mind' makes one wary. On the other hand there is a resemblance to Liv. 1.7.6 *confusus atque incertus animi*, and perhaps we have to do with another linguistic innovation by VF; therefore the uncertainty remains.

tandem: not 'finally and most importantly or almost in the end' (Barich 37, n.10), but simply 'at last'.

confusa: OLD s.v. *confundere* 7c 'to confuse (a person or his mind, judgement, etc.)'; Quint. *Inst.* 1.12.1. *quia confundatur animus*. Because he is still 'uncertain in his mind', his thoughts are confused and unclear, until he is reassured by the hope of divine aid, which had been introduced in 73f. It is not necessary to think (with Langen) that *religio* also suggests the moral rightness of Jason's resolve. The same goes for *pias*; as in the other instances where this adjective is coupled with an action of Jason's (2.330; 5.6), it refers to the ritual character of that action. For the phrase *tendens* … *palmas* cf. 4.473 *sustulit hic geminas Phineus ad sidera palmas*, V. *A.* 1.93 *duplicis tendens ad sidera palmas* (and ib. 5.256), Stat. *Theb.* 1.497, 10.336, *Silv.* 3.4.99, Sil. 15.561, 17.635.

81–86

'omnipotens regina', inquit, 'quam, turbidus atro
aethere caeruleum quateret cum Iuppiter imbrem,
ipse ego praecipiti tumidum per Enipea nimbo
in campos et tuta tuli, nec credere quivi
ante deam quam te tonitru nutuque reposci
coniugis et subita raptam formidine vidi,

omnipotens regina: this new combination develops the practice of Virgil, who twice uses the epithet for Juno (*A.* 4.693, 7.428), and four times introduces a prayer with *Iuppiter omnipotens*: *A.* 2.689, 4.206, 5.687, 9.625. The nearest formal parallel is *A.* 10.668 *omnipotens genitor* as the first words of a prayer. Here too the name of the deity itself is not mentioned at all, but the words could not apply to any other goddess, and are moreover explained by the following reference to the past. Cf. for the passage Schubert, *Ratis*[1] 124ff.

quam ... vidi: in a rather long relative clause, including a temporal one, VF gives a detailed account of the former meeting between Juno (in disguise) and Jason. This incident is also referred to by AR (3.66f.), only there the river's name is Anauros. The Greek poet mentions another reason for Juno's help in Jason's expedition: her dislike of Pelias, who had neglected or even insulted her. This motive is also briefly alluded to in AR 1.14, and related somewhat more fully in Apollod. 1.9.8; 16. Jason's choice in VF of only one of both motives may have been the result of the poet's desire to accentuate the symbolism: helping to cross the river then—helping to cross the sea now. It is normal in a prayer that the speaker stresses his piety towards the god he is addressing, though usually in a general sense, not in relation to a specific event.

turbidus ... Iuppiter: somewhat more than 'quia turbas movet' (Langen). It is in fact the storm itself that is 'turbulent' (OLD s.v. *turbidus* 1, not 5 or 6), and 'shakes the rainstorm'. Jupiter is often more or less identified with the weather he brings (OLD s.v. *Iuppiter* 2). In his more tranquil aspect Jupiter may be called *serenus* (as Vespasian is in l. 20). The adjective *turbidus* (m. or f.) in the *Argonautica* is mostly placed (seven times) as the last word but one in the line, as here and 747 below, and in the remaining three instances at the beginning.

atro ... aethere: 'along the darkened sky'. Cf. Pl. *Merc.* 879 *nubis atra imberque*, Lucr. 4.313f., 320f. *aer / ater*, Luc. 4.74 *aëris atri*.

caeruleum ... imbrem: *imbre* LV, *imbrem* S. Carrio's *aethera ... imbre* held the field until Thilo, and was after him defended by Samuelsson

(1905/06, 84). The combination *caeruleus imber*, however, occurs in Virgil (*A.* 3.194, 5.10) and Ovid (*Her.* 7.94); cf. Hom. *Od.* 12.405. Only the expression *imbrem quatere* is unusual. But since VF himself writes *quatit ipse hiemes* (2.22), the meaning is clearly 'Jupiter drives the stormcloud along the sky', the verb also conveying the notion of 'brandishing (a weapon)'.

cum: taking sixth place in the phrase, as in 624 below and 2.467. The extreme in this respect is to be found in 7.648, where the conjunction is placed eighth. For the conjunction placed even after the predicate cf. K/S 2.615, A. 21.

ipse ego: see n. on 48 *ipsum ego.*

praecipiti … *nimbo*: although *praeceps* may modify nouns denoting 'storm' (OLD 2c), here its primary notion seems to be 'coming down in torrents' (*nimbus* meaning 'a cloud-burst', OLD 2), as in Apul. *Mun.* 3 (295) *praecipiti grandine.* The ablative serves to explain how the river came to be 'swollen' (*tumidum*), as in Ov. *Met.* 9.105 (*amnis*) *nimbis hiemalibus auctus* (ib. 8.550 *imbre tumens*). Rivers are more than once called *tumidus* (*e.g.* V. *A.* 11.393, the Tiber, Hor. *Carm.* 3.3.48, the Nile), OLD 3, or *tumens* (V. *A.* 8.86, Luc. 6.272).

The Thessalian river Enipeus is occasionally mentioned in Latin poetry from Virgil (*G.* 4.368) on; in epic Luc. 7.224.

in campos et tuta tuli: the adverbial phrase *in tutum* (OLD 4b 'into safety') is extended with a preceding noun denoting the safe place and put in the plural form, as in other occurrences of the adjective noted in OLD 3e. In those cases a genitive may be added as in V. *A.* 11.882 *tuta domorum*; coordination, amounting to a hendiadys, occurs again in *Arg.* 2.74 *tuta domosque.* A close parallel of our passage is V. *A.* 8.463 *sedem et secreta.*

The alliteration *tuta tuli* is reinforced in this passage by other sound-patterns as homoioteleuton/-ptoton (sometimes with shift of the ictus): *tuli—quivi—reposci—vidi*; *vestris* … *templis;* and internal rhyme *form**idi**ne v**idi**.*

nec credere quivi: from V. *A.* 6.463, but with different connotation: there it is a disaster that could not have been expected, here it is a prospective blessing. *quivi* is the only form in VF of *quire* other than *queat* (cf. note on 67).

tonitru nutuque: cf. 3.251 f. *nutuque sereno / intonuit.* It seems that the thunderclap itself, rather than a concomitant nod, constitutes the 'command' and symbolizes 'absolute power' (cf. OLD s.v. *nutus* 2 / 2b).

reposci … *vidi*: these words contain several difficulties, which are partially interconnected. For one thing: what does *subita* … *formidine* mean: is it a modification of *raptam* or of *vidi*? If the former is correct, there are still two alternatives. According to Maserius, who thinks that *reposci* is meant 'ad poenam', *formidine* denotes Juno's fear when she was summoned back by her husband; he thinks that the incident Jason is describing here took place during Juno's flight after her insurrection against Jupiter. Ancient sources, however, present no relevant details: in AR Hera herself gives as reason for her sojourn on earth the wish to test the orderly conduct of men (3.68), but there no mention is made of any 'claim' (*reposci*) on Zeus' part. Neither Apollod. 1.9.16 nor schol. Pind. *P.* 4.133 are illuminative in this respect. Anyhow, for VF the reason for the 'demand' must have been either completely unimportant or obvious to his readers.

The second interpretation of *formidine* going with *raptam* was given by Liberman, who apparently takes the word in the sense of (OLD 2) 'A thing which frightens, horror, bogy', since he translates 'dans un éclair formidable'. It is, however, very improbable that the word can have this meaning without any elucidation. So we had better assume that the noun in the ablative modifies not *raptam* but *vidi* and that it refers to Jason's '(religious) dread, awe' (OLD 1b) when he noticed that the old woman he was supposedly carrying was suddenly lifted to the heavens. The ablative then is one of concomitant circumstance (K/S 1.410f. A. 31): Jason saw 'with sudden fear' what happened. Note that *subita* first suggests the suddenness of Juno's disappearance, after which it turns out to be a qualification of Jason's reaction.

Then there is the shift in tense from *reposci* to *raptam*. In the active perfect forms this is not exceptional (cf. V. *G.* 3.435f., with Mynors' note), but there seem to be no instances in the passive voice. Therefore perhaps we should assume that Jason, when he saw that Juno had been carried off, realized that she was being demanded back by Jupiter—but the expression would be rather strange.

For the wording, V. *A.* 3.259 (*subita gelidus formidine*) and ib. 6.290 (*subita trepidus formidine*) would have been the model. VF has the combination *subita* … *formidine* again in 4.626, and *nova* … *formidine* in 7.144 (cf. V. *G.* 4. 357).

87–90

> da Scythiam Phasinque mihi; tuque, innuba Pallas,
> eripe me! vestris egomet tunc vellera templis
> illa dabo, dabit auratis et cornibus igni
> colla pater, niveique greges altaria cingent'.

da … mihi: a strong case of brachylogy, for 'grant me to reach …'. *redde* 2.380 and V. *A.* 10.60f. *Xanthum et Simoenta / redde, oro, miseris* are partially comparable: in the first case the imperative does not mean 'bring me back to' in a literal sense, in the second (where a wish is presented that cannot be fulfilled) the situation rather than the location is meant.

For the combination 'Scythia and the Phasis' see note on 43.

tu … Pallas: the cooperation of Pallas was traditional and the motives are not stated by VF (see note on 73). AR mentions (1.19) the 'counsels of Athena', which enabled Argos to build the ship. When VF later (1.498–573) makes Jupiter express his approval of the expedition, the Argonauts are assured of the support of the 'trias Capitolina'.

innuba: the epithet ('ornans' in this context) is first attested with certainty in Ovid (*Met.* 10.567; see Bömer ad l.). Lucan again applied it to Pallas (9.665).

eripe me: in all corresponding passages, adduced by Langen and in TLL (5.2.794.11ff.), there is an immediate danger at hand from which one is or may be saved (*e.g.* V. *A.* 2.289 *teque his … eripe flammis*, Ov. *Met.* 8.850 *eripe me domino*). The only exception is *Arg.* 1.10 above. Since there is as yet no danger present in Jason's situation, it seems best to understand 'save me from the difficulty of this situation', viz. the way to reach Colchis (Lüthje (6): 'aus der Zwangslage').

vestris … templis: according to Strabo (6.1.1) and Pausanias (7.4.4), Jason founded a temple of Hera, either in Italy or on Samos. There seem to be no indications in ancient texts that Hera/Juno and Pallas/Minerva had temples in common. Are we to suppose that Jason meant the Fleece to be hung by turns in sanctuaries of Hera/Juno and Pallas/Minerva?

For *egomet* see note on *temet* (57), for *vellera* note on 56.

Chiefly on the strength of 5.540 Liberman here too prints *tum* (read in one ms.), which seems somewhat dogmatic.

dabit … pater: Pius, J.A.Wagner and Langen thought that *pater* denotes Aeson, but the view of Maserius, Heinsius and Burman, that the noun means the 'father of the herd', the bull, is preferable (see *Mnem.* 1986:334f.). Apart from the fact that *auratis … cornibus* is a much

more appropriate qualification of *pater*, meaning the bull, than of *colla*, which it would have to be if the 'father' is to be identified with Aeson, there are also the parallels from Virgil *G.* 2.146f. *hinc albi, Clitumne, greges et maxima taurus / victima*, and especially *A.* 9.627f. *et statuam ante aras aurata fronte iuvencum / candentem pariterque caput cum matre ferentem*. This last passage constitutes a promise within a prayer, like the lines in VF. This characteristic applies also to *Arg.* 5.204–209, a clear echo-passage of the lines under discussion, and of Jason's later promise in another prayer (1.677–680) as well. In 5.209 the words *pater* and *auratus* occur again in close proximity. From the Virgil-passages quoted above, VF took *taurus* and *matre* respectively, combining these notions into *pater*. Ovid has both *colla praebere*, meaning 'to be immolated' (*Fast.* 1.83), and the concept of the victim 'offering itself' (*Met.* 7.161f. [at Jason's homecoming!] *inductaque cornibus aurum / victima vota facit)*. Cf. also Liberman's arguments in favour of this interpretation. For the custom of gilding the victim's horns see Langen's parallels.

For *igni dare* 'to cremate' cf., for instance, V. *G.* 3.378 and *A.* 2. 566. The *nivei greges* correspond to Virgil's *albi* ... *greges* and to his *iuvencum candentem*, white being of course the usual colour of offerings to the celestial gods. The *greges*, in combination with *cingent*, suggest the vast number of sacrifices to be made, and probably denote cattle rather than sheep; compare the *Georgics* passage cited above (and, for instance, V. *A.* 6.38). Liberman prints Vossius' conjecture *tingent*, which would make good sense. Statius however has a line ending on *altaria cingat* (*Silv.* 4.8.9) and although the meaning of the verb there is not the same (*sertis*), the verbal correspondence is striking. The words VF uses here are also echoed in another passage of Statius, *Silv.* 2.7.16: *centum Thespiacis odora lucis / stent altaria victimaeque centum* (the only instance of *Thespiacus* in the *Silvae*). Therefore it does not seem advisable to replace a reading which presents no problem by a conjecture, however clever.

altaria occurs once more in VF (4.152) against 23 instances of forms of *ara*.

At the end of Jason's prayer we may note the effect of the colours (*atro* and *caeruleum* at the beginning, *auratis* and *nivei* at the end).

PART B,2

PREPARATIONS AND ASSEMBLY

91–183

The goddesses implored by Jason promptly come to his aid. Members for the crew are recruited, among them Hercules, much to the displeasure of his arch-enemy Juno, who is thus confronted with a dilemma. Then follows a sketch of the Argo being built and decorated.

Jason then hits upon the idea of enticing Pelias' son Acastus to join the expedition, as a kind of safeguard. His cousin agrees immediately.

91–95

accepere deae celerique per aethera lapsu
diversas petiere vias. in moenia pernix
Thespiaca ad carum Tritonia devolat Argum.
moliri hunc puppem iubet et demittere ferro
robora, Peliacas et iam comes exit in umbras.

Jason's prayer is heard, and the goddesses divide their tasks: Pallas takes care of the construction of the ship, Juno of the assembling of the crew. Wagner remarks that AR did better in having the deities help only at a later stage of the expedition, when it is needed. However, for VF the voyage of the Argo was the first ever to be made by sea, so there is good reason for divine intervention, which is after all expressly prayed for by Jason.

accepere: not only 'to hear', but also 'to grant' a prayer. Cf. Liv. 42.30.8 *preces … acceptas ab diis immortalibus*.

celerique per aethera lapsu: Lucretius has (6.324) *celeri … lapsu*, but VF's direct model is rather Ov. *Met.* 6.216 *celerique per aëra lapsu* (Phoebus and Phoebe).

diversas petiere vias: 'in different directions'. For *diversae viae* cf. Cat. 46.11 and Ov. *Tr.* 3.2.12, for *viam petere*: V. *A.* 12.913.

pernix: applied to Saturn in V. *G.* 3.93. The adjective does not occur in Ovid nor in Lucan. The 'adverbial force' (rather, 'predicative') assigned to it by OLD in Sil. 1.167 is of course present here already.

in moenia … Thespiaca: Thespiae (Thespeia), a town in Boeotia, is here (and in 1.124 and 478) mentioned as the birthplace of Argus, the builder of the ship, and also of its helmsman Tiphys (2.368 and 5.44). This being an inland town, Pausanias (9.32.4) mentions the small harbour-place of Tipha as the birthplace of Tiphys; the port of Thespiae is called Kreusis (or Kreusa) by the same author (9.32.1) and by Strabo (9.2.25); cf. DNP 6.834. In Latin poetry the adjective *Thespiacus*, which first occurs here, was taken over by Statius (*Theb*. 7.341; *Silv*. 2.7.16; see van Dam's note). The form *Thespius*, used by VF in 1.478, is older: Cat. 61.27.

ad carum … Argum: AR is more business-like in calling him (1.226) 'assistant to the goddess Athena'; cf. ib. 1.19 and 111.

VF does not mention the name of Argus' father; AR calls him (1.112) 'Arestorides', whereas Hyginus (14.10) makes Polybus or Danaus his father. In 5.460 and 6.553 VF mentions another Argus, a son of Phrixus (Apollod. 1.9.16).

Tritonia: a cult-title of Pallas, used both substantively, as here and 2.49 (see Poortvliet), and as an adjective (with *virgo*) in 7.442, where see Stadler and Perutelli. It is 'variously explained' (Austin on V. *A*. 2.171, where it is used substantively). As an adjective it occurs in the *Aeneid* again in 2.615, 5.704 and 11.483. VF does not use the form *Tritonis* (V. *A*. 2.226). For further references see also Bömer on Ov. *Fast*. 6.655.

devolat: V. *A*. 4. 702 (Iris); as 'to hurry down' *Arg*. 4.204, where see Korn.

moliri … puppem … et demittere … robora: a hysteron proteron. For *moliri* cf. V. *A*. 3.5f. *classem …/… molimur*. The accusative form *puppem* is late and unusual (K/H 323). *iubet* must contain the notion of *docet*, since in VF's presentation there were as yet no ships. *demittere* is only here used as 'to bring down, to fell a tree', the only somewhat comparable passage being Luc. 9.830f. (*manum) … demittit ab armo* ('to lop off'; TLL 5.1.488.84f.). Cf. 122 below *delatum nemus*.

robora: in spite of the fact that the vessel is elsewhere denoted as *pinus* (1.457, 687, 2.48, 5.435; cf. 1.123) or *alnus* (1.203, 637, 3.536). Cf., on the other hand, *quercus* (1.302, 5.66). The same phenomenon occurs in Virgil: *A*. 5.153 *pinus*, ib. 753 *robora*.

umbras: ω *undas*. For *umbras* Ehlers mentions in his apparatus a later hand in D (which was written in 1429) and the Aldine edition as first instances. However, the obvious correction appears for the first time in the editions of Maserius (who ascribed it to Sabellicus) and Pius, both of which are earlier than the Aldina.

umbras: the shade (of the woods); more fully Ov. *Met.* 1.590f. *umbras / altorum nemorum.*

Peliacas: the adjective first occurs as the first word of Cat. 64.1. VF has neither of its alternative forms *Pelius / Pelias.*

iam comes: after giving instructions to Argus, Pallas accompanies him into the woods of Mt. Pelion.

exit in: also in 4.588 *vacuumque exibis in aequor.* Other instances are given in TLL 5.2.1353.82ff.

96–99

> at Iuno Argolicas pariter Macetumque per urbes
> spargit inexpertos temptare parentibus Austros
> Aesoniden, iam stare ratem remisque superbam
> poscere quos revehat rebusque in saecula tollat.

at ... urbes: *Argolicas* suggests the entire Peloponnese, together with *Macetum* comprising the whole of Greece, but it refers also to Juno's (Hera's) special connection with Argos (*Argolica Iuno* Sen. *Ag.* 806). Cf. Ov. *Met.* 8.267f. *sparserat Argolicas nomen vaga fama per urbes / Theseos*, which passage may well have been VF's model here: *Argolicas ... per urbes* in the same metrical position, the use of *spargere*, and the general drift.

Macetum: gen. plur. of *Macetae* (K/H 418b), as in Gratt. 117, Man. 4.762, Luc. 2.647, 5.2 (where see van Amerongen for later instances) and 10.16, and as a *varia lectio* in Sen. *Her.F.* 980. The nom. occurs in Gell. 9.3.1. *Macedumque* (L,S) is of course impossible.

Iuno: Pindar (*P.* 4.169f.) explicitly has Jason himself making propaganda for the expedition, though Juno is said to stimulate the heroes (ib. 184f.). As Adamietz (1976:9) remarks, VF makes the parts of Pallas and Juno equal from the start, whereas in AR, first Pallas is foremost in importance and later Hera.

spargit ... Aesoniden: for *spargere* with an acc. and infin. (without *famam* or *rumorem*) see Maurach 1983:65 and ANRW 2472. It occurs again in Sil. 10.606f. where *rumor* is the subject; cf. Tac. *Hist.* 2.58 (and the Ovid passage *Met.* 8.267 cited above). *inexpertos*: though in itself this could mean '(the winds) who had no experience (of such a thing)', the combination with *parentibus* makes it clear that it must be taken passively 'not tested, not known before'; cf. Luc. 5.486 *inexperto ... profundo* and, with dative, Sen. *Ep.* 77.9. *parentes* in the sense of 'ancestors' is normal practice (OLD 2).

Austri must stand for 'winds' in general (cf. Serv. on *A.* 1.51 and 3.70), a meaning not recognized in OLD, though it is with Eurus (1b) and Notus (1b).

temptare: OLD 11 'To attempt to overcome, brave (adverse circumstances)', often with waters to be crossed as the object, as in V. *G.* 3.77 (*fluvios*), Hor. *Carm.* 3.4.30f. (*Bosp(h)orum*), Luc. 9.321 (*aequor*); but the most obvious parallel is Ov. *Tr.* 3.9.8 (the Argo) *per non temptatas prima cucurrit aquas*. V. *Ecl.* 4. 32 *temptare Thetin* is slightly different in consequence of the personification (see Coleman ad l.).

For *Aesoniden* see note on 32.

iam stare: the Argo is represented as already finished, although Juno, after the arrival in Thessaly of at least Hercules and Hylas, sees the ship still being built (121ff.). *stare* is the usual expression for a ship lying at anchor (OLD 8).

remisque superbam: the adjective contributes to the personification of the ship, continued in *poscere*. Here it combines the notions of OLD 4 '(esp. of buildings or their appointments) Grand, proud, sumptuous' and 1d '(w. abl.) exultant or glorying (in)'. Again the end of the paragraph is marked by a strong double alliteration ***s****tare* ***r****atem* ***r****emisque* ***s****uperbam* (… ***r****evehat* ***r****ebusque in* ***s****aecula*).

poscere: OLD 3 'To demand the presence or attendance of, summon'. For the inanimate subject cf. Stat. *Ach.* 1.558f. *carbasus auras / poscit.*

The mss. reading *revehat* was explained by Burman as 'to bring safely back'. This interpretation was rejected by Bährens, who printed *quosque vehat* and was followed in this by Langen. Samuelsson (1899:100f.), keeping *revehat*, thought it could mean the same as *vehat*. Both ideas were effectively refuted by Strand (49ff.) and Liberman, who point out that the safe return home is essential for Juno's propaganda and the glory that is held out. Cf. also 1.457 *tibi … Polypheme … revecto*. The ship is 'summoning (a crew) to be brought back and raised to glory'.

rebus: 'heroic deeds'. Cf. 102 *copia rerum* and 2.381 *rerum … amor*.

in saecula tollat: cf. Luc. 8.608 *in saecula mittet* and other instances mentioned by Strand (50 n.1). The well-known combination *laudibus tollere* may have contributed to the choice of the verb. The meaning must be 'to extol (and make famous) into posterity'.

100–102

> omnis avet quae iam bellis spectataque fama
> turba ducum, primae seu quos in flore iuventae
> temptamenta tenent necdum data copia rerum.

This sentence presents two grammatical problems. In the first place the correctness of *avet* (printed first in the second Bologna edition and more recently by Ehlers and Liberman, for mss. *habet*) has been doubted. *adest* (a correction in M) was preferred by Thilo, Bährens and Courtney; other ideas, such as *adit* (Maserius), *abit* (the Juntine edition), *ovat* (Heinsius) and *obit* (Schenkl), are hardly worth considering. *adest* looks flat in the high-flown diction of these lines, and moreover premature, since the heroes arrive only from 107 on. It must be admitted that *avere* used absolutely is very rare indeed. There is, however, one almost certain parallel in 2.124 *quaerit avens*. Poortvliet in his note there furthermore points to Lucr. 6.531 *fluvios … aventis* (though here the mss. are divided) and to Gell. 19.7.10, where the use of *avens* for *libens* is ascribed to Laevius. These parallels, though scant, taken together are sufficient to accept *avet* here too, in the sense of 'is/are eager (to join the expedition)'.

Then there is the very unusual construction with *seu*. Its disjunctive force contrasts the different groups: seasoned commanders and inexperienced youths. For the omission of a first *seu* (*si, sive*) there are parallels (OLD s.v. *sive, seu* 4c, K/S 2.436 A.4): Cat. 4.19, Prop. 2.26.34, Hor. *S.* 2.5.10f., 2.8.16, *Carm.* 1.3.16; for the combination of a relative clause followed by *seu/sive* cf. K/S 2.437 A. 6. Moreover *omnis* (and in fact also *turba*), which should comprise both groups, is only part of the first phrase. The equivalent in prose would be *omnes, sive qui iam spectati … erant sive quos … temptamenta tenent* 'all men, whether they were old hands or eager newcomers'. Then finally the words *qui … spectati (erant)* are replaced by *turba ducum quae … spectata (erat)*.

spectata: OLD s.v. *spectatus* 2 'of observed merit or worth, distinguished'. VF here subtly splits up Virgil's *rebus spectata iuventus* (*A.* 8.151). This older generation of heroes (*turba ducum*) is 'tested in action' (Fordyce on the *Aeneid* passage just cited). Virgil's *rebus* (which word VF has in the preceding line) is specified with *bellis … fama* (the latter a certain correction from the Aldine for mss. *forma*): 'warfare and the ensuing fame'. These lines contain a threefold hyperbaton (*omnis … turba*; *spectataque fama* for *famaque spectata*; *primae seu*) without presenting any difficulty in understanding.

primae … in flore iuventae: the first instance of this combination seems to be Cic. *Cons.* 75 *primo iam a flore iuventae*; cf. V. *A.* 8.160 *prima … flore iuventas* (ib. 7.162 *primaevo flore iuventus* and 8.143f. *prima … temptamenta*) and Sen. *Phaed.* 620 *iuventae flore primaevo*. Smolenaars on Stat. *Theb.* 7.301 further cites Ter. *Eu.* 319 and Stat. *Silv.* 1.2.276f. and 5.5.18f.

VF clearly prefers *iuventa* (16 instances) to *iuventus* (7). Herein he follows Ovidian practice (22–12), as did Statius (24–15). Virgil's example (11–27) was of course followed by Silius (14–27) and, particularly so, by Lucan (2–35). Virgil's *iuventas* was not taken over in later epic.

temptamenta: a rare word, which seems to have been coined by Virgil (*A.* 8.143f., quoted above: *prima … / temptamenta tui*), and is twice used by Ovid (*Met.* 7.728 and 15.629). It is not found in Lucan, Statius or Silius. The word probably denotes usual 'tests (of their bravery and ability)', not implying the novelty of (*inexpertos*) *temptare* (*Austros*) in *Arg.* 1.97.

tenent: these young people want to be engaged in their first trials and are fascinated by them, but have been given as yet no opportunity of displaying real heroism. The meaning of the word probably belongs to OLD 22a '(of persons, things) To hold the attention of'.

necdum data: = *et quibus nondum data*, another instance of a relative pronoun in the dative to be supplied from a preceding one in a different case (cf. note on 63).

data copia: V. *A.* 1.520 (*fandi*; = 11.248); 9.484 (*adfari … matri*); 9.720 (*pugnae*); Ov. *Met.* 11.786 (*mortis*). Cf. Sil. 10.411 *ut rerum est copia.*

rerum (*gerendarum*) has the same pregnant force as *rebus* in 99.

103–106

at quibus arvorum studiumque insontis aratri,
hos stimulant magnaque ratem per lustra viasque
visi laude canunt manifesto in lumine Fauni
silvarumque deae atque elatis cornibus Amnes.

at quibus … amnes: separately from the prospective participants, who are in their turn divided into experienced leaders and eager youths, VF mentions those people who, either not wishing to join the expedition or not being capable of doing so, are filled with wonder and admiration for those who do. Likewise AR describes (1.240ff.) the enthusiastic reaction of the townspeople to the marching Argonauts. The Latin poet, however, explicitly refers to countryfolk, thereby accentuating the interest and sympathy felt throughout Greece, not just in Iolcus. Moreover, a slight touch of 'Georgics' is added to the primary

subject-matter of the work, which is more like that of the *Aeneid*. Cf. V. *G.* 1.21 *studium quibus arva tueri*. As in 100, the connective suffix *-que* is added to the head of the phrase and not to the modifying constituents (*arvorum studiumque insontis aratri* instead of *arvorum studium insontisque aratri*).

For *insons* (OLD 2 '(poet.) Doing no injury, harmless') TLL 8.1.1942.26 compares Stat. *Theb.* 6.75 *insontesque sagittas*, ib. 12.682 *ramis insontis olivae* (the nearest parallel), *Ach.* 1.115 *pharetrae insontes*. Langen gives several more places, of which Ov. *Tr.* 3.10.66 *insontes … casas* is the most convincing. In 7.555 on the other hand the plough used by Aeetes and his fire-breathing bulls is called *dirum*.

aratri specifies *arvorum*, at the same time constituting an alliteration.

hos stimulant: 'incite them' (to watch and admire the heroes); OLD 3 '(of persons)', from Livy on. Virgilian parallels are *A.* 4.302f. (*trieterica … orgia*) and ib. 576 (construed with an infinitive).

magnaque: through a strong hyperbaton the adjective receives special attention. This word order perhaps also suggests that the meaning of *magna* extends to *ratem* as well. The three subjects at the end of the sentence have two predicates, each with its own object (*hos stimulant—ratem … canunt*), the second element elucidating the first: the deities rouse the rural people by extolling the ship.

magna … laude canunt: cf. Stat. *Theb.* 8.552f. *longa iacet ipse canendus / laude*. The oral propaganda suits the Fauns, their name in antiquity being falsely derived from *fari* (Var. *L.* 7.36).

per lustra viasque: for *lustra* TLL (8.2.1886.67) 'de quibuslibet locis silvestribus incultis, inviis' quotes V. *A.* 4.151 *in montis atque invia lustra*, ib. 11.570 *in dumis interque horrentia lustra*, Ov. *Met.* 3.146 *per devia lustra* (note VF's subtle addition *viasque*: both over pathless terrain and along the roads).

visi: Heinsius' conjecture for mss. *iussi* is almost certainly correct (see *Mnem.* 1986:335f.). Two *Aeneid* passages contain the combination of *manifestus* and *lumen* and both have a form of *videre* as well: 3.150f. *visi ante oculos astare iacentis / in somnis multo manifesto in lumine* and 4.358 *ipse deum manifesto in lumine vidi*. Furthermore, from Cic. *N.D.* 2.6 (also adduced by Heinsius) *saepe Faunorum voces exauditae, saepe visae formae deorum quemvis non aut hebetem aut impium deos praesentes esse confiteri coegerunt*, it is clear that normally Fauns only made themselves heard, whereas other deities could be seen occasionally. This passage also refutes Strand's statement (52ff.) that the participle *visus* 'should be followed by an infinitive, not by a finite verb'. VF makes even Fauns visible in broad

daylight, which is so exceptional a happening, that it is duly stressed by *visi*. The rural gods go out of their way to rouse the agrarians to enthusiasm for the expedition; they need not be ordered (*iussi*) to do so. Therefore Courtney and Liberman (who prints *uissi*) are right in adopting Heinsius' conjecture (Ehlers keeps the mss. reading). The role of Pallas and Juno has been adequately dealt with in 91–99.

silvarum … deae: we will have to think of wood-nymphs.

elatis cornibus: the combination is new, but cf. *elatis naribus* (Enn. *Ann.* 600V; V. *A.* 12.115). River-gods were usually represented with horns, like bulls: V. *A.* 8.77 *corniger Hesperidum fluvius regnator aquarum*. For more parallels see Langen. Here the mention of 'raised horns' (OLD s.v. *effero* 9b) is relevant because it shows that the river-gods were visible as well. The three elements (wildlife, forests, rivers) represent nature in its different aspects.

107–112

> protinus Inachiis ultro Tirynthius Argis
> advolat, Arcadio cuius flammata veneno
> tela puer facilesque umeris gaudentibus arcus
> gestat Hylas; velit ille quidem, sed dextera nondum
> par oneri clavaeque capax. quos talibus amens
> insequitur solitosque novat Saturnia questus:

At this stage, only one of the future Argonauts is mentioned: Hercules, the strongest and greatest, though not the leader-to-be. His arrival causes grief and annoyance to Juno. By telling the story in this way VF constructs a double circular composition: ship (92–95), crew (96–119), ship (120–149); and, within the crew unit, the action of Juno (96–99), the response at human level (100–106), the first individual hero (107–111), the reaction of Juno (111–119).

protinus, 'forthwith', insists upon the eagerness of Hercules, being (one of) the first to register.

ultro: he was not individually requested by Jason to join the expedition, nor did he need prompting by Juno; but probably VF also wants to suggest 'not by orders of Eurystheus', like AR (1.130 αὐτὸς δ' ᾗ ἰότητι παρὲκ νόον Εὐρυσθῆος).

Inachiis … Argis: the river-god Inachus was the mythical first king of Argos. The combination occurs in V. *A.* 7.286, where it is Juno who departs from Argos. Hercules lived there in exile (*Arg.* 6.462). VF furthermore has *Inachiis … ab Argis* (3.666), and we may consider *Argis* (all edd.) as certain, in spite of the mss.' *agris* (but cf. 8.125 *ab Inachiis*

… *Tirynthius antris*). For the plural *Argis* see Fordyce on V. *A.* 7.286. The usual Latin form to denote the city of Argos was *Argi* (Var. *L.* 9.89). According to TLL 2.532.4ff. 39 instances of n. *Argos* are attested until Apuleius, against 89 forms derived from *Argi.* VF has *Argis* four times and *Argos* (acc. pl.) only in 239 below. His sole instance of (n. sg.) *Argos* is 1.359, where it is again referred to as Idmon's birthplace (*hinc quoque* 360). Cf. also *Argolicus* … *Idmon* in 5.2.

Tirynthius as a noun occurs twice in the *Aeneid* (7.662, where *victor* is surely used predicatively, and 8.228), twice in the *Met.* (9.66, 268), and no less than 11 times in the *Arg.* Of course it is also regularly used as an adjective.

advolat: again coupled with *ultro* in 2.124 and 4.299f. The verb strengthens the impression of eagerness on Hercules' part (*protinus*; *ultro*).

Arcadio … *veneno*: Hercules had dipped his arrows in the poisonous blood of the vanquished hydra. Lerna is here again placed in Arcadia (cf. on 36). The epithet may refer 'to deities, etc., connected w. Arcadia' (OLD).

flammata: the adjective constitutes a variation on Virgil's *ferrum*, *calamos*, *sagittam armare veneno* (*A.* 9.773, 10.140 and 12.857 respectively). There is a problem in the fact that the arrows themselves were not 'set on fire', nor 'inflamed' like the wounds they would impart. Therefore it seems preferable to explain (cf. *Mnem.* 1986: 336f.) VF's innovation by comparing similar adjectives that are not participles, like *barbatus*, *dentatus*. In that case, *flammatus* is not so much a passive participle from *flammare* as an adjective meaning 'provided with fire' and therefore 'fiery', as in several other instances of the word (see OLD s.v. *flammatus*). Liberman, referring to Stat. *Theb.* 5.521 and Ov. *Met.* 9.171, thinks that *flamma* could denote the poison itself which causes inflammation (so that *flammata veneno* would be equivalent to *venenatus*). In that case too, which is not impossible, VF goes one better than Virgil.

tela … *facilesque arcus*: cf. AR 1.132 (Hylas).

puer … *Hylas*: the subject is split up and its two parts are separated by *-que*, as in 2.175 *Venus* and *dea* by *et* (likewise 3.10f. *coniunx Percosia* … *et* … *Clite*); 5.35f. *Aesonides* … *ductor* by *sed*, 6.429f. *Iuno* … *regina* by *nec*; see ANRW 2463f. *faciles* … *arcus*: easy (to carry); OLD 5. The contradistinction to the club, which is too heavy for him, is emphasized by the opposition *umeris* … *dextera*.

umeris gaudentibus: although *facilis* is sometimes construed with a (participle in the) dative, this dative form usually denotes the particular

action which is easily performed (V. *G.* 4.272 *facilis quaerentibus herba*, Liv. 9.19.8 (*acies*) *facilis partienti … iungenti*). This cannot be the case with *gaudentibus*, which is therefore to be taken as an ablative with *gestat* (cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.35.18f. *manu / gestans aena*).

umeris gaudentibus: cf. Prop. 3.14.9 *nunc ligat ad caestum gaudentia bracchia loris*, Luc. 1.603 *et Salius laeto portans ancilia collo*. The same picture appears in Stat. *Theb.* 5.441ff. *audet iter magnique sequens vestigia mutat / Herculis et tarda quamvis se mole ferentem / vix cursu tener aequat Hylas Lernaeaque tollens / arma sub ingenti gaudet sudare pharetra*. The personification in ascribing emotions to parts of the body occurs again in 3.562 *avidas … manus*, 5.85 *avidos … vultus*, 7.98 *saevas … aures*. Actions or states of mind are attributed to them in 1.145 *invito … tergo*, 3.40f. *inscia … / dextera*, 4.302f. *inconsulta … bracchia*, 4.527 *dubiis … alis*, 8.85 *luctantia lumina*. For the pl. *arcus* denoting a single bow (also in 3.161) cf. Prop. 4.6.55, Ov. *Am.* 3.9.8, *Tr.* 4.1.77.

velit ille quidem: a notable case of brachylogy, *clavam quoque gestare* to be supplied from the following words. Stat. *Theb.* 6.477f. *velit ille quidem, sed Martius ante / obstitit Hippodamus* is easier, because there only the infinitive is missing, which can be deduced from the preceding *nec praetulit* (P ω; *pertulit* ς) *ullam / frater opem*. Here however the essential element (*clavae*) comes afterwards and is no longer governed by *gestat*.

quidem takes its preferred position behind the pronoun, although strictly speaking it gives emphasis to the verb (K/S 1. 623 A. 8).

sed dextera … capax: cf. Stat. *Theb.* 9.720f. *vix tutae sine matre viae, silvestria cuius / nondum tela procax arcumque implere valebas*.

nondum: but he will never be strong enough; the water-nymphs, instigated by Juno, will get hold of him (3.509–564).

par oneri: Stat. *Theb.* 8.285 *seque oneri negat esse parem*. For *oneri clavaeque* cf. Maurach 1983:30 (§37).

capax with a genitive 'capable of holding, big enough for' (OLD 2).

-que serves to connect two negated elements (K/S 2.103 A. 1, Sz. 500), but of course the second is only a variation of the first, not an addition to it.

quos … insequitur … questus: the plural *quos* prepares for the way in which Juno will eventually work mischief, not only against Hercules himself.

amens: VF has this adjective 6 times in all, three of which are, like this one, connected with the story of Hercules (also 3.576 and 4.50). Apart from this passage, it is not used as a qualification of any Olympic deity.

insequi with an ablative since Cicero 'to attack (verbally)', OLD 4, as in 3.639; cf. 4.239 with *adeo* (where see Korn). In the second clause (*solitos … questus*) the relative pronoun no longer has a function. The combination *solitos—novat* formally constitutes a kind of oxymoron, though the verb means in fact nothing more than 'to begin again, resume, refresh' (OLD 6).

Juno's enmity towards Hercules plays hardly any role in AR (only 1.996f. contains an allusion to it). VF has lent it prominence in clear emulation of Virgil. As in the *Aeneid*, the persecution motif is introduced in a monologue at the start of the narration (cf. *A.* 1.36 *aeternum … vulnus*—*Arg.* 1.112 *solitos … questus*), but VF doubles it in 3.510–520, which in its turn corresponds to *A.* 7.293–322. See Lüthje 10–13, Adamietz 1976:9f., Eigler 1988:32–39. Of course, Juno's hatred concerns only Hercules and, by implication, Hylas, not the expedition as a whole, and VF is careful to stress this.

113–116

> 'o utinam Graiae rueret non omne iuventae
> in nova fata decus, nostrique Eurystheos haec nunc
> iussa forent. imbrem et tenebras saevumque tridentem
> iamiam ego et inviti torsissem coniugis ignem.

Juno's monologue has a simple structure. The first half contains an unrealizable wish, mentioning the actions Juno would have taken if it had been realizable. The second part formulates the wish she entertains in the given situation, and which she will make come to pass later, in the Hylas-episode.

o utinam: K/S 1.184. First in Tib. 1.3.2; cf. Bömer on Ov. *Met.* 3.467. The sentence is formally optative in character, in fact also protasis to the following statement *imbrem … ignem*; reversely sentences introduced with *o si* are formally conditional, while expressing a wish as well. VF has the combination again in 3.617, 7.135, 534, and 8.439. The negation of wishes with *non* instead of *ne* is not so remarkable in poetry (K/S 1.192.2); here it can be maintained that the negation only applies to *omne* (as in 8.439 *non omnia*).

decus with a genitive: 'the glory of' (OLD 3). For *iuventa*—*iuventus* see note on 101 above.

rueret … in nova fata: 2.3ff. *ne … in Pelian et adhuc obstantia regis / fata ruat* is different, since it means 'to attack the life of Pelias, against the opposition of fate'. Here the sense must be 'to rush eagerly to

a new (unknown) destination and destiny'. Presently it will be made clear to the reader, though not to the Argonauts, that Jupiter himself is managing the development of the Fates (534; 541), leading to a new world order as a consequence of seafaring.

nostrique … forent: if Eurystheus (and not Pelias) had ordered the expedition, Hercules would have been alone and fully exposed to the realization of Juno's ill wishes.

-que, connecting a negative clause with a positive one, often has an adversative ring (K/S 2.28), as here.

Eurystheos: the only example of this genitive (with short *o*) that is mentioned in Neue-Wagener 1.455f.

nostri: 'my favourite', in oppressing Hercules.

imbrem … ignem: these words, in which Juno describes what she would have done if the expedition had been one of Hercules' labours, clearly refer to the storm she causes in V. *A.* 1.50ff. Of the four components presented here, rain (*imbrem*) is not expressly mentioned in Virgil's storm description, but we may take it for granted. Darkness (*tenebras*) is part of the picture *passim* in the *Aeneid* passage, but the words *saevumque tridentem* are taken from the indignant speech of Neptune (1.138), where there is no trace of Juno hurling her husband's lightning.

For *imbrem torquere* 'to hurl down rain' (cf. *imbrem quatere* 82) cf. V. *A.* 8.429 *tris imbris torti radios*. The combination with *tenebras torquere* certainly looks like a zeugma.

saevumque tridentem: it cannot have been clear to Juno herself how she could have taken hold of Neptune's attribute, or how she could have wielded Jupiter's weapon against his will (*inviti*). Langen tries to tone down the expression (dolis; non aperte obsistendo), but this would make *invitus* an equivalent of *inscius*, which it is not. This is therefore sheer grandiloquence on Juno's part (Cazzaniga: 'esagerazione impossibile'), but her logic is defective as well. Since the Argo is still being built (120ff.), she could not 'by now, already' (*iamiam*) have hurled (*torsissem*) the storm with its several aspects. This is surely not an inadvertence on the part of the poet, but is meant to sketch Juno's irrational state of mind (*amens* 111). Since Neptune's trident cannot be considered as a missile, here too we have to do with a zeugma.

saevus is quite frequently used '(of weapons, etc.)': OLD 2e. Cf. 2.301 *delubraque saeva Dianae*.

ignem torquere occurs again in 7.568 *ira Iovis torsit geminos mortalibus ignes*. In 1.372 *tortum non a Iove fulmen* VF refers to the active role Pallas played in destroying Oileus, as Virgil had done in Juno's speech

(*A.* 1.39ff.). The expression *fulmen* (*-ina*) *torquere* occurs also in 2.22f., where Poortvliet notes no more than four earlier instances, among which V. *A.* 4.208. Note the strong alliteration: *imbrem—inviti—ignem*; *tenebras—tridentem—torsissem.*

117–119

> nunc quoque nec socium nostrae columenve carinae
> esse velim, Herculeis nec me umquam fidere fas sit
> auxiliis comiti et tantum debere superbo.'

nunc quoque: the suspicions of Langen ('expectamus *at nunc* vel tale quid') and Ehlers (in his apparatus) are unfounded. The correct interpretation was given by Samuelsson (1905/06:85). Juno's thoughts are: 'would that not all the most famous heroes of Greece took part in the expedition! Were it but an assignment of Eurystheus, involving only Hercules! In that case, I would have tried everything to wreck the ship. (As it is [and here *at nunc* could be mentally supplied], it is a joint undertaking under my own patronage, and so I am bound to help them and wish them every success.) But even so [*nunc quoque*: "even though I hope the Argonauts will succeed"; Burman rightly paraphrases *in hoc rerum statu*] I wish they had not Hercules among them as their most powerful ally, so that I will have to trust in the person I hate most'. In 113–115 the real situation is set off against a preferable alternative, namely Hercules without the others; in 116–118 against another, namely the others without Hercules. For *nunc quoque*, introducing a statement that applies to reality as well, cf. Luc. 7.40f. *nunc quoque, tela licet paveant victoris iniqui, / nuntiet ipse licet Caesar tua funera, flebunt.*

nec … -ve: here *-ve* is not properly disjunctive, but rather coordinating (K/S 2.112, Sz. 500).

columen denoting a person of foremost importance in a group is as old as Plautus: *Cas.* 536 *senati columen*; cf. also Hor. *Carm.* 2.17.3f. *mearum / grande decus columenque rerum* (VF has *decus* in 114).

nostrae … carinae: adjective and noun are spread over the two halves of the clause, as in 7.117 *aut venit in carae gremium refugitque sororis*. This is another form of hyperbaton (*nostrae columenve* instead of *columenve nostrae*), comparable to the split subject as in 109f. *puer … Hylas.*

nec … nec: strictly speaking, this is not a case of coordinating two optative clauses (as descibed in K/S 1.194.5), since *velim* is a potential subjunctive. However, the first part of the sentence does contain a wish. Two formal wishes are coupled thus in 3.454f.(and 5.58, with one predicate).

In the last two lines of the speech there are two other cases of hyperbaton, *Herculeis nec* and *comiti et* respectively.

fas (sit): doubtlessly approaching the sense of *fatum*; OLD 2 'that which is ordained by divine law, the will of heaven'. The present subjunctive implies that her wish is realizable. Juno in fact thinks: 'may there never arise a situation in which I will have to rely on the assistance of Hercules …'. Having once eliminated him, she will take care that the Argonauts, without their greatest hero, survive the greatest dangers, first in passing through the Symplegades, and then in Colchis. For the pl. *auxiliis* cf. V. *A.* 2.163 *Palladis auxiliis* with Austin's note.

comiti … superbo: as *comiti* clearly harks back to *socium*, so *superbo* suggests in a more oblique way *columen*. Hercules would have been 'a proud comrade' indeed, certainly not inclined to pray to Juno as Jason had done. On the contrary, she would have been indebted to him (*debere*), not the other way round. *superbus* here is used in an unfavourable sense, as in 161 where it denotes Pelias. VF also has the adjective in its positive meaning, as in 434, where it is the author's qualification of Hercules.

tantum: 'so much'; we are not supposed to ask 'how much exactly?'. The word has almost no meaning on a rational level: Juno would not care to be under any other obligation to Hercules. Anything would have been 'too much' for her. In saying vaguely 'so much' she gives vent to her resentment.

120

dixit et Haemonias oculos detorquet ad undas.

There is some difficulty in paragraphing here. *dixit* clearly marks off Juno's speech, and so Ehlers takes the line with the preceding ones. On the other hand, Juno's look at the busy activities in Thessaly is immediately elaborated in the following lines, Juno remaining the grammatical subject, and so Courtney and Liberman indent before 120. This is therefore a transitional line if ever there was one.

dixit et … detorquet: for the combination of perfect and present tense cf. V. *A.* 4.579 *dixit vaginaque eripit ensem* (a pluperfect and a present tense occur in V. *A.* 6.752f.).; K/S 1.116 A.1).

detorquet ad undas: cf. V. *A.* 5.165 *proram pelagi detorquet ad undas*. With 'eyes' as object Ov. *Met.* 6.515 *nusquam lumen detorquet ab illa*.

Haemoniis: Thessalian; the adjective occurs from Propertius on (1.13.21, 1.15.20, 2.8.38), also in Tibullus and Ovid.

121–148 (The construction of the ship)

This part of the story is almost skipped by AR, who refers to the building of the Argo in just two lines (1.18f.). VF links it closely to the preceding narrative in that Juno, who was the last grammatical subject and whose monologue is given in full, is now presented as an onlooker to the activities on the Thessalian shore.

121–123a

> fervere cuncta virum coetu, simul undique cernit
> delatum nemus et docta resonare bipenni
> litora.

fervere: like Virgil, VF only uses this form of the infinitive (also 6.588, 7.150), whereas his only finite form is *fervent* (1.640); cf. Virgil's *fervet*, three times). Ovid, Lucan, Statius and Silius all have, apart from ambiguous forms like *ferveba(n)t*, only finite forms of the -*e*- stem, and only Statius has the corresponding infinitive (*Theb.* 1.525, 5.144, 10.468); cf. TLL 6.1.593.66ff.

For the meaning (OLD 4b '(of places) to seethe or surge with activity, be astir') the nearest parallels are V. *A.* 4.407 *opere omnis semita fervet* and ib. 8.676f. *instructo Marte … / fervere Leucaten.* Statius has (*Silv.* 4.3.61) *fervent litora.* Usually the ablative with this verb denotes an activity or sound, which is, however, only hinted at here in the words *virum coetu* ('the (busy) crowd'). Cf. Var. *Men.* 86 *fervere piratis* and, to some degree, *instructo Marte*, V. *A.* 8.677 (cited above).

simul denotes not the simultaneity of the following clause with the preceding words, of which it is a specification, but the concerted action of the tree-fellers and carpenters.

delatum: TLL 5.1.313.81: (ex superiore loco ferre, deicere, deducere) 'i. decisum'. The word conveys two shades of meaning: 'to cause to fall down, to fell', and 'to carry down (from the hillside to the coast)'; cf. OLD 3a and b.

nemus 'the (many) trees cut down' seems to have been inspired by Luc. 1.306 *in classem cadit omne nemus* (cf. ib. 3.394f. *tunc omnia late / procumbunt nemora*).

docta … bipenni: the noun denotes a (two-edged) axe from V. *G.* 4.331 on. The use of *docta* implies a special type of personification: an inanimate entity is combined with an attribute (part. or adj.) containing a notion which in prose would be expressed by means of a relative clause or a participle with adverb. *docta bipenni* is equivalent to *bipennis docte*

habita (ANRW 2479); Liberman pertinently refers to Prop. 2.19.12 *docta … falce*. Incidentally, *validam … bipennem* (in the *Georgics*-passage quoted above, and in *A.* 11.651) may mean not just 'the strong axe', but also 'the axe wielded with force'.

resonare: the ablative with this verb originally (Pacuvius, Accius) denoted the sound with which a place re-echoes, and from Virgil on (*Ecl.* 2.13 *cicadis*, *G.* 1.486 *lupis*) the producer of the sound, as here.

123b–126

> iam pinus gracili dissolvere lamna
> Thespiaden iungique latus lentoque sequaces
> molliri videt igne trabes remisque paratis
> Pallada velifero quaerentem bracchia malo.

Here the construction of *videt* shows a double variation: first from an active acc. and infin. to a passive one, and then to an acc. with participle (ANRW 2459).

For the use of *pinus* cf. note on *robora* (95).

dissolvere is unparalleled in the sense of 'to saw up' (OLD 1). Cazzaniga rightly calls this 'audacia senza pari', no *vinculum* being loosened here. In Col. *Arb.* 9.2 the *tubulus* that is split up was man-made; TLL 5.1.1496.38ff.

lamna (*lamina, lammina*) as 'the blade of a saw' is first attested in V. *G.* 1.143 *argutae lamina serrae*. The combination with *gracilis* ('fine, slender') occurs in Seneca (*Ben.* 4.6.2 *tenues crustae et ipsa qua secantur lamna graciliores*).

Thespiaden: both Argus (who is of course meant here) and Tiphys (2.368, 5.44) are called *Thespiades*. This word, properly a patronymic, in fact denotes not so much descent from the mythical king Thespios as birth in the town of Thespiae (cf. 93 above and see Poortvliet on 2.368).

iungi: OLD 5 'to make by joining or combining'. Cf. Curt. 7.8.7 *rates iunctae sunt* (although this could in itself mean 'the rafts were joined'), 8.10.3 *iunxere naves*; Sil. 5.553 *iunxisse ratem*.

lento … igne: the most satisfactory meaning of the adjective in this combination is (OLD 1b) 'making pliant, softening', although the instances recorded with nouns denoting 'fire' (OLD 4b) assume another meaning: 'slow-burning'. Neither OLD nor TLL records this passage.

sequaces … trabes: OLD s.v. *sequax* 2 '(esp. of materials) Responsive to physical control, manipulation, etc., pliant, tractable'. This is of course

a case of prolepsis. Langen refers to Plin. *Nat.* 16.174 *virgas sequaces ad vincturas lentitiae.*

mollire is not used elsewhere with 'wood' as the object. The nearest parallel seems to be Hor. *S.* 1.4.20 *ferrum molliat ignis.*

remisque paratis: the stages of construction are clearly marked: first the felled trees are sawed into boards (*dissolvere*), which are then joined to form the ship's hull (*iungi—molliri*, a hysteron proteron); when the oars have been made (*remis paratis*), only the mast (*malo*) has to be fashioned.

Pallada … quaerentem bracchia: the first appearance of the goddess after she had entered the woods with Argus (95).

bracchia 'the yard-arms' (OLD 5), as in V. *A.* 5.829 *attolli malos, intendi bracchia velis.* Ovid, telling the story of the metamorphosis of Aeneas' ships, has (*Met.* 14.554) *antemnae bracchia fiunt.*

velifer: for the combination with *malus* in corresponding metrical position cf. Luc. 1.500 *fractaque veliferi sonuerunt pondera mali.* Our passage, which is another instance of prolepsis, is echoed by Statius (*Silv.* 5.1.244) *lataque veliferi porrexit bracchia mali.* The adjective itself occurs in Prop. (3.9.35, if that line is authentic), Ovid (*Met.* 15.719, *Pont.* 3.2.67) and Seneca (*Thy.* 129).

127–129

constitit ut longo moles non pervia ponto
puppis et ut tenues subiere latentia cerae
lumina, picturae varios super addit honores.

This sentence presents two problems. First: is *puppis* to be taken as a nominative (subject or rather, apposition), or as a genitive, either with *moles* or with *lumina*? And second: who is the subject of (*super*) *addit*: Juno, Argus or Pallas? Concerning the first of these questions, a genitive *puppis* construed with *lumina*, by the hyperbaton and its place at the beginning of the line, would acquire an unwarranted emphasis. The combination *moles … puppis* is less objectionable, but the most forceful expression seems to be: 'when the massive structure had come into existence … (now) a ship!, and when …'… (*puppis* taken as an apposition to *moles*). As regards the subject of *addit*, the idea of making Juno paint the ship (Wagner, Lüthje) seems preposterous. If a goddess were to work in person decorating the Argo, it would rather be Pallas. One cannot but quote with approval what Langen wrote: 'culpa nimiae obscuritatis Valerius liberari non potest; sed cum consentaneum sit, ubi non aperte dea nominetur. Argum fabricatorem navis haberi, is

hoc loco artem pingendi exercere videtur; fortasse poeta si ei licuisset carmen retractare, hanc obscuritatem sustulisset'.

constitit: this verb, which is not used elsewhere with 'ships' as the subject, primarily conveys the notion of 'to come into existence' (OLD 14a), but it also seems to hint at the use of *stare* for ships, 'to lie (at anchor, in port, etc.)', OLD 8.

longo … ponto: Langen explains these words as 'longo in pontum itineri', but in view of *pervia* with a dative, it denotes rather 'the boundless sea' itself (OLD 4a), as in Hor. *Carm.* 3.3.37f. *dum longus inter saeviat Ilion / Romamque pontus*. Cf. also Sen. *Nat.* 5.18.10 *tempestates longissimi maris* and Stat. *Theb.* 4.24 *viris longum super aequor ituris*.

moles is used to denote a ship from Accius on (*trag.* 391R, the Argo itself). In the *Argonautica* the word occurs with the same meaning in 1.599 and 2.353, and perhaps in 1.499.

non pervia: VF has the adjective only in the first book (unless it lurks behind the corruption in 2.642). In the other two instances (1 and 720) it is used of the sea itself, which is said not to have been traversable up to this time; here it is the ship which is called 'inaccessible' to the sea.

tenues … cerae: wax used for plugging is mentioned in the *Argonautica* once more (1.480), in the same context. The first attested instances are in Ovid: *Met.* 11.514f. *spoliataque tegmine cerae / rima patet* (cf. *Her.* 5.42 *ceratas … rates*, *Rem.* 447 *ceratas … puppes*). Lucan has (10.494) *manantis cera tabulas* (cf. ib. 3.684 (*carinae*) *liquida rapuere incendia cera*). The adjective *tenuis* '(of a liquid) watery, thin' (OLD 5b) is not found previously as a qualification of *cera*, as *mollis* (1.480) is: Cic. *De Or.* 3.177.

latentia … lumina: the noun denotes 'interstices', usually implying the access of light, which is hardly relevant here. For this use TLL 7.1814.23ff. ('respectu illuminationis evanido fere i.q. apertura') quotes three earlier writers, all of them authors of technical works: Vitr. 8.6.4. Plin. *Nat.* 31.57, Front. *Aq.* 1.27,29,36; 2.105.

Since *latere* means 'to be out of sight, be invisible' (OLD 3), it is rather to be taken proleptically 'so as to become invisible' (Cazzaniga: 'ut laterent ceris tecta et oblita') than as 'lurking' (Mozley).

subiere: OLD 10 'to make one's (its) access into the interior of anything', here into an existing opening as in Hor. *Ep.* 1.7.33 *macra cavum repetes artum, quem macra subisti.*

super addit: written as one word in the editions of Thilo, Langen, Kramer and Liberman, as two words by Courtney and Ehlers. In V. *Ecl.* 3.38 and 5.42, editors opt for *superaddita / -e*, in Prop. 2.13.33 it is otherwise. Perhaps we should not be too dogmatic about this.

In the first passage in Virgil and also that in Propertius cited above, decorations on a surface are described. This notion is here conveyed by the noun *honores* (TLL 6.3.2929.66 'ornamentum'), as in V. *A.* 7.814f. *ut regius ostro / velet honos levis umeros*, Prop. 3.2.21 (23) *aut illis flamma aut imber subducet honores*. See also *Arg.* 6.296 *populeus cui frondis honor*, and cf. the use of *honestus* in the sense of 'having a fine appearance, handsome' (OLD 4).

picturae: for the painting of ships cf. the parallels listed by Langen, who pertinently remarks that the question of anachronism need not detain our attention. See also Bömer on Ov. *Fast.* 4.275. VF's description seems to be the only elaborate one of a painted ship (E. Frank 1974:837ff.).

As Langen has shown (*Quaestiones Valerianae* I (1894), resumed in his commentary), VF here presents three pictures, two of which are on the same side of the ship: 130–136 Thetis on her way to her wedding with Peleus, 137 (*contra*)-139 the wedding ceremony itself (10 lines, containing 7 figures; differently Schmitzer 1999). On the other side (140–148; for *parte alia* in the sense of *altera* see note on 140) is the drunken brawl between the Lapiths and the Centaurs, following another wedding (Pirithoüs and Hippodamia), 9 lines with 9 names. These pictures are all in one or more ways relevant to the story. Peleus, himself one of the Argonauts, lived in Thessaly, like Jason (Cat. 64.26 *Thessaliae columen Peleu*). Thetis, as a goddess of the sea, will later prove helpful in saving the ship (1.658), a thing she could not be expected to do in Cat. 64, because there the marriage takes place after the expedition: ib. 19ff. VF in open contradiction to Catullus makes the young Achilles visit his father before the sailing (1.255ff.). The divinity subjugated to a mortal man also symbolizes the element of the sea made subject to mankind. On the other hand, there is a clear hint of the future in the prefiguration of Jason's marriage with Medea: cf. 1.132 *deiecta in lumina palla*, 8.204 *deiecta residens in lumina palla*. This last reference is probably not so much to the eventual catastrophe in Corinth, which falls outside the scope of the work, but rather to the ensuing fight on Peuce between the Argonauts and the barbarian Colchians, like that between the Lapiths and the uncivilized Centaurs (cf. 1.137 *viridique torus de fronde*—8.255 *gramineis ast inde toris discumbitur*). Finally, two of the older Argonauts are portrayed in successful action in battle: Peleus (144) and Nestor (145), as is Jason's father Aeson (144).

130–133

> hic sperata ⟨deo⟩ Tyrrheni tergore piscis
> Peleos in thalamos vehitur Thetis; aequora delphin
> corripit, ⟨ipsa⟩ sedet deiecta in lumina palla
> nec Iove maiorem nasci suspirat Achillem.

It seems impossible to reach any certainty about the missing word (or words) in 130. At least twelve proposals have been made to fill the lacuna: *sedens* ed. Bonon. 1498, *insperato* Carr.^{2}, *insperatos* Gronov, *in spirato* Crusius, *(spectata) vago* 'quidam codd.' ap. Pium, *(sperata) vago* cod. Harl., *(sperata) diu* Bährens, *(spectata) diu* (or: *procul*) Köstlin 1889, *spe delusa* Reuss, *(sperata) iterum* Brakman, *(sperata) deo* or *Iovi* Kramer. Of these, ⟨*deo*⟩ was preferred by Mozley, Strand (55; his variation *deis* is no improvement) and Dräger, and mentioned in the apparatus of Courtney and Ehlers. This indeed seems the best solution. Liberman prints Gronov's conjecture *insperatos*, explaining it as 'unwished for, undesirable', a sense not attested for the adjective, which means either 'not hoped for' (denoting an unexpected relief), or 'unforeseen' (of unfortunate events). *speratus* on the other hand means 'longed for' (in this case 'by a god, *i.e.* Jupiter').

hic describes the first picture; *contra* (137) denoting its counterpart on the same side of the ship.

sperata: according to most variants of the myth, Zeus had been deterred from a liaison with Thetis by an oracle predicting that the son to be born to her would surpass his father. Cf. Pind. *I.* 8. 29ff., AR 4. 790–809, Apollod. 3.13.5, Cat. 64.27, Hyg. 54, Ov. *Met.* 11.221–228 (225: *quamvis haud tepidos sub pectore senserat ignes [Iuppiter]*), and see Bömer on *Met.* 11.217–409.

For *tergore … vehitur* cf. Prop. 2.26.6 (*Hellen*) *aurea quam molli tergore vexit ovis.*

Tyrrheni … piscis: OLD c '(applied to dolphins, because Etruscan pirates who tried to enslave Bacchus were changed by him into dolphins)'. The story is told extensively in Ov. *Met.* 3.582ff.; cf. Hyg. 134.3 *unde delphini Tyrrheni sunt appellati*, Sen. *Ag.* 451 *Tyrrhenus … piscis*. The image of Thetis on her way to the wedding on a dolphin's back is already present in Tib. 1.5.45f. *talis ad Haemonium Nereis Pelea quondam / vecta est frenato caerula pisce Thetis*; cf. Ov. *Met.* 11. 236f. *quo* (a grotto on the coast of Thessaly) *saepe venire / frenato delphine sedens, Theti, nuda solebas.*

For the genitive form *Peleos* see note on 42 *Cretheos*.

vehitur: VF regularly uses the present tense in his description of the paintings, whereas Catullus 64 has some imperfect forms (67, 70).

Line 131 contains two Greek nouns and two (Greek) proper names, leaving only three Latin words (*in*, *vehitur*, *aequora*).

delphin: a collateral form of *delphinus* (K/H 313 and 490). The nom. sing. is also found in Luc. 5.552, Mart. 8.50 (51).15, Sen. *Oed.* 466 and (denoting the constellation) Ov. *Fast.* 1.457 and 6.720, Germ. *Arat.* 321.

corripit: OLD 2 'To hasten over (a stretch of ground); to hasten upon or over rapidly (a journey); …'.

corripit … sedet: the simplest solutions proposed are ⟨*illa*⟩ (Carr.) and ⟨*ipsa*⟩ (Bährens). There is little to choose between these two. Courtney prefers ⟨*illa*⟩, while explaining in his apparatus how ⟨*ipsa*⟩ could have disappeared ('inter -*ip* et *se* omissum'). ⟨*ipsa*⟩, printed by Ehlers, Liberman and Dräger, is perhaps slightly preferable, opposing the rider to the ridden animal.

deiecta in lumina palla: the general meaning is clear; Thetis has drawn her mantle to cover her face. Two different reasons for this have been proposed: shame and modesty (Maserius, Zinzerling, Vossius, Burman, Wagner) and grief (Burman, Nodell, Wagner), on account of her being compelled to marry a mortal. This last interpretation seems to be supported by *suspirat* in the next line and is upheld by, among others, Langen, Cazzaniga, Shey, Shelton, Fuhrer (*Ratis*^{2} 17), Schmitzer and Dräger. However, this would introduce a pessimistic note, difficult to reconcile both with the general joy and with the parallel in 8.204. There, Medea weeps, not because of her grief concerning her new alliance (which she had chosen herself), but from the shame of her preceding actions (cf. *flens* 8.6, *fletus* ib. 11, *singultibus* 45, *flevit* 94 with *flebat adhuc* 205) and perhaps also from virginal modesty. After all, the content of 1.133 need not be identical with the information contained in 132. A pessimistic counterpart of the wedding ceremony is rather to be sought in the following description of the battle between the Lapiths and the Centaurs. Anyway, Statius in his imitation of this passage (*Theb.* 11.495; see below) connects the gesture with shame (*pudibunda* 1.493).

As for the construction, VF has introduced another variation (cf. *Mnem.* 1986:337f.). *deicere* with objects like *vultum* (*oculos*, *lumina*; OLD 5b: 'to drop one's eyes, lower one's gaze') had been used before him (TLL 5.1.396.39ff.), while Virgil has (*A.* 6.862) *deiecto lumina vultu*. The innovation consists of a change in syntax and consequently of meaning, while keeping a participle in the ablative and *lumina* in the same metrical position. This construction, in which the object is '(a piece of) clothing' and

the verb denotes 'to draw down (over one's face)', is repeated in 8.204. It was subsequently taken over by Statius: *Theb.* 11.495 *deiectam in lumina pallam* (the participle is now in the accusative), and ib. 12.367f. *in ora mariti / deicit inque suos pariter velamina vultus* (an expansion). Mart. 7.33.3 and Quint. *Inst.* 6.3.54 are comparable, but there the verb does not mean 'to draw down (over the eyes)', but 'to let down, drop'.

nec: negating, of course, not *suspirat*, but *maiorem* (K/S 2.393).

suspirat with an acc. and inf. 'to sigh with regret (that)', OLD 1d, where two other instances are cited: Lucr. 2.1164 and Ov. *Tr.* 1.1.27, though the latter case (*invenies aliquem qui me suspiret ademptum*) is doubtful.

Achille(m) mss., *Achillen* Thilo, Bährens, Langen, Giarratano, Kramer, Mozley, Ehlers and Liberman. Only Strand (54), referring to Housman JP 1910, 236ff., and Courtney retain *Achillem*. Because both forms are found in the mss. (K/H 495; Neue-Wagener 1.475), the change into *Achillen* does not seem to be called for.

134–136

hanc Panope Dotoque soror laetataque fluctu
prosequitur nudis pariter Galatea lacertis
antra petens; Siculo revocat de litore Cyclops.

hanc … Cyclops: the three accompanying Nereids are presented in a tricolon crescendo: *Panope—Dotoque soror—laetataque fluctu /… Galatea.*

Panope: also mentioned in 2.589 (where see Poortvliet). Virgil called her *Panopea* (*G.* 1.437, *A.* 5.240, 825), Ovid *Panope* (*Fast.* 6.499).

soror of course applies to all three sea-nymphs, daughters of Nereus, as was Thetis (Hom. *Il.* 18.43, 45; Hes. *Th.* 244, 248, 250). *Doto* is mentioned by Virgil in *A.* 9.102, in connexion with Galatea.

laetata: OLD 2 '(w. abl.) To be fond (of), delight (in)'.

prosequitur: the appropriate verb for the escort of the bride: Pl. *Cas.* 782f. *novam nuptam volo / rus prosequi.* The predicate is placed after the second of the three subjects, a case not recognized in K/S (1.46).

nudis … lacertis: both Wyttenbach's *nitidis* (printed by Bährens, Kramer, Mozley [who translates 'bare'!] and Liberman) and Hemsterhuis' *niveis* (cf. V. *A.* 8.387) would have done excellently, but they are not necessary, because Ovid repeatedly combines forms of *lacertus* and *nudus*: *Met.* 1.501 (where see Bömer), 4.522, 8.227, all in different contexts. Cf. also Cat. 64.17 *nudato corpore Nymphas.*

pariter: 'in equal and uniform motion'. Cf. Ov. *Met.* 2 445 *sed postquam pariter Nymphas incedere vidit* and *Arg.* 1.494 *pariter propulsa ratis*, 6.190,

8.244f. Courtney refers to 6.530, where the verb is attached to the third subject, as here, but the meaning seems different (OLD 3: 'In the same manner, alike').

Galatea: in Virgil mentioned (apart from *A.* 9.103, cited above) in *Ecl.* 7.37 and 9.39, and of course as one of the two characters involved in Ovid's story *Met.* 13.738ff.

antra petens: some earlier critics (Pius, Caussin, Köstlin 1889) punctuated after line 135 and not after *petens*, thereby making the participle modify *Cyclops*. This seems improbable: Polyphemus can hardly be said to be 'on his way to his cave' and at the same time 'on the Sicilian shore, from there calling back Galatea'. *antra petens* goes with the preceding subject, Galatea, not as if she were initially on her way home and then turned away to follow the marriage procession (J.A.Wagner's opinion), but accompanying the bride to the nuptial cave. The combination *antra petens* occurs again in 3.728. Liberman, following Kramer, prints Loehbach's *alta* without stating its provenance and translating 'la grotte'.

Siculo … de litore is of course a subject-oriented adjunct. Ovid too describes Polyphemus as sitting on the shore (*Met.* 13. 778ff.) when he tries to allure Galatea with his song.

For prosody and position of *Cyclops* see Perutelli on 7.648.

137–139

> contra ignis viridique torus de fronde dapesque
> vinaque et aequoreos inter cum coniuge divos
> Aeacides, pulsatque chelyn post pocula Chiron.

contra: 'opposite to this picture', as in 5.442 (another description of a work of art), but still on the same side of the ship.

ignis: Maserius referred to the custom of divination by burning laurel leaves (see K.F.Smith on Tib. 2.5.81f.). Surely the fire served other purposes as well at a marriage ceremony. Its sacrificial function must have been paramount, but with this was connected the consultation of the flames that consumed the offering (see on 205f.). In the case of a wedding, of course, both sacrifice and the search for a good omen through pyromancy were appropriate, cf. 142 *araeque deorum*, and, in the corresponding passage, 8.243 *sacrificas … ad aras*, 245 *ignem … undamque iugalem*, 247 *candida flamma*. The verbal ellipse presents no difficulty, although the verbal expression to be supplied is 'were to be seen', rather than just 'were (there)'.

viridique torus de fronde: this rural arrangement stresses the fact that the ceremony took place in a mountain cave (quite different from Peleus' palace in Cat. 64), probably Chiron's (cf. Preller-Robert 2.68). For similar 'couches' cf. 252 and 295, and also 8.255. Although the *torus* suggests primarily the marriage bed, it may be assumed that the guests too reclined on 'green leaves'. *de*, '(indicating the material from which a thing is made) of' (OLD 8).

The enumeration *ignis—torus—dapesque vinaque—aequoreos ... Aeacides* indicates a movement from the more ceremonial aspects towards the festive atmosphere.

aequoreos ... divos: Langen remarks that elsewhere all the deities (except Eris, of course) were present at the wedding. Strictly speaking, however, VF does not state that only sea-gods attended the nuptials, only that the couple were placed 'in the midst of the marine deities'. For the place of *inter* see *Mnem.* 1986:328.

Aeacides: the patronymic denotes Peleus again in 405 below and (probably) in 2.427; Telamon is meant in 2.511, 3.693, 715, 722 and 6.348. Both together are *Aeacidae* (4.223; 5.573). Cf. *Ratis*[1]: 228, 232f.

pulsat ... Chiron: again a strong double alliteration at the end of a paragraph (*p-—ch-—po-—po-—Ch-*).

pulsare: 'to strike repeatedly or beat (a musical instrument), in order to produce sounds' (OLD 4). The first instance mentioning a stringed instrument seems to be [Sen.] *Oct.* 815 *pulsare lyram.*

chelys denoting a lyre is first found in [Ov.] *Epist. Sapph.* 181, later in Seneca (*Tro.* 321, *Ag.* 331, *Her.O.* 1033, 1063, *Oed.* 611). Statius (*Ach.* 186) makes Chiron play it, as here., As Langen remarks, Apollo is usually the musician on this occasion. In VF Chiron again appears as a practised musician 1.408f., for which passage cf. Stat. *Ach.* 1.118 (also of Chiron) *aut monstrare lyra veteres heroas alumno.* Langen quotes several other instances.

post pocula: cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.18.5 *post vina* (where see Nisbet-Hubbard), and, rather more remarkable, ib. 3.21.19 *post te* (*Massicum*). VF's construction is in a sense easier, since in the stem of *pocula* the act of drinking is suggested. Cf. 4.68 *media inter pabula* (= *inter pascendum*); ANRW 2474. See Langen for further instances, more or less comparable.

140–141

> parte alia Pholoe multoque insanus Iaccho
> Rhoetus et Atracia subitae de virgine pugnae.

parte alia: Langen's arguments to show that this must denote the other side of the ship are convincing. Strand (55) is unwilling to accept this and points to some passages (V. *A.* 1.474, Sil. 2.426) where *parte alia* means simply 'somewhere else'; in this sense it occurs in the *Argonautica* as well (3.314, 6.265). VF, however, clearly uses *alius* in the sense of *alter*: 1.354 *aliud mare* (the starboard side of rowers), 1.834 *aliam* (one of the two (*geminae* 832) gates to the underworld), 7.596 *alium* (one of the two (*uterque* 570) bulls Jason has to subjugate). For instances in other writers see Langen. Moreover, the link between the former two pictures, of Thetis riding to her wedding and of the nuptial feast, is much stronger than that which connects them to the battle of the Lapiths and the Centaurs. Therefore these two are more appropriate if decorating one side of the ship, rather than being one on starboard, one on port.

Pholoe: properly speaking an upland plain between Elis and Arcadia (RE 20.1.513, DNP 9.949), traditionally associated with the Centaurs (RE ib. 515f.). However, since the latter were also connected with Thessaly, and Pirithoüs (whose wedding with Hippodamia was the occasion of the battle with the Lapiths) was a Thessalian, there arose a different identification of Pholoe, which was then located in Thessaly. This variation is first attested in Lucan (3.198, 6.388, 7.449 and 827), and later in Statius (*Ach.* 1.168 and 238; probably also *Theb.* 3.604 and 10.228). We may therefore assume that for VF also, Pholoe was the name of a Thessalian locality (presumably a mountain), and that this was another reason for him to have it painted on the Argo. He mentions Pholoe again in 3.66, and the centaur Pholos in 1.338.

multo … Iaccho: the metonymy of *Iacchus* for 'wine' is first attested in Virgil (*Ecl.* 6.15 *inflatum hesterno venas … Iaccho*). *Bacchus* is much more often used in this sense, cf. for instance V. *Ecl.* 5.69). For *multo* cf. V. *A.* 9. 336f. *multo … membra deo victus.*

insanus: according to TLL (7.1.1833.13) this is the only instance where the adjective is used 'tropice de ebrio'.

Rhoetus or *Rhoecus*? The first is the mss. reading (and is printed by Kramer, Mozley and Liberman). *Rhoecus* was suggested by Parrhasius (van Lennep ap. Schenkl 1883) and Turnebus, first printed in Alardus' 1630 edition, and recently by Courtney and Ehlers. The Greek literary tradition points to Rhoecus (Call. *H.* 3.221, Ael. 13.1, Apollod. 3.9.2).

In Latin poets the mss. are sometimes divided, as in V. *G.* 2.456, Luc. 6.390, Mart. 8.6.7, but not in the case of Ovid (*Met.* 12. 271, 285, 293, 301), where, as in VF, *Rhoetus* is the unanimous reading. This name is also given to other beings, for example a Giant (Hor. *Carm.* 2.19.23, 3.4.55) or an Italian warrior (V. *A.* 9.344f.). Housman's statement, that *Rhoetus* in Latin authors is due to a mistake by the respective scribes (perhaps with the exception of Claudian 9.13), is rightly questioned by Nisbet/Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* 2.19.23. The testimony of the mss., both of the *Metamorphoses* and of the *Argonautica*, points to *Rhoetus*, as might another circumstance: at the end of the scene VF depicts Hippasus, who tries to hide his head in a golden wine-cup. Now the last detail of the carnage wrought by Nisus and Euryalus in V. *A.* 9.344f. is that of 'Rhoetus' hiding behind a great crater (which he has no doubt been busy emptying: *vina refert moriens* 350). This may have been VF's more remote model, as Ov. *Met.* 12.316–326 is the nearer one (see below).

The battle between the Centaurs and the Lapiths, scenes of which are described here, is extensively told by Ovid (*Met.* 12.245–535). Common elements are: seven names mentioned by VF (only Aeson, presumably added because of his son, and Actor are lacking in Ovid); the use as projectiles of craters (Ov. 236—VF 142), (parts of) a table (Ov. 254—VF 142), altars (Ov. 260—VF 142), cups (Ov. 242—VF 143), and burning branches (Ov. 271ff., 287ff.—VF 146); and someone not participating in the fight because of drink (Ov. 312–326 (see above)—VF 147f.). The story is as old as Homer: *Il.* 1 260ff. For further references see Bömer on *Met.* 12.210–535, p.75–80.

Atracia … de virgine: named after the Thessalian town of Atrax (see Bömer on *Met.* 12. 209 *Atracides*). Ovid refers to Hippodamia (or Hippodame) in the form *Atracis* (*Am.* 1.4.8, *Her.* 17.248), whereas Propertius (1.8.25) speaks of *Atraciis … in oris* in general. Statius' *Atracia … arte* (*Theb.* 1.106) obviously denotes 'Thessalian witchcraft', to which VF also refers in 6.447 *Atracio … veneno.*

de used to denote what the fight is about is regular: Ter. *Hec.* 41 *pugnant de loco*, Cic. *Ac.* 2.83 *omnis pugna de quarto est* (TLL 5.1.71.41, 75.21). Naturally, in the course of the fighting other women became involved as well.

subitae: cf. Ov. *Met.* 12.222 *protinus.*

142–144

> crateres mensaeque volant araeque deorum
> poculaque, insignis veterum labor. optimus hasta
> hic Peleus, hic ense furens agnoscitur Aeson

crateres: Ov. *Met.* 12.236 *antiquus crater.*

mensaeque: ib. 12.254 … *pede convulso mensae* … *acernae.*

volant: ib. 12 242f. *prima pocula pugna / missa volant*, and V. *A.* 1.150 *iamque faces et saxa volant.*

For the combination of *crateres* and *mensae* cf. also, in a different context, V. *A.* 2.764f. *mensaeque deorum / crateresque auro solidi.*

araeque deorum: Ov. *Met.* 12.260 *Gryneus immanem sustulit aram.* Since altars are always connected with gods, the addition of *deorum* seems superfluous, probably being caused by the Virgilian example *mensae deorum* (*A.* 2.764, quoted above). As Wagner notes, we will have to think of improvised altars, such as were used in (marriage) ceremonies.

poculaque: Ov. *Met.* 12.242f. *prima pocula pugna / missa volant* (cited above).

insignis veterum labor: an extension of *antiquus* (*crater*) Ov. *Met.* 12.336. *labor*: 'a result or product of work, production' (OLD 4). Cf. *Arg.* 2.409 *textosque labores* and V. *A.* 7.248 *Iliadumque labor vestes.* Langen apparently thinks that the notion of 'old, ancient' refers to contemporary standards in VF's time, which is not necessary: the objects could equally well be called 'old' from the point of view of the participants in the battle.

insignis 'remarkable in appearance, outstanding' (OLD 2); *veterum* (used substantively) '(men) belonging to a past age' (OLD 5b).

optimus hasta: cf. V. *A.* 9.40f. *optimus armis / Aeneas*, 5.68 *aut iaculo … melior levibusque sagittis*, 9.572 *hic iaculo bonus, hic longe fallente sagitta.* In *Arg.* 1.438 *bonus* is construed both with an ablative (*gladio*) and an infinitive (*ire per hostes*).

Peleus is twice represented in the paintings on the Argo: in 139 as the groom, and here in battle. For his role in the *Argonautica* as a whole see *Ratis*[1]:228f.

ense furens: also Stat. *Theb.* 5.661 and (with *furit*) 9.303. The verb is not construed elsewhere with an ablative of the instrument, but it is with ablatives denoting the action (*caede* V. *A.* 2.499f., Sen. *Tro.* 446, Sil. 5.172f., *Marte violento* Sen. *Tro.* 185): TLL 6.1.1628.63ff. Ovid makes Peleus use the javelin (*Met.* 12.368f.) as well as the sword (ib. 389).

agnoscitur: for the recognition of a person in a picture cf. V. *A.* 1.469f. *nec procul hinc Rhesi niveis tentoria velis / agnoscit lacrimans* (Aeneas looking

at the decorations of the temple in Carthage). Perutelli on 7.268 has a note on the tendency of VF to repeat forms of the pronoun *hic* and related adverbs within the same line.

Aeson: unlike Peleus, he was at the time of the expedition too old to participate in it. He states this himself in 1.335f., referring to the same battle against the Centaurs, where his weapon in eliminating Pholus was a heavy object of gold, probably a drinking bowl. Aeson does not appear in Ovid's story of the fight.

145–148

> fert gravis invito victorem Nestora tergo
> Monychus, ardenti peragit Clanis Actora quercu;
> nigro Nessus equo fugit adclinisque tapetis
> in mediis vacuo condit caput Hippasus auro.

Nestor figures in Ovid as the narrator of the fighting, mentioning his own part in it (*Met.* 12.383ff., 439ff.). His action in jumping on a Centaur's back is modelled on Ov. (*Met.* 12.345f. (Theseus) *tergoque Bianoris alti / insilit haud solito quemquam portare nisi ipsum*). VF presents the situation from the point of view of the Centaur.

gravis: TLL (6.2.2278.53) lists this instance under the heading 'de hominibus (… bestiis …) pollentibus: viribus, robore' ('mighty, formidable'), as in V. *A.* 10.207 *it gravis Aulestes* and 12.458 *ferit ense gravem Thymbraeus Osirim*, Luc. 4.618 *colla diu gravibus frustra temptata lacertis*. In this interpretation, already put forward by Burman, the adjective would heighten the merits of Nestor's success (*victorem*). On the other hand, the meaning 'weighted, burdened, laden' (OLD 2), proposed by Langen ('ut saepius, pro gravato'), is at least as attractive: it sets off the following adjective *invito* and plays with the meaning 'heavy', which would apply to the grammatical object. An ablative denoting the 'burden' itself is not necessary: V. *A.* 5.178, Sen. *Phaed.* 44. For *invitus* applied to parts of the body see OLD 2b and compare the note on 109 *umeris gaudentibus*.

Monychus in Ovid (*Met.* 12.499ff.) encourages his fellow-Centaurs who are unable to kill Caeneus. The name was used by Juvenal (1.11) to typify the Centaurs as a hackneyed theme of epic. Mentioning it as he does immediately after depreciatingly hinting at Jason (ib. 10f.), he has been thought to hit at VF's work (Colton 1966:82). This, as Courtney in his commentary on Juvenal (p.85) states, is 'neither particularly likely … nor particularly unlikely'. Lucan too has a Centaur named Monychus (6.388).

Clanis: in Ovid's version a Centaur killed by Peleus (12.379). However, since in all other instances in our passage the Centaurs are described as being vanquished (Monychus), fleeing (Nessus), or hiding (Hippasus), and their adversaries as victorious (Peleus, Aeson), we have to ask if VF used the name for a Lapith. Can he have taken Ovid to mean that the subject of *dederat* 378 was Demoleon, and that Clanis, being a Lapith, was not killed by Perseus, but by that Centaur in his last effort? Anyhow, the name of Actor is of no help, because it does not figure in Ovid's story. Other persons named Actor are of course the grandfather of Patroclus (cf. 1.407 *Actorides*), and a mythical king of Phthia. In Virgil, Actor is both the name of a Trojan (9.500) and of an Auruncan (12.94, 96). Statius also has two different Actors: one Argive and one Theban. A namesake of Clanis fell a victim to Perseus (*Met.* 5.140, 143).

ardenti … quercu: like Rhoetus (12.271ff.) in Ovid, whose weapon, however, was made of plum-wood, not of oak.

peragit has been explained as 'prae se agit' (Wagner, OLD 1, recently Fletcher 1987: 'harassed or chased'); 'transfix' (Pius, L/S, Liberman); or 'kill' (Carrio, Turnebus, Langen). For the first of these proposed meanings, 'to drive hither and thither', a parallel has been adduced in Sen. *Ep.* 58.2 *oestron … pecora peragentem et totis saltibus dissipantem*. This and our passage are the only two instances quoted for this meaning in OLD 1. The second proposed meaning ('to pierce, transfix, run through', OLD 2) is based on a comparison with Ovid *Her.* 4.119 *Theseus latus ense peregit*, Stat. *Theb.* 10.265f. *multoque peracti / ense iacent*, Sil. 11.363 *externa peragi dextra*. In the last two of these passages the verb does not necessarily bear this specific meaning; it could in itself simply denote 'to kill'. For this sense OLD 6c, 'to end the life of, finish off', quotes Mart. 5.37.15f. (Erotion) *quem pessimorum lex amara fatorum / sexta peregit hieme*, and Burman Mart. 7.47.6 *iamque peractus eras*. Of these three possibilities the second one seems the least likely: a burning branch is not a very appropriate instrument with which to pierce an adversary. In Ovid (*Met.* 12.271–289) Rhoetus uses a similar weapon to smash the skull of Charaxus. *quercu* in *Arg.* 6.243 is different, since the next line clearly shows that a spear is meant. Between 'to chase' and 'to kill' it is hard to choose. Perhaps the first meaning is slightly preferable, because in the other instances (Monychus vs. Nestor, Nessus, Hippasus) no actual killing is depicted.

nigro … fugit: since traditionally Nessus was killed by Hercules, we will have to suppose that he made good his escape from this battle.

nigro … equo: there is no reason to change the mss. reading (*aegro* Heinsius, *pigro* Broekhuysen), in view of the fact that in Sophocles (*Trach.* 838) the Centaur is already described as μελαγχαίτας. Cf. also Ov. *Met.* 12.402 (the Centaur Cyllarus) *totus pice nigrior atra.* Whether this colour is meant to suggest a frightening appearance (Burman) or a beautiful one (Langen) is not important; it enhances the effect of the other colours in the painting (the flaming firebrand and the golden bowl). The ablative denotes appearance, almost identity, but VF here seems to play with the shape of the Centaur by making him flee 'on / with a black horse' (which of course he partly is himself); compare Ovid's joke in 12.346 *haud solito quemquam portare nisi ipsum*, quoted above. Cf. also *Mnem.* 1986:338f.

adclinisque tapetis: Heinsius proposed reading *tapeti*, comparing V. *A.* 9.325 *tapetibus altis*, but the mss. reading is rather in accordance with V. *A.* 7.277 *pictisque tapetis.* Probably the noun denotes (a pile of) woollen rugs or cloths (thus OLD), as in V. *A.* 9.325 (cited above), against which Hippasus is leaning after having drunk too much of the contents of the now empty goblet. So we will have to take *tapetis* as a dative depending on *adclinis*, whereas with *in mediis* we have to supply *pugnantibus* or similar (cf. V. *A.* 11.237 *sedet in mediis*, sc. *viris*). Cf. Strand 56f., *Mnem.* 1986:339f. and Liberman.

The situation of a drunken man assailed by his attackers reminds one of V. *A.* 9.346–350 and Ov. *Met.* 12.316–326. VF goes one better by making Hippasus conceal his head in the golden cup. For *auro* denoting this utensil (also in 1.338) parallels are common: Ov. *Met.* 6.488, Sen. *Ag.* 878, *Thy.* 453, Stat. *Theb.* 5. 188, Juv. 5.39, 10.27. *vacuo … auro* is a pointed allusion to V. *A.* 1.739 *pleno … auro.* The name of Hippasus was taken from Ov. *Met.* 12.352.

149–183

Jason, of whom we have heard nothing since his prayer to Juno and Pallas, reacts to the ship having been built and contrives to make Pelias' son Acastus join the expedition.

The structure of this part of the book is:

149–155: Jason's reaction;
156–160: the *augurium*;
161–173: his proposal to Acastus;
174–183: its acceptance.

149–155

> *haec quamquam miranda viris stupet Aesone natus
> *et secum: 'heu miseros nostrum natosque patresque!
> hacine nos animae faciles rate nubila contra
> mittimur? in solum nunc saeviet Aesona pontus?
> non iuvenem in casus eademque pericula Acastum
> abripiam? invisae Pelias freta tuta carinae
> optet et exoret nostris cum matribus undas'.

There has been some discussion about the ethical aspects and practical consequences of Jason's behaviour. Langen prefers the version of AR, because there Jason is more courageous, uttering no complaints, and Acastus is joining the expedition of his own free will (AR 1.224ff.). Against this may be remarked, first, that in the *Aeneid* too the hero is growing in courage during the actions described in the work, and that Jason is not sketched as disheartened (as Aeneas is in *A.* 1.92ff.), but as taking action to forestall or diminish the dangers. In the second place, VF provides his readers with an explanation of Acastus' willingness to join the Argonauts, in keeping with his tendency to furnish motives for the actions of his heroes; AR had not found this necessary. Moreover, in the Latin poem as well, Acastus is not compelled to board the Argo: he takes his decision in freedom. Yet he may be said to have been cajoled into it with insincere intentions on Jason's part; the latter wants to assure himself of Pelias' good wishes now that Acastus is sailing with Jason and his men. Consequently, according to Shey (34), 'Evil exists in Jason's universe and Jason is responsible for that evil in his own way'. Against this, Barich (40) remarks that 'the omen of divine approval absolves Jason of any moral culpability' (cf. Adamietz 1976:12: 'sein [= Jason's plan] *möglicher* [my italics] ungünstiger Eindruck'; also Ehlers 1998. No doubt there is an element of insincerity in Jason's proposal, in that he does not mention his real purpose. However, he does not mean to harm his young cousin, as Pelias will assume (1.714; 716ff.); and the prospect of fame which he holds out is real and will come true (6.720, and after the return of the Argo). He could not well reveal his own purpose to Acastus, thereby either setting the youth against his father or making him decline the invitation. The means used are not too nice, but the intention is not malevolent. But may we call this 'a clever plan' (Shelton 11)? In the following, we are not told that Pelias prayed for the safe return of the Argo, nor whether the supposed prayers contributed to its well-being. On the other hand, he is portrayed as full of despair and frustration at his son's disappearance, and this is presented as his

chief motive for wishing to kill Jason's parents. In this, Jason may be accused of lack of foresight. Only when he is well on his way and it is too late does the thought of his parents, left behind without any protection, disturb him (1.693–699). Perhaps Pelias would have tried to eliminate Jason's parents in any case, but there is no hint of this in VF's version. In this way, Jason is represented as (unwillingly and unwittingly) preparing disaster for his nearest relatives, as he will bring ruin on his host Cyzicus (and, outside the scope of the work, on Medea and ultimately on himself).

There is considerable uncertainty about the text here, since the transmitted reading can hardly be right (cf. *Mnem.* 1986:340–342). We may regard two things as certain: first, *mirari* and *stupere* in this and similar texts are nearly synonyms, both denoting 'to marvel'. This was convincingly demonstrated by Samuelsson 1899:102f., the clearest example being V. *A.* 1.494f. *haec dum Dardanio Aeneae miranda videntur, dum stupet* .... Further, it is obvious from *quamquam* that the sentence must contain an opposition. Now this must exist either between Jason and the other Argonauts or between two mental reactions by Jason himself. The former interpretation is chosen by Liberman, who prints a suggestion ascribed by Pius to 'sunt qui', namely *nec, quamquam miranda viris, stupet Aesone natus, / et secum* ...; the other Argonauts may be full of wonder, but their leader has different thoughts. In itself this makes good sense, but there are two objections. The syntactical construction would be very strange, in that we would have to suppose an object of *stupet*, like *ea* or *haec*, which has to be inferred from *miranda*, while the meaning of that word is contradicted in connection with *stupet* since evidently Jason does not wonder; it would amount to *nec ⟨haec⟩, quamquam ⟨sunt⟩ miranda viris, stupet* .... Also we would expect the sentence to begin with an adversative, not a connective, conjunction: 'but Jason, though the other men wondered, said to himself ...' rather than 'and Jason, ... etc.'. An opposition between two reactions in Jason's mind is assumed in the conjecture *at* for *et*, originally proposed by Heinsius, revived by Shackleton Bailey 1977 and printed by Ehlers. This is not satisfactory, because in this type of sentence *at*, often strengthened by *certe* or *saltem*, indicates a concessive relation between subordinate and principal clause: 'this or that may be the case, but yet ...' (for parallels cf. *Mnem.* cited above). Here, however, the relation would be simply adversative, Jason being portrayed as admiring on the one hand, apprehensive on the other. Perhaps the best solution was offered by Caussin and Köstlin 1879, who placed *haec* at the beginning, not of 149, but of 150. The first word of

the former line could have been *quae* or *sed* (Caussin) rather than *ac* (Köstlin); *at* is a very likely alternative. In this way, the clear correspondence with V. *A.* 1.494 quoted above (also denoting the response of the beholder to a work of art) is stressed, whereas ib. 1.37 begins with *haec secum*. If the first word of 150 *haec* came to be placed a line earlier in error, then its place was taken by *et*, which would be the more understandable if the ousted word in 149 was *at*. So probably VF meant: 'but Jason, though he marvelled at the (wonders) that were a cause of admiration for his men, thought by himself …'. It must be admitted that the function of *viris* in this interpretation is less satisfactory than in the text as printed by Liberman, because the opposition is not between Jason and his men, but between Jason's wonder and his anxiety. Perhaps the dative was taken over from V. *A.* 1.494 (where *Aeneae* goes with *videntur* as well); note that in 210 below *viris* is again coupled with a gerundive without adding essential information. Unless we read *quae*, *miranda* is used substantively, as in 2.467 (where see Poortvliet). *stupere* in the *Argonautica* is again construed with an accusative in 2.510 and 5.95f.

Aesone natus is only here in VF used to denote Jason.

As Lipscomb 36f. notes, VF has a speech beginning in the line (and not with the first word of it) more often than Virgil: 36 % as against 25 %. This second 'speech' of Jason, after his prayer to Juno and Pallas (81–90), constitutes a monologue (see Eigler 1988:13ff., and Austin on *A.* 1.37), which would not have been uttered aloud (*secum*), though the poet pretends to reproduce Jason's thoughts verbatim.

heu is regularly used with an accusative of exclamation (K/S 1. 273); the combination of *heu* with *miser* occurs (with different case endings) in V. *A.* 2.738, 5.671 (cf. 6.882 with *miserande*), Ov. *Met.* 11.720, Luc. 4.382.

Burman's suggestion of reading *matresque* instead of *natosque* is rightly rejected by most editors and commentators. 'Fathers and sons' is a natural opposition (cf. Stat. *Theb.* 11.279) and the mothers appear in 155. For *-que … -que* linking words for relatives see Poortvliet on 2.247. Mozley, followed by Courtney (in his apparatus) apparently took *nostrum* as a partitive genitive 'those of us who have fathers and sons alive'. The decisive item however, 'alive', is lacking in the Latin text. Besides, Jason certainly describes not just part, but the whole crew of the Argo as 'miserable', in view of the great dangers ahead. We will have to take *nostrum* as a substitute for the possessive pronoun. Some parallels for this use in Cicero have been adduced by Langen (cf. K/S 1.598 A.3), of which *splendor vestrum* (*Att.* 7.13.3) is the most convincing, because it

cannot be explained as a genitive of identification ('consisting of'). VF probably chose the less usual pronominal form in order to avoid the jingle *miseros nostros natos*.

For the form *hacine* (etc.) no parallels in hexametric poetry are given in K/H 602.12. Neither *hocine* nor *hacine* are found in Virgil, Ovid or Lucan. VF also has *hocine* (1.630) and *hascine* (7.417).

faciles primarily seems to belong under OLD 8 'easily impelled (to take a particular course of action), prone, ready', though it is also close to ib. 4b '(of persons) putting no difficulties in the way of a particular action, indulgent, accommodating': 'we who have let ourselves be driven into great dangers without protest or opposition'. CF. 734 below and Luc. 4.506 *et morti faciles animos* (probably the model for our passage). Spaltenstein's idea of taking *animae* meaning 'life' as a genitive qualifying *faciles* in the supposed sense of *prodigus* is highly improbable. VF preferred *animas* ('living persons', OLD 6b), but the hint of an obedient 'mentality' is of course still present. Cf. also Stadler on 7.274.

contra is placed after its noun (TLL 3.751.61ff.: … *passim apud poetas*), as in 4.94 (also following *nubila*), 165, 6.216, 373 and 7.362; but in 3.706, given as another parallel by Langen and recently by Korn (note on 4.165), it is placed between adjective and noun. For *mittere contra* cf. Cic. *Inv.* 1.17 *utrum exercitus in Macedoniam contra Philippum mittatur … an …* and Sen. *Ep.* 95.70 *cum contra decem legiones … vocem liberam mittat.*

num, already suggested by Sabellicus instead of *nunc*, has found little favour with later editors (though it was adopted by Schenkl and Bährens). It is certainly rather tempting in view of the ensuing series -*ne, *num, non* (the last practically standing for *nonne*), whereas *nunc* seems somewhat weak, referring as it must 'to the immediate future' (OLD 5). Yet it does not seem advisable to replace a defendable mss. reading by a conjecture.

saevire in is attested from Propertius on (4.4.39). The name of Aeson, where Jason could have mentioned himself and / or his comrades, serves to link *patres* (150) with *Pelias* (158).

iuvenem … Acastum: Jason's trick to make Acastus participate in the expedition has been prepared for in 53f. (Lüthje 13f., Adamietz 1976:8) and is in a way reminiscent by contrast of Euander voluntarily sending his son Pallas with Aeneas in Virgil (*A.* 8.514ff.; Eigler 16). *eademque* of course qualifies *casus* as well. Acastus is mentioned in five other places in the poem, always as the last word in the line.

As Garson (1968:379) notes, elision in the last two feet is not frequent in VF, but 9 out of 36 instances are in the first book. *in casus* occurs also in 7.448 (with *mittere*).

abripere, which in itself may just mean 'to abduct or kidnap' (OLD 4) as here, is construed with *in* (for instance Ter. *An.* 786; maybe also Cic. *Mil.* 60) to denote 'to drag someone away' (OLD 1), which is not strictly true here because Acastus is not physically forced. In TLL (1.134.30f.) this passage is marked by the preceding 'nota'. Cf. however *rapto* … *Acasto* in 695 below. *abripiam* is probably a future form, linking this question with the preceding one, rather than a deliberative subjunctive, the following subjunctive forms expressing a wish.

invisae … *carinae*: the dative with *optare* denotes the person or thing in whose interest the wish is uttered; a classical use from Cicero on. *exoret*: 'to win over by entreaty, prevail upon, persuade' (OLD 1), sometimes with an inanimate object, and here denoting the intention of the subject, not the actual result. *matribus* is well chosen, as Langen remarks, because the fathers have been mentioned in 150, and also because mothers are supposedly apt to be more anxious (cf. 335 below *fortior Aeson*).

156–160 (the augury)

> talia conanti laevum Iovis armiger aethra
> advenit et validis fixam erigit unguibus agnam.
> at procul e stabulis trepidi clamore sequuntur
> pastores fremitusque canum; citus occupat auras
> raptor et Aegaei super effugit alta profundi.

conanti: though certainty cannot be obtained here, Ehlers and Dräger are probably right in keeping this mss. reading. The earliest editions have *contanti*, in which they were followed by Burman and Thilo, among others. There is, however, at best one other instance of this verb (Pl. *Cas.* 571, s.v.l.), and if it is correct there, it must mean 'to inquire, interrogate', like *percontari*. This cannot be its meaning here. Other possibilities should be rejected as well: *cunctanti* (Ald.; Kramer, Liberman) suggests hesitation and delay, which is not appropriate here, whereas *iactanti* (Braun; Courtney) contradicts *secum* (150): Jason is speaking to himself and not uttering his words 'with force' (OLD 10), as Aeneas did in *A.* 1.102 (ib. 94 *voce refert*), and Caesar's men did in Lucan (5.700). We need a synonym of *volventi*, and *conanti* at least comes close; but what Jason 'attempts' (*talia*) are not his preceding words, but the course of action contained in them. Cf. also Watt's note (Delz-Watt 1998). The

dative depends on *advenit*, as in 5.534f. and probably in Livy 21.57.3 *ita territis Sempronius consul advenit*. Here it denotes the interested person rather than the direction. *laevum*: 'on the left', the favourable side in Roman (as opposed to Greek) bird lore. This accusative is in other cases construed with *(in)tonare* (note that in the first passage mentioned in OLD s.v. *laevum*, Juv. 6.495, *laevum* probably modifies *orbem*; see Courtney ad l.). The construction with *advenire* therefore seems new as an extension of the collocation with (*in*)*tonare*. Liberman considers it a Grecism like *turpe incedere* (Cat. 42.8), which is, however, rather different since it denotes manner. Courtney's criticism (CR 1965:152) 'Valerius failed to see that this was quite different from Virgil's *intonuit laevum*' was answered by Koster (*Philologus* 1973:90f.), who calls this *imitatio*, 'kühner zwar als V., nicht aber fehlerhaft'.

The augury itself stems from Homer (*Od.* 15.160ff.), where the eagle, coming from the right in accordance with the Greek rules, catches a goose. Virgilian models may have been *A.* 5.255, 9.564 (both with *Iovis armiger* before the last foot), and 12.247 *namque volans rubra fulvus Iovis ales in aethra* (also in an augury). VF has *Iovis armiger* again in 2.416 (where see Poortvliet).

aethra 'from the bright upper sky' (OLD 2), first attested in Trabea (fr.3) and Ennius (*Ann.* 435V).

It is not certain which finite form VF used here for the second verb (cf. *Mnem.* 1986:343f.). *erigit*, which is the reading of some of the mss. and was printed in the *editio princeps*, has the best chance of being correct. VF was clearly inspired by the three *Aeneis*-passages mentioned above: 5.254f., 9.563f. and 12.247–250, all of which contain a form of *rapere*. It seems therefore probable that we need here a verb meaning 'to catch, to lift', rather than 'to carry, to transport' (such as *gerit* and *vehit*). Now *erigere* primarily means 'to raise into the air, lift, elevate' (OLD 1), and therefore Kramer and Courtney were probably right in printing *erigit*. Liberman improves on this by taking the verb as 'to hold in the air', as in 658 below and Sil. 1.204. Possibly VF modelled this use after the example of *tollere* as in V. *A.* 8.141 *Atlas … qui sidera tollit*.

validis … unguibus is VF's variation of *pedibus … uncis*, which occurs in all three *Aeneis*-passages mentioned above. With *unguibus* he also reminds us of *uncis* by the first syllable these words have in common. Moreover he has substituted the participle *fixam* ('in a firm grip') for Virgil's adjectives *sublimem* and *excellentem*, and *agnam* for *agnum*, making the scene more pathetic.

stabulis: not 'stables', where an eagle might not land so easily, but 'open-air enclosures'. Cf. Cat. 63.53, V. *A.* 6.179 and Stat. *Theb.* 1.378 (in all these instances, however, the noun denotes the lair of wild animals), and Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* 1.4.3. Here the element *ferarum* is conspicuously absent, as in V. *A.* 8.207 and 213. The same meaning seems present in 682 below (where a summer event is described), 2.478 and 548 (where see Poortvliet), possibly also in 2.205, 5.151, 6.531 and 7.392.

clamore sequuntur: if this means 'pursue shouting', Langen is right in referring to V. *A.* 1.519 *templum clamore petebant* (to which we can add ib. 12.252 *convertunt clamore fugam*) for the ablative of circumstance without *cum* and without an attribute. But perhaps we have here rather a phenomenon parallel to expressions like *oculis sequi* (1.495, 4.506; cf. Ov. *Met.* 11.468 and V. *A.* 8.592); more comparable still is *voce sequi* (4.42; cf. V. *A.* 1.406, 9.17). It is decidedly feasible to 'shout after' a flying eagle; to 'pursue' him hardly so. Cries of shepherds are also mentioned in 2.539, whereas in 2.461 *coloni* are described shouting when one of their bulls is attacked by a lion. Both *clamor* and *stabulis* occur again in 1.681f.

fremitusque canum: the combination with *pastores* seems to make this an equivalent of *frementes canes* (Langen; cf. 6.232 *fremitus virorum*). On the other hand, the *fremitus* itself can be said to 'follow' the eagle; cf. V. *A.* 5.257 *saevitque canum latratus in auras*. *fremere* is used to denote the snarling of dogs in Lucr. 5.1064 (where it is clearly distinguished from barking) and Colum. 7.12.3. The verb is used with reference to other animals as well (lions, horses, wolves).

The combination of *citus* and *auras* is already attested in Enn. *Ann.* 21. For *auras* also compare V. *A.* 5.257 (cited above) and 12.253, where a swan is caught by an eagle.

occupat: although this verb sometimes means no more than 'to reach, to occupy' (OLD 6b), here it probably also involves the notion of 'arriving before it is too late' (OLD 12; cf. for instance Hor. *Carm.* 1.14.2f. *fortiter occupa / portum* and Nisbet-Hubbard ad l.)

raptor: used already in Ov. *Met.* 6.518 for a hunting eagle. Since the eagle stands for Jason, there is an echo in the words of Pelias when his son is missing: *praedo* (723 below). Later Jason is implicitly called a *raptor* again by Medea's brother (8.265), and explicitly a *praedo* by her mother (8.151).

Aegaei … profundi: again in 2.383. *profundum* used substantively as 'the deep sea' is classical (Cic. *Ver.* 4.26); in combination with an adjective it occurs below in 574 (*medio … profundo*) and 585 (*latumque profundum*).

It is qualified by a geographical name first, apparently, by Columella (*Pamphilio … profundo* 8.16.9). The tautology *alta profundi*, first found in Man. 5.420, appears to be a not-too-felicitous variation of *pelagi … alta* (V. *A*. 9.81; *pelagus* also in Man. l.c).

The flight of the eagle (*raptor*) with its prey over the sea is an obvious omen for Jason's 'kidnapping' (*abripiam* 154) of Acastus across the sea.

161–163

> accipit augurium Aesonides laetusque superbi
> tecta petit Peliae. prior huic tum regia proles
> advolat amplexus fraternaque pectora iungens.

The augury may be considered to relieve Jason of the guilt of abducting Acastus (Adamietz 1976:12; Barich 40). As Schubert (117) notes, this is the only instance of Jupiter personally intervening in the action, the omen in 568–573 below apparently not being observed by the Argonauts.

accipit augurium: this combination, being just a slight extension of the common *omen accipere*, is already attested in Livy (for instance 1.34.9). It is implicit in V. *A*. 12.257 *augurium … salutant* and ib. 260 *accipio*.

The metrical structure of the line is unusual in that it contains a caesura only in the fourth foot, not in the second one. This is avoided by Ovid, though not by Virgil (*e.g. A*. 1.85, 218; cf. Koesters 9; 26f.).

For *Aesonides* see note on 32, and for *laetus* on account of a favourable omen cf. V. *A*. 7.146f. In a similar context Jason is *laetus* in 182 and 485 below; cf. also 170 *laeta* and 250 *laeti*.

For *superbi* see note on 119.

huic: VF avoids the dative form *ei*. The construction with *advolare* is Virgilian (*A*. 10.510f.).

This strongly alliterative line (*t- p- p- -p- t- p-*), as well as 161 (*a—a- -a*), does no more than state in an almost prosaic way some plain facts. This reminds us that this stylistic device (if indeed it is such) is often applied without any deeper significance.

amplexum (-us) iungere is not attested before VF (but *amplexu iungere* is: Luc. 4.209; Petr. 86). Statius has *iuncto … amplexu* (*Theb*. 12.385f.; cf. also *iunge complexus* Sen. *Phoen*. 464). VF also introduced its opposite *amplexus solvere* (351 below).

pectora iungere (again in 3.309f.) is Ovidian: *Met*. 2.604f. (and the parallels adduced there by Bömer). While *frater* is quite frequently used in the sense of 'cousin' (*frater patruelis*), the corresponding adjective is

very sparingly attested; in VF again in 178 below, earlier only *trag. inc.* 53 and Ov. *Met.* 13.31 (where see Bömer). Cf. Poortvliet on 2.565.

164–167

> ductor ait: 'non degeneres, ut reris, Acaste,
> venimus ad questus; socium te iungere coeptis
> est animus; neque enim Telamon aut Canthus et Idas
> Tyndareusque puer mihi vellere dignior Helles.

This is the second persuasive speech in the book. As Pelias had insincerely induced Jason to accept the assignment, so Jason uses his rhetoric to win over Acastus. The difference of course consists in the fact that Pelias wished harm to befall Jason, whereas Acastus, sharing only the risks of all the Argonauts, simply serves as a safeguard against the wicked intentions of his father. Cf. note on 39.

After a disclaimer as to his motive (164b–165a), Jason briefly states his professed purpose (165b–166a), and adds reasons for it: he describes Acastus' worth in flattering terms (166b–167), stresses the attraction (and potential usefulness) of discovering the unknown (168–169), and hints at the glory that awaits Acastus if only he participates, and the shame if he stays at home (170–173).

ductor (always in the nominative form) occurs in another 18 places in the *Argonautica*, mostly (15 times) applied to Jason. The much more common *dux* denotes many people besides Jason, who is first called thus by Acastus (177 below).

degeneres: as 'degenerate' the adjective is used by Virgil (*A.* 2.549). Meaning 'undignified, ignoble, cowardly', as in V. *A.* 4.13, it denotes actions (OLD 4) and reactions. Burman compares Tac. *Ann.* 12.19.1 *prece haud degeneri* and ib. 12.36.6 *preces degeneres*. Also more or less parallel are Luc. 3.149 *degeneresque metus* and Sen. *Her.O.* 1387f. *degener …/… clamor* and *Clem.* 1.16 (3.14.).5 *trepidatione degeneri.*

ut reris: why should Acastus suppose that Jason comes 'with unworthy complaints'? Langen comments 'ipso amplexu Acastus indicaverat se Iasonis miserere', but an embrace is not necessarily a sign of pity; moreover, pity does not imply that the person pitied will stoop to ignoble conduct. Probably Jason's words mean scarcely more than 'as you **may** suppose'.

VF has *reris* again in 170 (still in Jason's speech) and in 6.309, as against *rere* in 2.601 (where see Poortvliet), 3.663 and 6.536. Virgil also has both forms: *reris A.* 6.97, *rere A.* 3.381 and 7.437.

venimus ad questus: the other instances in VF of *venire ad* (5.219, 404, 674; cf. 1.238 *tendite ad amplexus* and 270 *festinet ad hastam*) all have an at least partially local meaning, whereas here *ad* denotes only purpose.

socium ... iungere coeptis: in view of V. *A.* 5.712 *hunc cape consiliis socium et coniunge volentem* and ib. 8.56 *hos castris adhibe socios et foedera iunge* the dative seems to depend primarily on *socium*, not on *iungere*, which takes a dative to denote the person to which one is attached, not the activity in which one is involved. The same goes for *adiungere*; in V. *A.* 9.199 *socium summis adiungere rebus* we will have to supply *tecum*.

coepta used substantively as 'enterprise' occurs in five more places in VF, *incepta* only twice. In the *Aeneid* the ratio is 6–2.

est animus is construed with an infinitive as in V. *A.* 4.639 and Ov. *Met.* 5.150, *Her.* 7.181.

neque ... aut ... et ... -que: a series of negated coordinated elements (in this case names) may be formed by means of *neque ... aut ... aut* (K/S 2.47, A. 1). Here, however, we have *aut* only once, but *et* and -*que* instead. Since *neque* in combination with *enim* has lost its connective force and is no more than a negation, we may rather compare the passages mentioned in TLL 2.1568.4ff.; cf. K/S 2.104, A. 2 and Sz. 522. This is in its turn complicated by the following continuation of *neque* with *et* and *-que*; according to grammar, these conjunctions should introduce a positive statement in opposition to a preceding negative one (K/S 2.48.2 and 31, Sz. 517), but here they clearly extend the negation to *Idas* and the *Tyndareus puer* as well, as *aut* had done. There seems to be no other instance of this threefold variation of negatively used connectives.

Telamon: the closest friend of Hercules. He is mentioned with his own name in another eight places, and five more times as *Aeacides* (2.511; 3.693, 715, 722; 6.348). His role in VF is more important than in AR: *Ratis*[1] 232f.

Canthus is destined to fall in the war in Colchis. Apart from the catalogue (451) his name occurs in 3.192, 6.317ff. (where the battle around his body is described), and 7.422. In AR he is killed in Libya (4.1467, 1485, 1497).

Idas is further mentioned in 461 (the catalogue), 3.471, 4.224, 6.342 (always as one of a small group of men, as here), 6.382 and 7.574. VF has diminished his importance in comparison with AR (*Ratis*[1] 321f.).

The *Tyndareus puer* might be either Castor or Pollux (cf. 570f. *fratres .../ Tyndareos*). The same goes for *Tyndarides*: in 4.247 and 290 clearly

Pollux is meant; in 6.207 and 212, Castor. There is no obvious reason why Castor must be meant here, as Langen states. It is not even certain that Jason must have in mind one of the twins specifically; he may just mean 'a son of Tyndareus'. The adjective seems to be used here for the first time, whereas *Tyndarides* is older (Cicero, Horace, Ovid). Ovid has *Tyndareus*, the father, as a quadrisyllable (*Her.* 8.31). There is no need for Heinsius' suggestions *Tyndarius* or *Tyndareos* (genitive). *mihi*: for the 'dativus iudicantis' of a pronoun instead of the more usual participle cf. K/S 1.332 A. 9.

Helles: the name has only forms of the Greek declension (K/H 423.3).

vellere dignior (sc. *quam tu*): of course Jason would not give the Fleece itself to any of the people mentioned here. The expression constitutes a notable instance of brachylogy: 'worthier to take part in the conquest of the Fleece'. *vellus* in 376f. below is comparable.

168–173

o quantum terrae, quantum cognoscere caeli
permissum est! pelagus quantos aperimus in usus!
nunc forsan grave reris opus, sed laeta recurret
cum ratis et caram cum iam mihi reddet Iolcon,
quis pudor, heu, nostros tibi tunc audire labores,
quae referam visas tua per suspiria gentes!

o ... caeli: in this line the alliteration, within an exclamation and combined with anaphora, clearly has a rhetorical function. Of the tripartition *terrae ... caeli ... pelagus* the second element seems to be added only for the sake of completeness: the different aspect of the sky in foreign countries, if expected at all by Jason, is hardly an incentive.

permissum est: infinitives depending on a passive form of *permittere* are less common than those with an active form (K/S 2.230.3a). In itself, the use of the verb is remarkable in that Jason later appears to be less sure that permission is granted (197 below *inlicitas*). Cf. also 645 below (Neptune speaking) *permissumque putent.*

For *pelagus aperire* cf. note on 7 above. Statius' imitation (*Ach.* 1.62f.) *aspicis in quales miserum patefeceris usus / aequor* is another argument, if not a decisive one, for the priority of the *Argonautica* to the *Thebaid*: the *Achilleis* is a work from the last years of the poet's life, well after the death of VF, and the supposition that Statius in his first epic was a model for VF, but followed him in the *Achilleid* is not very convincing.

in usum is fairly common (see OLD s.v. *usus* 1, 11, 13), but the expression with a plural accusative is also attested previously, *e.g.* V. *A.* 4.647

non hos … in usus ('purpose', OLD 12). In 780 below VF has *in seros Ditis … usus*, slightly different ('to serve in religious practice', OLD 9). Here the notion 'potential for use, value, utility' (OLD 11) seems predominant.

For *reris* see note on 164 above. The chiefly poetic *forsan* occurs in six more places in VF: four times with an indicative as here (1.712. 2.151, 3.518, 7.129), twice with a subjunctive (3.653, 8.423; the former however is a counterfactual one, 'irrealis'). He has *fortasse* once (7.472), *forsitan* and adverbial *fors* twice each (2.337, 4.567; 3.665, 4.620).

grave … opus: in the same metrical position as in V. *A.* 8.516, but already attested in prose (Cic. *Tusc.* 2.35, *Cato* 77).

laetus constitutes a personification, in that an inanimate (as here) or abstract noun is endowed with an adjective expressing emotion. Another instance with *ratis* is 622f. below *pavidam … ratem*. Cf. ANRW 2478.

recurret … reddet: another type of personification; the actions expressed by the verb are normally performed by animate beings. Since *pudor (erit), audire labores* and *referam* can only happen after the return of the Argo, not at the same time, the future tense (*referam*) is used there in a normal way, whereas one would have expected a future perfect in the subordinate sentence instead of *recurret* and *reddet*.

currere said of ships is not uncommon (OLD 3a), *recurrere* is. For *reddere* with a locality as the object 'to bring safely back to' cf. V. *A.* 10.60f. *Xanthum et Simoenta / redde … miseris*, addressed (by a goddess) to a god, as in *Arg.* 1.87 *da Scythiam Phasinque mihi*. In 2.379f. *Phasin … / redde* the prefix rather indicates 'give what is due to me' (Poortvliet).

Iolcon: the seaport from which the Argo sailed. The Greek accusative form (K/H 467) also occurs in Livy (44.12.8). The name is mentioned only here in VF. Cf. Luc. 3.192 *Thessalus Haemoniam vomer proscindit Iolcon* and Sen. *Med.* 457 *parvamne Iolcon … petam?*. The adjective *Iolciacus* is used in *Ciris* 377, Prop. 2.1.54 and Ov. *Met.* 7.158.

quis pudor (sc. *erit) tibi*) 'how ashamed will you feel'. The poetic expression *pudor est* with an infinitive is as old as *inc. pall.* 60 (cf. K/S 1.672). *tunc* indicates a future event: OLD 2b.

quae: the mss. reading *quam* is kept by a number of editors, among whom Kramer and Courtney. It should be construed with *referam*, but this is very improbable for two reasons. In the first place *quam* means (always in VF) 'to what extent', not 'in what manner' (Liberman, referring to Man. 5.588 where Housman prints *quam*, suppresses the fact that this is a conjecture made by Bentley). Furthermore the stress

should be on Acastus' reactions (as in 172), not on Jason telling his story: 'how you will sigh while I report about the nations I have seen!'. This second reason also goes for P's reading *quas*, which was printed in the older editions, including Langen. Therefore Ehlers is probably right in printing *quae*; he ascribes it to Sandstroem (1878), but it had already been proposed by Saenger (1876:33).

For *per* … *suspiria* cf. Ov. *Am.* 2.19.55, *per* denoting 'attendant circumstance' (OLD 16) rather than time, as Langen explains it. He rightly draws attention to the fact that the subject of the finite verb (*referam*) and of the verb implied by the noun (*suspiria*) are different, which is unusual. Moreover there seem to be no parallels for the construction of exclamatory *qui* etc. with a possessive pronoun, as here *tua*. (In Vell. 2.130.1 the mss. have *quanta sua suorumque nomine exstruxit opera*, but Woodman, the most recent editor, prefers Acidalius' conjecture *suo*.) Nevertheless it is hard to think of a reason why such a combination should be contrary to Latin usage. 2.563 is comparable, where *quanta piacula* is qualified by the 'subjective' genitive *patrum*.

The anaphora *quis*—*quae*, the repeated exclamations and *heu* all heighten the pathos.

174–183 (the proposal accepted)

The function of Acastus' answer is to present him as a sympathetic and perhaps naive personality, and to diminish the effect of the insincerity on Jason's part, because the youth is portrayed as only too willing to participate in the adventure, even against his father's wishes (180 *fallam* ⟨*patrem*⟩ *ignarum*). He is so enthusiastic that he interrupts Jason. His speech is firmly knitted into the context: it begins within the line, the main verb (*ait*) following in 175, and is succinctly closed with *dixerat* … *ille* (182).

Acastus begins by stating his own eagerness, thus implying a positive answer to Jason's words (174b–175a). Then he gives his reasons (175b–178): a) 'I am not a coward' (175b–176a), b): 'I trust you as much as I do my father' (176a–177a), c) 'I am honoured by your request' (177b–178). Finally, he discloses how and when he will join the Argonauts (179–181).

There are quite a few corresponding elements in the short speeches of Jason and Acastus, both in form and content.

non degeneres ~ *nec* … *segnes*: the thought of cowardice is forestalled.
iungere coeptis ~ *confidere regnis*.
dignior (sc. *quam tu*) ~ *magis* … *quam tibi*.

quantum … quantum … quantos ~ *(in) quaecumque (vocas).*

recurret cum … cum … reddet … tunc [erit] … referam ~ *tunc adero … linquet cum.*

174–178

> nec passus rex plura virum 'sat multa parato
> in quaecumque vocas. nec nos,' ait, 'optime, segnes
> credideris patriisve magis confidere regnis
> quam tibi, si primos duce te virtutis honores
> carpere, fraternae si des adcrescere famae.

nec passus: there is no need to read (with Bury and Langen) *virumst;* the predicate is *ait.* Cf. V. *A.* 1.385f. *nec plura querentem / passa Venus medio sic interfata dolore est.* For the ellipsis of a *verbum dicendi* with *plura* Langen gives a number of parallels in VF, but in all instances it is the main verb which is left out, not, as here, an infinitive. However, such cases are mentioned in K/S (2.553). Expressions like *ne multa; quid plura;* etc. seem to have particularly influenced our passage. Note that in Acastus' speech *sat multa*, echoing *nec plura*, also does without a verbal form, which in this case would have been either *dixisti* or *sunt.*

rex denotes a prince (OLD 6a) as in V. *A.* 9.223, where Ascanius is meant. More common is the use of *regina* for a princess, for which see Poortvliet on 2.261.

sat multa is printed in all editions (L^{ac} V: *stat*). Bährens' howler (he took *parato* for an imperative and proposed reading *virumst; at cuncta parato*) has been exposed often enough by now. *sat multa* seems almost colloquial: Cic. *Att.* 6.8.5.

For *paratus in* cf. V. *A.* 2.61 *in utrumque paratus*, for *vocare in* ib. 3.494 *nos alia ex aliis in fata vocamur.*

Statius has both constructions in the second book of the *Thebais*: 19 *quoscumque* (!) *vocaris in usus* and 387f. *omne paratus /… in facinus.*

nec … credideris: a prohibitive subjunctive is sometimes introduced with *nec / neque* even without a preceding jussive one (K/S 1. 193).

optime: V. *A.* 12.48 (where it also occupies the fifth foot).

segnes: 'a word which Valerius uses several times (633; 2.376; 3.368 etc.) for a style of life which is safe, but dull and uneventful.' (Shelton 13; but in 1.633 'safe' does not seem the appropriate word: *segni … leto*). If we take *segnes* as the predicative accusative depending on (*nec) credideris*, there is a slight variation in the construction, because the sentence is continued with (accusative and) infinitive: *(nos) confidere.* But it is equally possible to supply *esse* with *segnes.*

patriis … regnis: whereas there are cases where we cannot decide if *confidere* is construed with an ablative or a dative (as in 6.625 *meis … confidere regnis*), here the combination with *tibi* makes it clear that *patriis … regnis* is also a dative form. Cf. K/S 1.399 A. 18. For a negative phrase continued with *-ve* see Sz. 500.

si … des: of the latest editors only Kramer was not convinced by Carrio's conjecture (or the reading of his ms. if that should turn out to be of ancient date; cf. Ehlers in *Ratis*[1] 29–34 and Liberman LXXXIff.) for mss. *sede*. Kramer's preference for *sedeatque*, which is read in some codices, is unwarranted (cf. *Mnem.* 1986:344f.): neither ⟨*mihi*⟩ nor ⟨*tibi*⟩ will do as the dative complement implied by *sedeat* in the meaning 'it is someone's firm decision'. There can hardly be any doubt about the correctness of *si … des*. The first conditional clause then means 'if you grant me to win honours for my valour under your leadership'; that is: 'if you are willing to be my leader too'.

For *duce te* see n. on 19 above.

virtutis honores is repeated as the last words of the book.

For the genitive denoting the quality for which one is honoured cf. V. *A.* 1.253 *hic pietatis honos?*. Note that *primos … honores* (the first honours, later to be followed by others) differs from *primi … honores* in V. *A.* 5.347, which means 'the distinction of first place' (Williams). Ovid has *virtutis honor(em)* twice: *Met.* 8.387 and 13.153 (see Bömer).

carpere: OLD 2 'to pluck, seize (things considered as fruits and often transitory in nature)'; the combination with *honor(es)* seems new. Burman compares Pind. *P.* 1.48f. τιμὰν … δρέπει.

For *dare* with an infinitive see K/S 1. 681b.

adcrescere famae probably means '(to let) my fame grow to the level of yours, my cousin's', *i.e.* to become equally famous as you, which is clearly a step further than his former request. This is also the explanation given in OLD s.v. *accresco* 1d. In itself the expression could be taken to mean, as is done in TLL 1.338.10, 'to be added to your fame' and in Liberman's translation 'm'adjoindre à la gloire d'un cousin'. This is less ambitious in that Acastus would remain second best. However, the parallel that can be adduced for this construction (Plin. *Ep.* 2.8.3 *veteribus negotiis nova adcrescunt*) seems somewhat less forceful than that for the other (Tac. *Ann.* 1.19 *caespes … pectori usque adcreverat*). In either case the sentence is compendious, as OLD notes: the implied subject of *adcrescere* (*si des* sc. *mihi*) is Acastus, but it is his reputation that should be raised (or added) to his cousin's. Spaltenstein's idea of construing *famae* with *des* is excluded because in the first *si-* clause *mihi* is already implied.

For *fraternae* see note on 163.

179–183

> quin ego, ne qua metu nimio me cura parentis
> impediat, fallam ignarum subitusque paratis
> tunc adero, primas linquet cum puppis harenas'.
> dixerat. ille animos promissaque talia laetus
> accipit et gressus avidos ad litora vertit.

quin ego: V. *A.* 11.169. It is hard to understand why editors keep printing *nequa* as one word.

metu nimio: Acastus considers his father's concern excessive. Cato has its opposite: *nimiam spem* (*orat.* 214).

cura parentis: V. *A.* 1.646 (also at the end of the line); cf. ib. 12.932f. *si qua parentis / tangere cura potest*. Note the elaborate alliterations in this and the following line: *ne* … *me-* … *ni-* … *me* … *par-* … *i-* … *i-* … *par-*).

fallam: 'to escape unnoticed' (OLD 6), with personal subject and object, as for instance in Ov. *Met.* 4.85 *fallere custodes*, 94 *(Thisbe) fallit suos*; TLL 6.188.30ff., 69, 190.1ff.

paratis was printed from the first edition on instead of transmittted *paratus*, which would be very awkward indeed after *subitus*. The repetition from *parato* (174) may be intentional. If so, Acastus compares his present willingness to join the expedition with the prospective readiness of the Argonauts for sailing.

tunc … *cum:* cf. note on 171f. *cum* … *tunc*.

adesse with a dative meaning simply 'to be present (with someone)', not implying assistance, is quite common (OLD 2).

primas … *harenas* could in itself mean 'the edge of the beach', but not very well when the beach is left, not reached as in V. *A.* 1.541 *prima* … *terra*; here we should expect *ultimas* or *extremas*. Probably this is another case of an adjective form instead of *cum primum* 'as soon as'. Cf. Eden on V. *A.* 8.59 and Perutelli on *Arg.* 7.90.

linquere harenas seems a new combination, but *harena* etc. as 'beach' (as in 442 below) is quite common (TLL 6.3.2530.11f.).

dixerat: the pluperfect at the end of a speech is Virgilian: 8 times in the *Aeneid* closing the sentence, 8 more times followed by *et*; twice each by *atque* and *haec*, once by *ille*, and three times by the subject. The change of subject, indicated with *ille*, is frequent in VF (*e.g.* 309 below); he has the bald *dixerat* nine times and the pluperfect followed by a conjunction or pronoun 18 times.

talia modifies *animos* as well, whether this noun is taken as 'intention' (OLD 7b) or as 'courage' (ib. 13b). Both meanings are probably present here.

accipit, with *laetus* a clear echo of 161 above, here too means 'to accept, to welcome' (OLD 16), not just 'to learn' (ib. 18).

laetus, occurring as it does not only in 161 but also in 170 and again in 188, stamps the passage as markedly optimistic in tone. *gressus avidos*: the feeling is transposed from the person to his actions, as in 2.545f. *ovanti … gradu*, 3.357 *passibus aegris*, 7.110 *ardentes … gressus*. The model may have been V. *A*. 12.909 *avidos … cursus*, which recurs in Stat. *Theb*. 11.517f. (TLL 2.1427.72f.). The combination *gressus vertere* was taken over by Silius (13.516; TLL 6.2.2329.33). Cf. also V. *A*. 1.410 *gressumque ad moenia tendit*.

As the interview of Jason with Acastus began with *accipit … laetus … petit*, so it is closed with *laetus, accipit* and *gressus … vertit*.

PART B,3

PRAYERS AND FAREWELLS

184–349)

The day and night before the sailing are filled with several activities and events.

184–204	the launching of the Argo; sacrifice and prayer
205–226	the (pessimistic) prophecy of Mopsus
227–239	the (optimistic) prophecy of Idmon
240–254	Jason's encouraging speech
255–273	the arrival of Chiron with the young Achilles
274–293	at nightfall Orpheus sings of Helle
294–299	Jason's leave-taking of his parents (first part)
300–308	the apparition of the ship's tutelary deity to the sleeping Jason
309–314	the ship made ready for sailing
315–349	Jason's leave-taking of his parents (second part), including the farewell-speeches of Alcimede (320–334) and Aeson (336–347).

184–204

The inland intermezzo of Jason with Acastus is closed: we are on the beach again (*ad litora vertit* 183). The Argo, which had been finished in 149ff., is now launched. Altars are raised, sacrifices made, Jason prays to the sea-gods.

184–187

> at ducis imperiis Minyae monituque frequentes
> puppem umeris subeunt et tento poplite proni
> decurrunt intrantque fretum; non clamor anhelis
> nauticus aut blandus testudine defuit Orpheus.

While AR devoted some 30 lines to the launch (1.363–393), VF's version is very succinct. As we have seen (p. 85), with the construction of

the ship it was the other way around. In addition, the discussion in the Greek poet as to who should be the leader (1.336ff.) is skipped: there is no doubt or debate about Jason's leadership. Hercules is the mightiest of the Argonauts, but no more than a loyal comrade (cf. 2.380f. [Hercules speaking] *me tecum solus in aequor / rerum traxit amor*). He will play an important role in the second book.

ducis imperiis: V. *A.* 9.675 *ducis imperio.*

Minyae: the first of nearly 60 instances in VF where the Argonauts are thus named. The designation is first attested in Pind. *P.* 4.69 and is several times employed by AR, who gives as explanation (1.229ff.) that most Argonauts (and the best of them) descended from the daughters of Minyas. Ovid had already applied the name to the Argonauts: *Met.* 6.720 (where see Bömer), 7.1, 115, 120.

For *monitu* with a genitive cf. Cic. *Div.* 2.86 and V. *A.* 6.533 *monitu divum*. The genitive denotes a human being in V. *A.* 9.501 *Ilionei monitu.* Statius has the combination with *ducis* in *Theb.* 5.555 and 10.387, whereas *monitu* and *imperio* occur together in V. *A.* 4.282.

frequentes: the only instance in VF of this adjective in its usual meaning 'in numbers; all of them' (OLD 4b). In 2.472 it means 'covered with a lot of …'.

puppem umeris subeunt: cf. V. *A.* 4.599 *subiisse umeris … parentem.* A ship would not have been 'carried' but rather 'shouldered' and pushed, perhaps with the help of levers. In 7.554 'to carry' is the right word, cf. *portant* ib. 555.

tento poplite seems new, but cf. Col. 6.14.4 *nervi … tenduntur.* Maurach (1983:126, n.100) draws attention to the singular, where a plural could be expected; he calls this 'bordering on the comical' ('ans Komische grenzt'). Not everyone will feel it that way.

proni, said of drivers (V. *G.* 3.107) and rowers (V. *A.* 3.668), visualizes their exertions, as here; but *decurrunt* suggests an ease which is hardly credible.

clamor … nauticus: this expression can be used to denote the calling of time by the bo'sun, but here the men are not rowing, and the poet no doubt means a shout of joy when their efforts in launching have been succesful. Cf. Williams on V. *A.* 3.128 and 5.140f.; to his reference to Sil. 11.488 add Luc. 2.688f. Orpheus' later task in accompanying the actual rowing is mentioned in 471f. below. Cf. Schubert *Ratis*[2] 269–284.

Horace (*Carm.* 1.12.11) had already called Orpheus *blandus* (cf. also ib. 1.24.13 *Threicio blandius Orpheo).*

testudine (cf. *dulci testudine* 277 below) probably goes at least as much with *non … defuit* 'he contributed with his lyre' as with *blandus*, although this adjective is said (in OLD and K/H) to be construed with an ablative in Hor. *Ep.* 2.1.135 *caelestis implorat aquas docta prece blandus*. It is not clear what Maurach (1983:126) means with 'das Rufen des Verantwortlichen (s. Langen) mischte sich mit Orpheus, d.h. mit seinem Gesang'. Surely the *nauticus clamor* was not produced by Jason? At the most there is a slight shift in meaning: *clamor non defuit anhelis* ('in spite of their panting they could still shout for joy') and *anhelis … non defuit Orpheus*: 'the musician supported their utterances'.

188–192

> tum laeti statuunt aras. tibi, rector aquarum,
> summus honor, tibi caeruleis in litore vittis
> et Zephyris Glaucoque bovem Thetidique iuvencam
> deicit Ancaeus; non illo certior alter
> pinguia letifera perfringere colla bipenni.

laeti: as Jason was in the preceding scene (161, 182).

statuunt aras: TLL (2.382.69ff.) cites as the first instance of this combination Pl. *As.* 712; it occurs also in prose (Cic. *Dom.* 128, *et al.*). Virgil has it in *A.* 8.271 and Seneca in *Med.* 578.

rector aquarum: Neptune, the *aequoreus pater* of 193 below. Later he was called thus by Statius (*Ach.* 1.78; cf. *rector profundi* ib. 61). Martial applied the words to *Albula* (12.98.3). Ovid has *rector pelagi* (*Met.* 1.331; cf. ib. 4.798 *pelagi rector*) and *rector maris* (ib. 11.207). VF later (1.588) describes Aeolus as *rector* (of the winds) and uses the noun again to denote Neptune in Jason's prayer (1.674). The combination of Neptune and the Zephyrs is known from the model passage V. *A.* 3.118–120.

For the wording cf. Stat. *Theb.* 4.457 *tibi, rector Averni.*

AR makes Jason pray to Apollo (1.360, 403), whose importance is paramount in the work of the poet who is named after the god.

summus honor: in Cicero (for instance *Sest.* 17) this means 'the highest post of office'. For the sense 'chief honour, principal sacrifice' there appear to be no parallels (TLL 6.3.2926.71ff.).

caeruleis … vittis: on the victims or on the officiating Ancaeus? (Sacrificing) priests are thus adorned: 1.839 (cf. V. *A.* 2.221 and 10.538; OLD 2a), but also the animals which will be slaughtered (1.776; cf. V. *A.* 2.156; OLD 2b). Both in 1.776 and in 6.302 VF qualifies the bands as *caeruleus*. In the first instance this is natural because a sacrifice to the nether deities is described; in the second it is the priest Aquites who wears dark

bands, perhaps to correspond with the 'camouflage' of poplar-leaves (296) on his head. On the beach of Thessaly, however, the sacrifice is made to the *di superi*, in which case dark does not seem the appropriate colour for the victim (cf. V. *G.* 3.487 *nivea … vitta*). It is therefore preferable to construe the ablative of quality with the subject of the sentence. The victims are then 'enclosed' between the attribute of the sacrificer (*caeruleis … vittis*) and his name (*Ancaeus*). The position of *in litore*, which must belong to *deicit* (or rather to the whole clause) between *caeruleis* and *vittis* is remarkable anyhow.

Zephyris: the model passage (V. *A.* 3.119f.) has: *taurum Neptuno, taurum tibi, pulcher Apollo, / nigram Hiemi pecudem, Zephyris felicibus albam.* The status of the Zephyrs seems to have been raised in comparison with the *Aeneid*: *albam (pecudem)—bovem.* The designation *Zephyri* here suggests gentleness (Langen; cf. Williams on the lines quoted above), but in the case of the Argonauts, about to sail eastward, the direction of the wind may also be relevant.

Glauco: in his other two appearances in VF he is coupled with Thetis again (2.286) and with Cymothoe (2.605). For the figure of Glaucus see Bömer on Ov. *Met.* 13.904–14.74.

Thetidi: probably she represents the Nereids in view of her relationship with the Argonaut Peleus (cf. 255ff. below). The correction *iuvencam* (for a female deity; mss.: *iuvencum*) was first made in the Aldine edition.

VF combines *deicit* and *iuvenca* again in 2.330f. Apart from these two occurrences the verb *deicere* denotes the killing of the sacrificial animal only in *schol. Germ. Basil.* p.93.16 Br. (TLL 5.1.396.29). More usual is the meaning 'to kill in battle or in hunting' as in 6.194, 218, 552 (OLD 7a).

Ancaeus: there were two Argonauts of the same name. AR distinguishes 1) a son of Lycurgus (1.164) from Tegea, mentioned again in 1.398, 426ff. (where he kills one sacrificial victim and Herakles the other), 1.531 and 2.118; and 2) a son of Poseidon (1.188), like his brother Erginos a skilled sailor and warrior. This Ancaeus (also mentioned in AR 2.865 (894, 898), 2.1276 (probably), and 4.210) in the Greek epic succeeded Tiphys as helmsman, whereas VF makes Erginus take over this function (5.64–66). In his catalogue the Tegean Ancaeus figures in 1.377, and the son of Neptune in 1.413. This last must be meant in 5.64, where he volunteers (unsuccessfully, as we saw) for the vacant position of helmsman. Which Ancaeus is portrayed as taking part in the battle against the Doliones (3.138), we cannot tell. Here in 1.191 the sacrificial

scene makes it almost certain, in view of the parallel in AR, that the son of Lycurgus is meant. VF passes over Hercules as slayer of the heifer, emphasizing the supreme ability of Ancaeus in this field.

non illo certior alter: from V. *A.* 6.164f. *quo non praestantior alter / aere ciere viros Martemque accendere cantu.* This model could explain the use of the infinitive *perfringere*, for *certus* with an infinitive usually means 'determined, resolved' (OLD 10), as in 4.47; cf. V. *A.* 2.350 (with Austin's note) and ib. 4.564. The meaning 'sure, unerring' (as in Prop. 2.34.60, Sen. *Her.O.* 161; OLD 13b) does not seem to be construed thus before VF, who repeats this construction in 436ff. *certus ... cogere*.

Line 192 constitutes a Golden Line with alliteration, at the end of a scene.

pinguia ... colla: it was of course advisable to offer sleek victims to the gods; cf. V. *A.* 11.740 *hostia pinguis*.

letifera ... bipenni: the adjective, occurring from Cat. (64.394) on, is coupled with *arcus* in V. *A.* 10.169 and in *Arg.* 4.524f. For adjectives ending in *-fer* see Poortvliet on 2.295. A *bipennis* (see note on 122 above) is again used for sacrificial ends in 4.337, where see Korn.

perfringere: apparently not used previously in a sacrificial context. In V. *A.* 11.614 and Ov. *Her.* 4.115 killing (crushing) in battle is described.

194–203 is the fourth instance of Jason's words quoted directly, again (as in 81–90) in the form of a prayer, this time to Neptune. By its place, before the actual sacrifice and the ensuing prophecies of Mopsus and Idmon, it resembles the prayer of Aeneas (*A.* 6.56–76) before the oracular utterances of the Sibyl and the descent into the underworld. This similarity is enhanced by the fact that the predictions of Mopsus and Idmon are pessimistic and optimistic respectively; this opposition is also to be seen within the answer of the Sibyl (*A.* 6.83–97). In AR only Idmon prophesies, generally in a positive way (1.436; 440ff.), excluding his own fate. By addressing Neptune, Jason stresses the shift from Pallas and Juno, whose roles have been important but will be restricted to incidental interventions from now on, to the sea-gods, whose continuous cooperation or at least permission will be needed.

Again the direct speech begins within the line (cf. 150, 163, 174). Although the sacrifice is offered to more sea-gods than Neptune (190), only he is addressed.

The structure is:

194–195	invocation (without the god's name!).
196a	the prayer proper (in an extremely succinct form).

196b–199 the motivation of the request: what is asked is admittedly presumptuous, but the intentions are innocent.
200–202a a remarkable kind of 'counter-prayer', on the assumption that Pelias will try to persuade the gods to take his side. This item contains Jason's motive for the expedition, now presented positively, after the negative form in 198–199.
202b–203 a specification of the vague request in 196a.

There is no promise attached: in its place comes the sacrifice (204), which follows immediately.

193–199

ipse ter aequoreo libans carchesia patri
sic ait Aesonides: 'o qui spumantia nutu
regna quatis terrasque salo complecteris omnes,
da veniam! scio me cunctis e gentibus unum
inlicitas temptare vias hiememque mereri;
sed non sponte feror nec nunc mihi iungere montes
mens tamen aut summo deposcere fulmen Olympo.

For line 193 as a whole cf. V. *A.* 5.77 *hic duo rite mero libans carchesia Baccho.*

ter: the 'holy number' is used as such in 3.347f. and 441 (both in the context of the ritual purification after the battle with the people of Cyzicus). For further parallels see Langen.

aequoreo … patri: any major god could be called *pater*, as is Neptune here and in 651, 669 and 679 below. Virgil has explicitly *pater Neptune* (*A.* 5.14), as also Seneca (*Oed.* 266, *Ag.* 553f., where see Tarrant). Later VF calls him *pater ipse profundi* (2.605) and *pater ipse maris* (4.571). The combination with *aequoreus* occurs in Stat. *Theb.* 6.529 and in Columella (10.200), though there Oceanus is meant. *aequoreus deus* however refers to Neptune in Ovid (*Met.* 12.197, *Fast.* 5.512) and Seneca (*Ag.* 215). Cf. also *aequoreos … deos* (212 below), as in Ov. *Pont.* 2.10.40.

carchesia, denoting originally a special type of drinking-cup, but often (as here) the wine contained in it, seems to be used only in the plural in Latin poetry (cf. 2.655). The noun is usually combined with *libare* 'to pour a libation of …', as in V. *A.* 5.77 (quoted above; cf. ib. 7.133) and *G.* 4.380f., Stat. *Ach.* 1.680, Sil. 11.300, Mart. 8.56.15.

sic ait: in all other (nine) instances VF uses this formula to conclude a speech, as is invariably the case (13 times) in Virgil, though not in Ovid. Because in this passage it introduces a speech, the name of the speaker has to be added, which is never the case in Virgil.

For *Aesonides* see note on 32.

o qui: as for instance in V. *A.* 1.229f., these words begin a prayer where the name of the god who is invoked is not mentioned, although his identity is made fully clear. *G.* 2.488f. *o qui me gelidis convallibus Haemi / sistat* … is different, expressing a wish and not addressing anyone in particular (this passage was taken up by VF in 2.218f.). Other instances of *o* followed by a relative clause are given in TLL 9.2.9.69ff.

spumantia … *regna*: in view of *quatis*, which is not just 'rules' but rather 'shakes', the participle is to be taken proleptically. The noun, instead of simply *maria* (Enn.), *undae* (Cat.) etc., underlines the fact that Jason is addressing the king of the sea.

nutu: without qualification; 'by a nod', as already in Livy (34.62.18). For *quatere* with 'waters' as the object cf. Ov. *Her.* 18.48 *quasque quatit, nulla parte coercet aquas* (sc. Boreas).

salo: this quite common word, used in both prose and poetry, occurs no more than three times in VF's work, all in the first book: here, in 688 and in 703.

complecteris: OLD 5c '(topog.) to include within its limits, embrace'. The subject here is a person (addressed), but of course Neptune stands for the oceans. The verb is used not only in poetry (Ov. *Met.* 8.731 *ut tibi, complexi terram maris incola, Proteu*), but in prose as well: Cic. *Leg.* 2.6 *Fibrenus* … *tantum complectitur quod satis sit modicae palaestrae loci*; Plin. *Nat.* 5.41 *insulas non ita multas complectuntur haec maria* and 6.86 *stagnum* … *insulas* … *complexum*. In view of *terras* … *omnes* one would rather expect Oceanus to be the subject, as in Tac. *Ger.* 1.1 *Oceanus* … *latos sinus et insularum immensa spatia complectens*. Lines 188 and 212, however, make it abundantly clear that Neptune is being addressed. Although several other sea-gods are mentioned in 190, their supreme lord is here singled out to hear Jason's prayer. The example of Virgil, where the gods are invoked collectively (*A.* 3.528f., 5.235ff.) is initially followed in 1.667f., but soon Neptune is again the only deity addressed: 669 *tu* … *pater*, 674 *rector*.

da veniam: this formula, absent in the *Aeneid* but quite frequent in Ovid, can mean either 'give me permission' or 'pardon me'. In view of the following (*inlicitas; mereri*) the second meaning seems predominant here.

scio … *unum*: from V. *A.* 3.602 *scio me Danais e classibus unum*. The last word is not simply taken over from Virgil: Jason has taken the initiative and accepts full responsibility for the expedition. For *cunctis* … *gentibus*

cf. *miseris* … *gentibus* (648 below) in the words of Neptune, where he states that his decision to leave the Argonauts unharmed does not affect navigation in times to follow.

inlicitas … *vias*: the first instance of *illicitus* used 'de rebus corporeis' (TLL 7.1.375.80): cf. 627 below *inlicitas* … *undas*.

For *temptare* see note on 97. *viam temptare* combines the notions of OLD 7 'to make an attempt at, try, essay (a course of action)' and ib. 9 'to … try to get possession or mastery of'. The combination of *inlicitus* and *temptare* occurs later in Apuleius (*Met.* 7.21 *inlicitas* … *temptat libidines*). The idea of trespassing is also expressed in Hor. *Carm.* 1.3.21ff. and Sen. *Med.* 335ff. See Heydenreich 28ff.

hiememque mereri: the storm constitutes the punishment Jason admits he deserves. This is an expansion of the range of objects properly belonging to the verb in this sense (as *poenam, malum, noxam*): here the noun in itself does not denote a penalty.

Jason pleads guilty to the sea-gods, who are not under a moral obligation to help him, as Juno was. Therefore he makes a double excuse: he was compelled to undertake the expedition (which is consequently not a spontaneous act), and moreover there is no real menace in his actions, his purpose being relatively unassuming and not aggressive at all. This last element is also present in the Sibyl's words on the occasion of Aeneas' descent into the nether world (*A.* 6.399), but of course the action of the principal character there cannot be presented as involuntary, as it is here.

non sponte feror: cf. V. *A.* 4.361 *Italiam non sponte sequor*.

This is the first claim to forgiveness: the initiative for the expedition was not Jason's in the first place, although he cannot be said to have been compelled in the stricter sense, because he had other options (see note on 71ff. above).

nec nunc mihi etc.: for *nunc* Poortvliet (1994:488f.) gives as a parallel 5.479 *me neque nunc enses araeque egere paternae*. It is true that the similarity is enhanced by the words *nec* … *sponte sequor* which follow there, but in that passage a clear temporal meaning is present (in the preceding lines Jason has referred to his ancestors), which is not the case here. The sense must primaily be 'as it is' (OLD 11), that is: 'my action not being spontaneous'. Usually the opposite possibility to be ruled out is expressed with a conditional clause or a preceding wish. Here it would be the implicit thought 'if I had evil designs, you would be justified in punishing me', followed by '**but** I do not come of my own accord, and, this being the case, …' Moreover, since the expression

iungere montes supposes a dative (cf. Stat. *Theb.* 8.79, *Silv.* 3.2.65f.) which is not expressed, the diction is rather brachylogical. This however is in typical Valerian style, so we need not accept Renkema's conjecture *nec mens mihi iungere montes / montibus*, which would also rid us of the somewhat problematic *tamen* (see below).

mens tamen: three different verbal forms have been proposed for the adverb, namely *tumet* (Pius; taken over by several editors), *avet* (from marginal notes in the Leyden copy of the Bonon. tert., apparently representing the lost codex Harlesii: Ehlers XII) and *est* (Graevius, ap. Burman, *Syll.*, 4.445), now revived by Poortvliet (see n. on *nec nunc mihi*). *avet* was printed by Bährens and Langen. Later Saenger (34) suggested *temere*, and Ehlers (in his apparatus) *Iovis*. Against *mens*, with a dative but without a verbal predicate meaning 'it is (someone's) intention', as the first word of the line there can be no serious objection in view of 3.256, but *tamen* is not very easy. Liberman sees a parallel with 5.498ff., but there the phrase beginning with *nec tamen* (501) is opposed to the preceding sentence beginning with *sed*: '(I have come without aggressive intentions,) but in peace, with a view to our family relations. Nevertheless (*nec tamen*) as a warrior too I am not to be despised'. This opposition between the clause introduced with *sed* and the following sentence in which *nec* and *tamen* occur does not exist here. *tamen* can be kept if we assume yet another brachylogy. Given that the elliptical expression *iungere montes* undoubtedly refers to the attempt of the Aloadae to storm Mt. Olympus by piling up the mountains of Pelion and Ossa, Jason here sketches a direct and violent attack on the Olympian gods. This action is clearly much more liable to punishment than his own expedition. He therefore probably means: 'I know I am trespassing by entering the sea (*scio … mereri*). That however was not my own idea (*sed non sponte feror*). This being the case (*nunc*) [you could still maintain that my actions are unwarrantable]. However (*tamen*) I did not intend a gross and truly sacrilegious attack on the gods'. Jason thus first pleads 'absence of malicious intentions' and then the relatively small extent of the alleged misdemeanour.

summo … Olympo: for this phrase three explications have been proposed. Pius (followed by Slothouwer and Langen) explained it as 'to make it necessary (by acting impiously) for Jupiter to hurl his thunderbolt' (Langen: 'commissurum … audacissimum facinus quo Iovis ira et fulmen provocetur'). In this interpretation the sentiment would be the same as in Hor. *Carm.* 1.3.38ff. *neque / per nostrum patimur scelus / iracunda Iovem ponere fulmina* (TLL 5.1.590.7f. paraphrases with *elicere*). A

second possibility was equally put forward by Pius: ‘to challenge Jupiter and claim his thunderbolts for oneself’ (as the Giants had supposedly done). Burman suggested a third explanation: ‘to ask Jupiter to use his thunderbolts (against Pelias)’. None of these interpretations is entirely satisfactory. The last seems the least acceptable: asking Jupiter for a punishment (of someone who is not even mentioned) is hardly the first reaction one expects from Jason when trying to excuse the Argonauts’ *inlicitas temptare vias*; it could rather be argued that a request to punish Pelias, the originator of the trespassing, would in the circumstances not be denied at all—as would be the case in Burman’s interpretation. Against the second proposed solution it can be remarked that there seem to be no indications that the Giants’ aim in assailing heaven was to take possession of the thunderbolts. On the contrary, Ovid expressly states (*Fast.* 3.437–440) that Jupiter was armed with the thunderbolts only after the attack of the Giants. If we accept the first possibility, we have to take *aut* in the generalizing sense ‘or (broadly speaking)’, which is in itself possible: K/S 2.101.3 ‘oder Überhaupt’. Yet a more specific alternative for *iungere montes* would be preferable. Nevertheless this interpretation seems to have fewer drawbacks than the other two.

deposcere is not used elsewhere with an ablative, but it is with *ab (aliquo)*.

200–204

> ne Peliae te vota trahant! ille aspera iussa
> repperit et Colchos in me luctumque meorum.
> illum ego … ! tu tantum non indignantibus undis
> hoc caput accipias et pressam regibus alnum.’
> sic fatus pingui cumulat libamine flammam.

ne … trahant: Jason seems to suppose that Pelias wishes the ship to be wrecked. That wish is only possible as long as the king is unaware of his son’s participation in the expedition, and as a matter of fact he discovers this at a later stage of events (700ff. below). For *trahere* (‘to attract to one’s support, allegiance, etc., (seek to) win over’ OLD 10) Ovid’s *trahunt promissa puellas* (*Ars* 1.631) is aptly quoted. Langen, who paraphrases ‘ne patiaris te duci’, also refers to 2.380f. *me tecum solus in aequor / rerum traxit amor*, which is immediately followed by *dum spes mihi sistere montes*. These words closely resemble *nec nunc* (or Renkema’s *mens*!) *mihi iungere montes*, which suggests that somehow the two expressions were present together in the poet’s mind.

For the 'counter-prayer', uttered to neutralize someone else's (supposed) wish, there seem to be no parallels.

aspera iussa: comparable are *fera iussa* (Ov. *Rem.* 496) and *horrida iussa* (Stat. *Silv.* 4.2.50), the opposite consisting of *mollia iussa* (V. *G.* 3.41, Ov. *Ars* 2.196). As the nearest equivalent of *aspera iussa* TLL (2.811.23) mentions *asperiore imperio* (Cic. *Rep.* 3.37).

repperit: OLD 6 'to make up, devise, invent'.

For the line-ending cf. V. *A.* 8.386 *in me excidiumque meorum.* As in that passage, so here too there is a slight shift of meaning of *in*: *in me* 'against me' OLD 12, *in luctum* 'so as to produce …' OLD 20 (cf. Cic. *Clu.* 188 *in familiae luctum*). Moreover *Colchos*, being the specification of *aspera iussa*, is a brachylogical expression for *iter in Colchos faciendum* (Langen 5). This sentence serves to give the reason why Neptune should not listen to Pelias' alleged prayer.

illu / illo metu is the reading of V and S, some mss. of the L family having *illum ego—tu* as an aposiopesis like the famous *quos ego!* of V. *A.* 1.135. This seems indeed by far the best solution (for other conjectures see *Mnem.* 1986:348f.), printed from the first edition on and lastly by Liberman, though Kramer and Courtney despaired of finding a satisfying answer. Courtney's remark that *tantum* is 'a poor substitute for *sed*' (CR 1972:219) is not convincing. On the contrary, there is a Virgilian pattern of the type 'I will (you may expect from me) … if you but (*tantum*) answer my prayer'. See *A.* 6.72ff., 8.76ff., 9.281ff. *tantum* serves to make the prayer more urgent (K/S 1.201f.). Moreover Langen cites two other instances of the same kind of aposiopesis: Ov. *Her.* 12.207 *quos equidem actutum* - and Stat. *Theb.* 4.518 *iamque ego vos* -. Lastly, the generally accepted reading results in a neat play with pronouns: *ille—me—illum ego—tu*. Jason states that he himself will (later) deal with Pelias, if only Neptune grants him a safe return. Another instance of aposiopesis in VF is 7.287 (where see Perutelli).

For *non indignantibus undis* see note on 9 above.

hoc caput: the use of *caput* with a (possessive or demonstrative) pronoun is as old as Plautus (*Stich.* 751 *hoc … caput*). This specific combination occurs in V. *A.* 8.570 and 9.496. A closer parallel is Ov. *Tr.* 2.101f. *omnes / pressere hoc fluctus Oceanusque caput*, where besides *hoc … caput* two other elements appear which are also present in our passage: *pressere* ~ *pressam*, *fluctus* ~ *undis*, though the meaning and syntactical structure are different. VF has *hoc corpus* in 8.349, this time with *fluctus*.

accipias is taken up in Mopsus' prophecy (216f. [the gods] *ratemque / accepere mari*).

pressam … alnum: *premere* as 'to burden, load' is first attested in V. *G.* 1.303 *ceu pressae cum iam portum tetigere carinae*. Cf. also Tib. 1.3.39f. *nec vagus ignotis repetens compendia terris / presserat externa navita merce ratem*. The metonymy of *alnus* to denote a ship (as in 637, 2.300, 3.536) is to a certain extent already present in Virgil (*G.* 1.136, 2.451), not in Ovid, but fully developed in Lucan (seven times). It is quite frequent in Statius and Silius as well. VF also calls the Argo a *pinus* (see note on *robora* 95).

regibus: 'heroes; men of royal blood'; see note on 174. VF has the plural again to denote the Argonauts in 342 below, 3.173 and 504, 4.543, 8.205.

sic fatus: ending the speech which was introduced with *sic ait* (194). In the *Aeneid* the same words occur nine times (ten if we include *sic fata* 4.685), mostly (2.50 and 544, 3.118, 5.351 and 539, 10.535) beginning the line, as here.

pingui … libamine: the noun denotes an offering, properly of a liquid (mostly wine), but also of other substances, as in V. *A.* 6.245f. *summas … saetas /… libamina prima*, Luc. 4.198, Stat. *Theb.* 5.742 and 6.224, Sil. 7.185. Although both wine (Hor. *S.* 2.4.65, Tib. 1.1.10) and oil (V. *Ecl.* 5.68) can be called *pinguis*, these substances are not appropriate objects of *cumulat*. Moreover, in the lines immediately following the burning of *exta* and *viscera* is described, so that we have to assume that here the placing of the victim on the altar is meant, and *pingui* has about the same meaning as in 192 (*pinguia … colla*).

cumulat: the usual object of the verb in this context ('to cover, load'; OLD 3) is a word denoting 'altar': V. *A.* 8.284 and 12.215 *aras*, ib. 11.50 *altaria*, Tib. 2.5.6 and Liv. 8.33.20 *aras*). Cf. (in a different construction) Stat. *Silv.* 4.8.37 *festos cumulare altaribus ignes*. VF makes Jason put the offering not 'on the altar', but 'on the flames (of the altar)'. The noun is picked up in 206 with *ignes*.

205–226 (the (pessimistic) prophecy of Mopsus)

Mopsus is the first to utter a prophecy, in which the dark aspects of the future receive more attention than the eventual success of the expedition. Mopsus was already the seer of the Argonauts in Pindar (*P.* 4.190f.). This function is visible in AR as well, but the Greek poet does not make him predict at the start of the voyage. Cf. *Ratis*[1] 173–180 (Lefèvre) and 229f. It is clear that the prophecies of Mopsus and Idmon are correlated in that the first stresses on a pessimistic note the negative and threatening side of things to happen, whereas Idmon

more optimistically points to the happy ending. In the same way the Sibyl's address to Aeneas in *A.* 6.83–97 is split into a threatening and a promising speech.

After this scene Mopsus is mentioned again in the catalogue (384 below); in the battle with the people of Cyzicus (3.98) and the following purification which he conducts with the help of Idmon (3.372, 378, 420, 460); in Jason's address to Phineus (4.546); on the occasion of Idmon's death (5.9); at the appearance of the shade of Sthenelus (5.95); in beauty compared with Jason (5.366); at the wedding ceremony of Jason and Medea (8.248), and prophesying on Peuce (8.398). For his death in Libya as the result of a snake-bite (AR 4.1502–1536) there was of course no room in VF's story. In three of the cited instances (3.420, 460, 5.366) he is designated with his patronymic *Ampycides*.

205–210

> protulit ut crinem densis luctatus in extis
> ignis et *escendit salientia viscera tauri,
> ecce sacer totusque dei per litora Mopsus
> immanis visu vittamque comamque per auras
> surgentem laurusque rotat. vox reddita tandem,
> vox horrenda viris. tum facta silentia vati.

protulit … crinem: the verb is used several times with words denoting 'hand' or similar as the object (OLD 8b), meaning 'to hold out, extend'. Here it must mean 'to lift, raise', of which the nearest parallel seems to be Phaed. 1.2.17 *profert … caput*. Equally unusual is *crinis* denoting 'flames', but the adjective *crinitus* describing a 'comet' (OLD 2b) occurs in several places and authors: Sen. *Nat.* 6.3.3 and 7.6.1, Plin. *Nat.* 2.89, 94 (TLL 4.1205.66ff.). Statius followed suit writing (*Theb.* 5.387) *multa crinitum missile flamma*. Earlier *coma* shows the same metonymical use: Cat. 61.77f. *viden ut faces / splendidas quatiunt comas*? Cf. Sen. *Oed.* 311 *summam in auras fusus explicuit comam* (sc. *ignis*) and Sil. 10.549 *celsam pinum flammaque comantem*. The notion of 'the light (of fire)' is also present in 2.42 *effusis stellatus crinibus aether* (cf. V. *A.* 5.528 *crinemque volantia sidera ducunt*). The fire on the altar finally succeeds in mastering the offered entrails, but only after a struggle (*luctatus*). This is obviously an implicit prophecy about the expedition, as Idmon will explain (235f.). At the wedding ceremony of Jason and Medea the fire will fail to unfold itself (8.247f.), which is of course a dark omen.

densis … in extis: 'in the close-packed layer of entrails'. Perhaps the nearest parallel is V. *G.* 3.124 *denso … pingui*.

luctari is not infrequently used with inanimate subjects (TLL 7.2.1732.85ff.), but the combination with *crinem* and **escendit* results in a strong personification of *ignis*. This noun is also the subject of *luctari* in Luc. 3.503f. *nec, quamvis viridi luctetur robore, lentas / ignis agit vires.*

escendit: this reading is printed in all editions from Bährens' on, but its provenance is not very clear. It was ascribed to Heinsius (who did not print it in his 1680 edition but suggested it in a note) by Thilo and Bährens, the former printing *ascendit*. It then subsequently appears in the editions of Kramer, Courtney, Ehlers and Liberman. The first three however did not indicate where they found it, Kramer and Courtney in their apparatus mentioning V's *aescendit*. Now according to Liberman it is L's reading. But is it the correct one? It is not easy to find (cf. *Mnem.* 1987:107ff.) a good parallel for *escendit*; neither passage quoted in TLL 5.2.858.9f. and 14f., namely Var. *R.* 1.8.7 and 3.16.27, bears the required meaning 'to mount to a certain level (after overcoming an obstacle)'. This meaning, however, is clearly present in Cic. *Clu.* 150 *qui summum locum civitatis aut non potuerunt ascendere aut non petiverunt*, which points to *ascendere* in our passage as well. Moreover, in Sen. *Nat.* 2.24.1 *ignis* is the subject of *ascendere*, as here: *ignis enim natura in verticem surgit et, si nihil illum prohibet, ascendit.* Liberman gives as parallels for *escendit* Sen. *Her.F.* 21–22, where see Fitch's note, and Quint. *Inst.* 7.6.6, but in both cases the mss. are also divided. In view of these facts it is very probable that *ascendit* and not *escendit* was what VF wrote. Dräger is inclined to agree with this choice. The fire 'climbs' successfully on top of the sacrificial flesh.

The expression *salientia viscera* was used by Ovid (*Met.* 6.390) in a somewhat different context, viz. the flaying of Marsyas. Statius followed VF when he wrote (*Theb.* 4.410) *salientibus extis*, in the consultation of Tiresias, where *salire*, as here, denotes the throbbing of the burning flesh. He went further in *Theb.* 8.178: *caesis saliat quod numen in extis.*

totus … dei: 'wholly possessed by the god' (OLD 4b).

per litora: since the locality could not be other than the coast, these words suggest the ecstatic movements of Mopsus over a great expanse. He is portrayed as distracted and frightening to see and hear (*immanis visu; vox horrenda*), whereas Idmon will appear controlled and reassuring (*non ullo horrore comarum; Phoeboque quieto* 229f.).

immanis visu: the adjective combines again (see note on 65) the notions of 'terrifying' and 'enormous'. People in inspired frenzy appeared of greater size than normal: V. *A.* 6.49 *maiorque videri*, Ov. *Fast.* 6.539f. *vix illam subito posses cognoscere, tanto / sanctior et tanto, quam modo, maior erat.*

Both passages may have contributed to VF's diction: in Virgil, we see *immanis* (ib. 77), whereas *magnum si pectore posset / excussisse deum* (78f.) suggests *totus … dei*, and Ovid wrote (ib. 538) *toto pectore plena dei* (where see Bömer).

vittamque comamque … laurusque: his hair which is interwoven with woollen bands and crowned with laurel. Priests and seers usually wore *vittae* (OLD 2a); cf. 385f. *vittataque frontem / cassis* (Mopsus again), and the laurel was sacred to Apollo (386 *in summo laurus Peneia cono*). In that passage Mopsus is even presented as Apollo's son (383 *Phoebique fides non vana parentis*), in spite of the fact that he is also named *Ampycides* after his mortal father (see above).

per auras probably suggests, like *per litora*, the wide range of his ravings.

surgentem: hair standing on end is here for the first time described with *surgere*. Statius followed: *surrexere comae* (*Ach.* 1.856). Earlier verbs used in this connection are *stare* (V. *A.* 2.774 and 3.48, Ov. *Met.* 7.631 and 10.425, *horrere / horrescere* (Ov. *Fast.* 2.502, *Met.* 7.631), *rigere* (Ov. *Met.* 3.100, *Fast.* 1.97, Luc. 1.193) and its compounds, *exsilire* (Stat. *Ach.* 1.522). Cf. V. *A.* 6.48 *non comptae mansere comae* and ib. 4.280 (and 12.868) *arrectaeque horrore comae.*

rotat: this verb was first used to denote frantic movements of the head in Lucan: 1.566 *crinemque rotantes*, 5.169ff. *bacchatur …/… vittasque dei Phoebeaque serta / erectis discussa comis …/… rotat.* Statius has (*Silv.* 4.3.121f.) *colla rotat novisque late / bacchatur spatiis*. Cf. Quintilian's comment (*Inst.* 11.3.71) *adeo iactare id* (= *caput*) *et comas excutientem rotare fanaticum est.*

vox reddita: cf. V. *A.* 3.40 *vox reddita fertur ad aures*, ib. 7.95 *subita ex alto vox reddita luco est*, both times introducing a prophecy as here, and Tac. *Ann.* 12.63 *redditum oraculum est.* The expression therefore seems to convey the notion of a divine revelation. In *Arg.* 2.259f. *voces chorus et trieterica reddunt / aera sonum* it is not a prophecy proper that is described, but nevertheless the context shows that here too the voices heard are of superhuman origin.

vox horrenda viris: cf. V. *A.* 9.112f. *tum vox horrenda per auras / excidit*, again introducing a supernatural phenomenon. Because in all the parallels quoted above there is no mention of the intended hearer(s), *viris* (together with repeated *vox* and *vati* constituting a strong alliteration) modifies chiefly (or only) *horrenda*: Mopsus' voice caused awe among the Argonauts. *horrenda* is picked up in 229f., where Idmon is described as *non ullo horrore comarum / terribilis*. Cf. also *miranda viris* 149.

tum … vati: V. *A.* 1.730 *tum facta silentia tectis*, ib. 11.241 *tum facta silentia linguis*. The dative 'of advantage' *vati* is less appropriate in that it seems to suggest that the men maintained a conversation during Mopsus' ecstatic behaviour. Probably the poet wished only to indicate attentive listening to the words of the seer.

211–226 (the first prophecy in the work)

It will be followed in this book by Idmon's short reaction (234–238), the words of the *tutela carinae* (302–308), Jupiter's 'declaration of policy' (531–560, 563–567), Neptune's statement (642–650) and the premonition of Cretheus' ghost (741–751). Of these oracular utterings the speeches of Jupiter and Neptune are not directed to the Argonauts or any other human being present. In later books predictions are considerably fewer in number: apart from Mopsus' second speech, when he purifies the Argonauts from the blood guilt they have unwittingly incurred (3.377–416), and which is not a prophecy proper, there are only the words of Helle's spirit (2.592–607), the long prediction of Phineus (4.553–624), and the speech of Phrixus' shade (5.233–240).

This first prophecy of Mopsus is by its preponderantly pessimistic tone comparable to the matron's vision in Lucan (1.678–694). There are verbal similarities as well, which will be pointed out below.

The function of the speech is apparently to amplify the significance of the venture that lies ahead by underlining its dangers, while the combination with Idmon's following words results in a feeling of relief (cf. Th. Fuhrer in *Ratis*[2] 17ff.). As the appearance and behaviour of Mopsus are sketched beforehand (like the Sibyl's demeanour in Virgil, *A.* 6.42ff.), so the reaction of the hearers is set forth after the speech (227f.). Its tone is set with the first word *heu*. Then the prophecy assumes the character of a thrilling but alarming eye-witness account: *aspicio* (211, 224), *ecce* (212), *sic* (214), *expedior* (218), *haec* (220), *cerno* (226). Cf. in Lucan *feror* (678, 683, 687), *eo* (693), *video* (679; *vidi* 694), *hunc* (685), and *cernere* (693).

Many utterances are interrogative: *quaenam* (211), *cur* (218), *unde* (219, 220), *quem* (223), *quaenam* (224), *quos* (225), and (though more exclamatory) *quot* (217) and *quantus* (221). Corresponding in Lucan are: *quo* (678, 683), *qua* (678), and *quis* (681).

The sequence of visions is first chronological: in 211–217 the council of the sea-gods, their opposition to seafaring, the propitiating role of Juno and Pallas, the eventual acquiescence of the marine deities. After

this procedure, which deals with the general menaces of navigation, some specific situations (*discrimina rerum* 217) are hinted at from 218 on: the disappearance of Hylas (218–220), the wounds of Pollux resulting from his boxing-match with Amycus (220), the fire-breathing bulls (221), the earth-born (222f.) and probably (see below) the battle on Peuce (223f.). Up to this point the chronological order of events is maintained, but the occurrences in Corinth are narrated in reverse order: Medea's flight with the help of the winged dragon, her killing of the children, a warning to Jason to protect his children, and the fire in Creusa's bridal room. For details see below.

211–214a

> 'heu quaenam aspicio! nostris modo concitus ausis
> aequoreos vocat ecce deos Neptunus et ingens
> concilium. fremere et legem defendere cuncti
> hortantur.

heu does not occur in the matron's speech in Lucan, but it does in the *vox reddita* of V. *A.* 3.40 (44: *heu fuge*), and in combination with a direct question in V. *A.* 3.317 (*heu! quis*), ib. 4.283 (*heu quid agat?*), ib. 5.13 (*heu quianam*).

quaenam aspicio: 223f. *quem circum vellera Martem / aspicio?*

For the quantity of the *-i-* in *concitus* see note on 1.3.

The meaning of the verb is 'to arouse to action or to anger, excite, incite' (OLD 3). Cf. Sen. *Ag.* 720ff. *quid me furoris incitam stimulis novi / … / rapitis?*

modo: 'just now' (OLD 5b), with a present tense only in pre- and post-Augustan authors (unless Ov. *Am.* 3.8.51–52 are genuine), and in Pers. 1.69 with *ecce* as here.

For *aequoreos … deos* see on 193. *ecce* accentuates the immediacy of the vision.

Neptunus: also in V. *A.* 2.608ff. combined with Juno and Pallas, but there all three are acting in concert against Troy and its walls, whereas here Juno and Pallas persuade Neptune to leave the Argo unharmed.

ingens concilium: to be construed as the second object of *vocat*; *et* is explicative. *concilium vocat* occurs again in 2.313, and further in V. *A.* 10.2 *conciliumque vocat divum pater atque hominum rex*, Ov. *Met.* 1.167 *conciliumque vocat* (sc. Jupiter), Stat. *Theb.* 5.98 *concilium vocat* (sc. Polyxo).

fremere … hortantur: doubts concerning this phrase have led several critics to conjectures, and they are clearly put by Langen: the combi-

nation of a historical infinitive and an indicative is questionable, and *legem* could not well be used without any qualification. Hence suggestions mostly tend to change or modify *legem*: *regem* (Kiessling), *sedem* (Bährens), *pelagus* (Slothouwer), or *legem … ponti* (Schrader) and *pelagi legem* (Langen). However, Strand (58f.) gives some good parallels in VF for a historical infinitive followed by an indicative, notably 7.625f. and 2.370ff., where the following indicative (*dissimulant*) is construed with another infinitive (*audire*), as here. Also, in the context of this prophecy there can hardly be any doubt as to which 'law' has to be defended. The meaning is clear: they (= the *aequorei dei* of 212) all mutter protests and exhort the defence of the law.

fremere describing indignant grumbling is quite common from Cicero on (TLL 6.1.1282.54ff. 'praevalente sensu indignantis'); in a historical infinitive Liv. 7.12.14 and 24.26.16, (Ter.) *Ph. per.* 9.

hortari with an infinitive occurs from Virgil on (*A.* 2.33, and relatively often).

214b–216a

sic amplexu, sic pectora fratris,
Iuno, tene, tuque o puppem ne desere, Pallas;
nunc patrui, nunc flecte minas!

amplexum (-us) tenere is not attested, but *amplexu tenere* is (TLL 1.1998.41ff., 73–75). Therefore we have to accept, as did most editors including Courtney, Liberman and Dräger, this conjecture of Heinsius; *amplexus* (still defended by Strand, Ehlers and Spaltenstein) is a result of dittography. The use of different case-forms in an anaphorical sequence (*amplexu—pectora*) occurs again in 216: *nunc patrui, nunc … minas* (Courtney) and still more parallel (accusative alternating with ablative) in 245: *deus haec, deus omine dextro* (cf. *Mnem.* 1987:109f.).

For *Iuno* with shortened *-o* (14 times in VF against 6 instances of long *-o*) see Poortvliet on 2.3.

The combination by means of *-que* (*et, atque*) of two imperatives, the second of which is negated (*tene—ne desere*), is not very usual. In this case, however, the model is clearly V. *A.* 10.600 *morere et fratrem ne desere frater*; ib. 649 *ne desere* is repeated. For *tuque o* see note on 7. Juno seems to care primarily for the crew (91–99), Pallas for the ship (126).

The sentence as a whole is characterized by double anaphora (*sic … sic, nunc … nunc*), alliteration (*tene tuque*, *puppem … Pallas*), and the

enclosing position of the names (*Iuno … Pallas*). Anaphora is generally frequent in this passage: *vox* 209f., *unde* 219f.

patruus denotes a god in V. *A.* 6.402 (Dis—Proserpina). A closer parallel is Ov. *Tr.* 1.2.10 (*Ulixem*) *eripuit patruo saepe Minerva suo.*

For *minas flectere* 'to avert threats' cf. Sen. *Tro.* 719f. *parvusque minas / trucis Alcidae flexit Priamus* (*Her.O.* 301f. *in taurum trucem / nunc flecteret … minas* is different: 'to change the nature of his threats').

216b–220

cessere ratemque
accepere mari. per quot discrimina rerum
expedior! subita cur pulcher harundine crines
velat Hylas? unde urna umeris niveosque per artus
caeruleae vestes? unde haec tibi vulnera, Pollux?

Here the vision shifts to a new phase: Mopsus sees the gods acquiescing, but now a tableau of dangerous situations unfolds itself.

cessere: not so much *via* as *precibus* (Cic. *Planc.* 9).

accipere with an ablative denoting the place where one is allowed to go is normal: K/S 1.353 h. The nearest Virgilian parallel seems to be *A.* 6.392f. *Alciden … / accepisse lacu.* Less usual of course is an inanimate object in this construction, the sense 'to admit' being hardly present in *e.g. G.* 4.171f. *alii taurinis follibus auras / accipiunt redduntque* (*A.* 8.449f.). VF has the construction again in 4.487f., 6.202 and 520f. The verb itself echoes *accipias* 203.

For *per quot discrimina rerum* 'risky situations' cf. V. *A.* 1.204 *per tot discrimina rerum* (and VF's *discrimina ponti* in 1. 37 above). *expedior* must, as in V. *A.* 2.633 (also with enjambment), denote 'to bring oneself into safety', but here to be taken as a form in the passive rather than in the middle voice. Cf. also Hor. *Carm.* 4.4.76 *expediunt per acuta belli.* Note that this is the only case of the prophet seeming to participate in the dangers of the expedition: the other first person forms describe the act of seeing (*aspicio* 211, 224); *cerno* 226).

subita … vestes: the first incident Mopsus refers to is the disappearance of Hylas, which will in its turn cause the loss of Hercules as the companion of the Argonauts. In 3.481ff. VF relates how the boy was abducted by the nymphs at the instigation of Juno.

pulcher: this qualification of Hylas recurs in 3.184 (*clarus* in 3.537).

The reed is called *subita* because it is a result of Hylas' sudden transformation (4.23 *frondibus in croceis et iniquae munere nymphae*) through the agency of the water-nymphs residing in the Mysian fountain. Cf.

Ov. *Met.* 9.3 *inornatos redimitus harundine crines* (Achelous) and V. *A.* 8.34 *crinis umbrosa tegebat harundo* (Tiberinus), ib. 10.205 *velatus harundine glauca* (Mincius). VF combines *crines* and *harundine* again in 7.563f.

urna: 'the urn is a river-god's regular attribute in art' (Fordyce on V. *A.* 7.792; Roscher I.1492.24ff.). See also Stat. *Theb.* 2.217f., 6.275, 9.410. The shoulder on which the urn is carried is not mentioned elsewhere in literature.

niveosque per artus: for *niveos … artus*, suggesting the youth of Hylas, cf. Cat. 64.364, for *per artus* Stat. *Theb.* 9.44. The preposition is sometimes hardly more than local: 373 *per undas*, 776 *per cornua.*

caeruleae vestes: the greenish-blue colour is usually attributed to marine and river deities (TLL 3.104.82ff.). It does not seem to be coupled with *vestis* earlier (and in Sil. 15.676 it does not belong to a water-god), but Enn. has (*Ann.* 509) *sagus caeruleus*. Cf. also *glauca* (V. *A.* 10.205, cited above).

unde … Pollux: cf. V. *A.* 2.286 *cur haec vulnera cerno?* The reference is to Pollux' boxing-match against Amycus (4.261–314). Cf. ib. 330ff. on the wounds he received in that fight.

221–226

> quantus, io, tumidis taurorum e naribus ignis!
> tollunt se galeae sulcisque ex omnibus hastae
> et iamiamque umeri. quem circum vellera Martem
> aspicio? quaenam aligeris secat anguibus auras
> caede madens? quos ense ferit? miser, eripe parvos,
> Aesonide! cerno et thalamos ardere iugales'.

After three questions there follows an exclamation and a description of what Mopsus sees. Three new questions then precede the concluding warning to Jason.

quantus … ignis: the former visions were related to two events during the voyage to Colchis. Now the attention is focused on Jason's fight with the fire-breathing bulls and the ensuing battle with the earth-born. This will be narrated in 7.539–654, where *sulco* (611), *hastae* (634) and *umeri* (619) recur, and *galeae* is replaced by *casside* (617).

io: 'a more or less ritual exclamation, uttered under the stress of strong emotion, and evoking a god or divine power' (OLD). That divine power here, which is not so much involved as suggested, must be the god who inspires Mopsus (207). The word occurs only once more in VF (6.29).

tumidis: in OLD this passage is listed under the literal meaning

'swollen, distended, dilated', no doubt with the *fulminei flatus* (7.583). Possibly the figurative sense 'inflamed with fury or passion' (OLD 4) is also present by a kind of enallage.

tollunt … umeri: VF slightly changes the order compared with Ov. *Met.* 3.107–109: *primaque de sulcis acies apparuit hastae / tegmina mox capitum, … / mox umeri*. He presents the same occurrences in 7.611 *ex omni sonuerunt corna sulco*, 616 *summis … cristis*, 617 *infesta … casside*, 619 *umeri*. The javelins are mentioned later (634).

There seems to be no difference between *iamiam* and *iamiamque* (also in 1.805), which is in TLL (7.1.120.63) rightly in this instance considered as an equivalent of *denique*, closing the enumeration ('and now the shoulders too').

quem … aspicio? The much discussed (see *Mnem.* 1987:110–113) *Martem* denotes neither the god himself, who is not represented as defending his Fleece and consequently constitutes no danger to Jason, nor his dragon, as Strand (59–64, after Pius) maintained: this would imply an unprecedented double metonymy (*Mars—bellum—serpens*, the god of war for the war itself and the war for the foe). The correct explanation was provided by Bährens and adopted by Langen and Adamietz (1976:14 n.30): the poet alludes to the battle on the island of Peuce (8.385ff.), which must have taken place around the captured Fleece as a result of Jason's refusal to give up Medea. This interpretation is strengthened by the fact that from this point on the order in which future events are sketched is the reverse of the chronological order (Barich 76): the flight of Medea is mentioned before her killing the children, the warning to Jason, and the allusion to the deadly gifts that killed Creusa. The *Mars circum vellera* (= the battle on Peuce) turns the attention of the reader from the *Argonautica* proper to the later misfortunes of Jason and Medea and is therefore important enough to deserve a place in Mopsus' visions. Note that *circum* means 'around', not 'about', as *circa* could do; the latter for this reason is now printed by Liberman.

The references to the events later in Jason's life must not be taken to indicate that VF meant to include them in his work. Since Schetter, the number of books planned for the *Argonautica* is now generally and rightly assumed to have been eight and not twelve, and so there would have been no room left to narrate these later events. Moreover, they could not belong to the *Argonautica* as a work in which the story of the Argonauts is told: the voyage to Colchis, the happenings there, and (presumably in a shortened form) the return to Greece. For AR too the story of Medea's revenge fell outside the scope of his work. On the

other hand, the myths concerning Medea were so well-known that a reference to later occurrences could certainly be expected, especially in a prophecy like Mopsus', accentuating the more gloomy aspects of the future. There is a clear echo of the lines in 5.453f. *aligeris aut quae secet anguibus auras / caede madens*. In this way, as in several others, the structural link between bks. 1 and 5 (which is in itself another argument for the view that the work was planned to contain eight books) is stressed (Frank 1967). The tragic events in Corinth are also hinted at in 5.338ff. and 8.251. In every case the vision of the future is part of a prophetic context: in 5.338ff. Medea's frightening dreams are described, 5.453f. form part of Mulciber's reliefs (*praesaga … arte* 433) on the temple in Colchis, and in 8.251 Mopsus is again spelling doom and disaster (although perhaps not loudly).

Virgil has *aliger* in *A*. 1.663 (where see Austin's note on compounds ending in *-fer* and *-ger*) and 12.249, but only VF has it to denote dragons: here, 5.453 (cited above) and 7.120 (*aligeri Circen rapuere dracones*). In Pliny (*Nat*. 12.85) *aligeris … serpentibus* means simply 'winged serpents'.

secat … auras: cf. V. *A*. 12.267f. *cornus … auras / certa secat*. Also similar are V. *G*. 1.406 (and 409) *secat aethera* and Cic. *Arat*. 48 *secat aëra*. The alliteration in this line is remarkably strong: *aspicio, aligeris, anguibus, auras*.

caede madens: apart from 5.454, cited above, also in 2.274 (see Poortvliet for parallels) and 6.415. Ovid has the combination in *Met*. 1.149 and 14.199; cf. ib. 13.389.

ense ferit: cf. V. *A*. 6.251, Prop. 4.10.46, Ov. *Met*. 3.119, 5.204, 6.641 (12.389).

miser … Aesonide: this disjunction is less striking than in cases where a conjunction, and sometimes a second predicate as well, intervenes (for these cases cf. ANRW 2462f. and Poortvliet on 2.175).

eripe: 'rescue' from a danger implied by the context (*ense*); TLL 5.2.794.11ff.

cerno: also in a prophecy in V. *A*. 6.87 and Sen. *Ag*. 730 (Cassandra). *et*: 'also' (there is no need for *en* which was printed in the Aldina).

iugales: the adjective is not used previously as a qualification of the bedroom in the sense of *coniugalis*, but the step from its combination with *vinclum* (V. *A*. 4.16, 59) and especially *lectus* (ib. 4.496) is not great. Cf. Wijsman on 5.443.

thalamos: in Euripides' tragedy the palace itself is not consumed by the fire, but in Ovid's version it is: *Met*. 7.395 *flagrantemque domum*.

Cf. also Sen. *Med.* 886f. and Costa ad l. There is of course in the combination *ardere* and *iugales* an allusion to the bridal torches.

From the council of the marine deities, presided over by Neptune, Mopsus has now arrived at the burning of the palace in Corinth: a truly dismal conclusion. The only hopeful aspect of his prophecy is contained in the words *cessere … mari* (216f.), but the suggestion is clear: not much good is to be expected from the expedition. *terrificat* (228) is a very understandable comment.

It is hard to detect a moral judgement in Mopsus' words, as has been suggested by Lefèvre (*Ratis*[1] 174f.). The sea-gods wish to preserve the 'law of the sea' as they perceive it, but when Neptune gives in, the sea is no longer a forbidden domain, as will be clear from Jupiter's speech in 531–560.

Navigation will indeed remain a hazardous affair and the cause of many disasters, as Neptune will stress in 645ff., but it is no longer morally wrong. The negative character of Mopsus' prophecy lies in the accentuation of dangers and hardships (which Idmon will concede: *praeduri plena laboris* 235), not in a condemnation.

227–239 (the (optimistic) prophecy of Idmon)

The short reaction of Idmon to Mopsus' sombre prophecies is more quiet. Without denying the difficulties to be expected, he announces the eventual success of the expedition, although troubled by the knowledge of his own death before the arrival in Colchis (5.1–12).

227–234a

> iamdudum ⟨…⟩ Minyas ⟨…⟩ ambage ducemque
> terrificat; sed enim contra Phoebeius Idmon
> non pallore viris, non ullo horrore comarum
> terribilis, plenus fatis Phoeboque quieto,
> cui genitor tribuit monitu praenoscere divum
> omina, seu flammas seu lubrica comminus exta
> seu plenum certis interroget aëra pinnis,
> sic sociis Mopsoque canit:

A rather lengthy characterization of Idmon's speech and his qualifications as a seer.

iamdudum … terrificat: several proposals have been made for the missing word in 227. Eleven of them are recorded in *Mnem.* 1987:113f.; none being convincing, they were not printed in the most recent editions with the exception of Dräger's, who opts for Carrio's *longa*. Since the drop-

ping of a word within a line is most easily explained by a similarity in form to another word in its immediate vicinity, maybe we should consider *iamdudum dubia*, which adjective is not infrequently used to characterize oracles and prophecies (OLD 5b; TLL 5.1.2110.41ff.). *ambages* too is often used to describe oracular utterings (see Austin on V. *A*. 6.99).

terrificat: cf. 29 *terrifici monitus*. The verb occurs again in 8.428 and was previously used by Lucretius (1.133 and 4.34) and Virgil (*A*. 4.210), later by Statius *Theb*. 7.678 (cf. Smolenaars) and Silius (17.475).

sed enim: no need to explain with Langen 'sed non deterrentur, contra enim', for *enim* has its original emphasizing function 'truly' (cf. Austin on V. *A*. 1.19; K/S 2.78. 8 and 121, Sz. 508).

contra also denotes an opposed reaction in 529 and 762 below.

Phoebeius: both 'son of' and 'inspired by' Phoebus, as 231f. shows. AR, who mentions him in 1.139–145, states there that he was officially a son of Abas (whence he is called Ἀβαντιάδης 2.815, 824), but in reality of Apollo.

viris belongs to *terribilis*, as to *horrenda* in 210 and to *miranda* in 149.

pallore: also used to describe the appearance of an inspired seer in Luc. 5.216 and 6.517 (in both cases with *terribilis*!), and later in Stat. *Ach*. 1.515. The implication is that Mopsus showed *pallor* as well as *horror comarum* (cf. *comamque … surgentem* 208f.).

horrore comarum is in this form due to Lucan: 5.154 *nulloque horrore comarum* (the Pythia); but Virgil already had *arrectaeque horrore comae* (*A*. 4.280, where see Austin, and 12.868), and Ovid (*Her*. 16.67) *gelidusque comas erexerat horror*. When Statius writes (*Theb*. 8.389) *galeaeque tremunt horrore comarum* he is describing warriors, in 10.606 *stant tristes horrore comae* he refers to Tiresias. As in most cases (not in Stat. *Silv*. 2.6.43) both the outer appearance of bristling hair and the 'horror' in a mental sense are meant.

(non) terribilis (cf. the places in Lucan cited above) makes a rather plain opposition to *terrificat* (228), also in its position at the beginning of a line. Because Idmon's knowledge of the future (*praenoscere*) is derived from the instructions of his father, whereas Mopsus is rather characterized as inspired by mantic frenzy, we see here the distinction made already by Cicero (*Div*. 1.11) between two *divinandi genera*, sc. *artis* and *naturae*. See Pease ad l. and cf. Serv. on *A*. 3.359, where the two aspects of divination are called *furor* and *ars*. On *A*. 3.443 Servius distinguishes the *simplex (genus vaticinandi)* and the one *per furorem*.

plenus … quieto: Langen quotes a number of parallels from Horace on (*e.g. Carm*. 2.19.6 *plenoque Bacchi pectore)*. See also Poortvliet on 2.441f.

and, about the absence of the expression in Virgil, Austin on *A.* 6.50. Lucan preferred the ablative form: 5.186f. (in the same context as cited on *horrore comarum* above) *plena … Phoebo* (where see Barratt), 9.564 *deo plenus*, and Statius has (*Theb.* 10.624) *plenum Phoebo vatem.*

fatis: 'prophecies', constituting a kind of hendiadys with *Phoebo* ('the prophecies of Phoebus'), whereas *quieto* accentuates the difference to the wild ecstasy of Mopsus. The adjective occurs in the same passage in Lucan twice referred to above: 5.148 *sub pectore … quieto.*

For *tribuere* with an infinitive as object see K/S 1.681b, where this passage is cited along with Ov. *Tr.* 3.5.21.

monitus 'warning' is from Virgil on used to denote '(warning) prophetic utterances', as in *A.* 4.465 *terribili monitu horrificant*; cf. Ov. *Met.* 13.723, *Her.* 17.239. The first of these passages clearly contributed to VF's diction both here (*horrore; terribilis*) and in 29 *terrifici monitus iterant.* Here, however, in view of *praenoscere* an earlier stage of prognostication must be meant, the 'teaching' by Apollo of his son, as TLL (8.1422.17) takes it: 'institutione' (cf. *docet* 235). For this use of the word Langen gives some relevant parallels from Ovid, such as *Fast.* 3.167 *si licet occultos monitus audire deorum*, *Pont.* 3.4.113 *di quorum monitu sumus eventura locuti*; cf. also V. *A.* 4.282 *monitu imperioque deorum* and ib. 6.533 *monitu divum.* Note however that in our passage *divum* belongs to *omina*, as in 309 *omina divum* and Sil. 16.124 *deum praenoscens omina* (clearly an echo of VF). The verb *praenoscere* is attested from Cicero on (*Arat.* 75); cf. Ov. *Met.* 12.86 (where see Bömer), and *Arg.* 1.732. We must assume a brachylogy: praenoscere futura (as in Cic. *Div.* 1.82) et dare omina. AR also makes Apollo teach his son in person (1.144f.), specifying augury and pyromancy, but not divination from entrails as VF does, thereby adding a Roman flavour to his story.

flammas: pyromancy consisted in the interpretation of the fire on the altar where the victim was burnt (Bouché-Leclercq 179), as is clear from AR 1.436ff., where Idmon consults that fire and thus puts into practice the ἔμπυρα σήματ' ἰδέσθαι from 1.145. Cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 1255ff., Ov. *Met.* 10.278f., Sen. *Oed.* 309ff., Stat. *Theb.* 10.598ff., 12.429ff., *Ach.* 1.520ff. For VF see 205 above and 8.247ff.

lubrica … exta: cf. Tib. 2.5.14 *lubrica signavit cum deus exta notis.* The primary meaning would be literal: 'slippery', but there may be a hint of a metaphorical one; 'difficult to interpret'.

comminus: '(looking) from nearby', as in Ov. *Pont.* 1.5.74, Luc. 1.206, *Culex* 190; but in all these cases the verb of 'seeing' is expressed.

interrogare is very rare in epic poetry: TLL (7.1.2268.60ff.) mentions

apart from our passage only Stat. *Theb.* 6.190 and four instances in Christian poets. Also remarkable is the use of a non-human object; Tacitus has it a couple of times, once in a divinatory context: *Ger.* 10.3 *avium voces volatusque interrogare.*

certis … pinnis is to be construed with *plenum*, which adjective appears three times within six lines: 230, 233, 235. Obviously there were hardly any restrictions in this respect: cf. also *terrificat* (228)—*terribilis* (230), *flammas* (232)—*flamma* (235).

pinna, 'wing', denoting the bird in augury is found in V. *A.* 3.361 *praepetis omina pinnae*; then in Luc. 1.588 *monitus errantis in aëre pinnae*, Stat. *Theb.* 4.410 *non alacri pinna aut verum salientibus extis* (cf. 205f. above!), Sil. 3.344 and 4.121. In some of these passages forms of *penna* are read. The variety (or confusion) in the respective mss. makes it almost impossible to reach a standard conclusion. It seems therefore best to keep the reading of most mss,. here including V and L (Thilo: *pennis* PC).

For the combination with *aëre* cf. Luc. 1.588 (cited above).

certis: 'providing reliable information'. In the *Georgics* it is repeatedly coupled with *signa*: 1.351, 394, 439.

After the description of Idmon has been concluded with a tricolon crescendo, his speech is recorded, which is by means of the explicit *Mopso … canit* pointedly presented as a counterpart to the preceding gloomy predictions of the other seer. The dative with *canere* 'to prophesy' is first seen in Hor. *Epod.* 13.11, then in Luc. 9.577.

234b–236

> 'quantum augur Apollo
> flammaque prima docet, praeduri plena laboris
> cerno equidem, patiens sed quae ratis omnia vincet.

quantum: 'in respect of what, according to what' (OLD s.v. *quantum*[1],7).

augur Apollo: V. *A.* 4.376 (in a sarcastic context), Hor. *Carm.* 1.2.32.

flamma … prima: as Langen notes, this must refer to the first phase of the struggling fire (*luctatus* 205); as the flame eventually emerges triumphantly, so the ship will ultimately prevail over the obstacles.

plena: probably to be taken with *omnia* 236, though it could perhaps be used substantively ('a full load of difficulties'). *praedurus*: not previously in the sense of 'very laborious', and in general very rare in epic; Virgil has it twice and Ovid once, all in the literal meaning; Lucan not at all. *durus labor*, on the other hand, dates from Ennius (*Ann.* 345V).

cerno: see note on 226. Note here again the alliteration of *p-*.

equidem stresses the whole sentence, not just one item in it, and is often followed by an adversative particle (here *sed*): K/S 1.805.2. In most authors it is only coupled with forms of the first person singular, and this is also the case in the *Argonautica*: seven times (*cerno* again in 4.619).

patiens ratis: in the sense of 'capable of standing up to hard use' (OLD 2b) the adjective qualifies material objects from Prop. (1.16.29) on.

omnia vincet: more than V. *Ecl.* 10.69 (*omnia vincit amor*) it was *G.* 1.145 *labor omnia vicit* that fathered VF's phrase here; cf. *laboris* in the preceding line. Since *vincet* personifies the ship, there is also an echo of Hor. *Carm.* 3.24.41 *vincunt aequora navitae.*

237–239

> ingentes durate animae dulcesque parentum
> tendite ad amplexus!' lacrimae cecidere canenti
> quod sibi iam clausos invenit in ignibus Argos.

Idmon's second sentence is clearly modelled on V. *A.* 1.207 *durate et vosmet rebus servate secundis*. VF's variation consists first in replacing *rebus servate secundis* by the more specific *tendite ad amplexus*. Then he transferred the imperative *durate* to the second place in the line (and the clause), thereby highlighting the courage of the men (*ingentes*) rather than the actual exhortation, which incidentally in Virgil is uttered in the midst of present danger and not, as here, in anticipation.

Usually it is *animus*, not *anima*, to which bravery is accorded or denied (OLD s.v. *animus* 13, s.v. *ingens* 5); cf. *ingentes animos* 772 below. Of *anima* in about the same sense OLD 8 gives some instances, the most convincing of which seems to be Luc. 5.322 *imbelles animas*. Also V. *A.* 11.24 *egregias animas* (the spirits of the fallen warriors) may have contributed something. *ingentes animae* '(you) heroic spirits' is repeated in 3.84, whereas Silius has the singular form (3.44 *ingentemque animam rapiunt ad sidera flammae*).

dulces … amplexus: cf. V. *A.* 8.568 *dulci amplexu* and Luc. 5.793 *amplexu dulci.*

parentum: the parents of the Argonauts were referred to earlier in 150, and will be later in 315f. *matrum gemitus et fortia …/ corda patrum*, 494 *stant litore matres*, 628 *nostri … patres*. The reaction of Jason's parents is described in 296f. and, more fully, in 317–349.

tendite: as though the Argonauts were already on their way home. Thus the short speech of Idmon contains first a reassurance (234–236),

then an exhortation (*ingentes … animae*), and finally a promise implied by the second imperative. However, he does not predict his own death as in AR (1.443ff.), but keeps this knowledge to himself. Langen calls AR's version 'aptior' and Idmon himself there 'fortior'. But both poets clearly strove after different effects: in the matter-of-fact style of AR, Idmon does not show any emotion concerning the fate that awaits him (while his comrades do). In VF feelings are much more important, and here he clearly meant to achieve pathos by making the seer foresee his death without mentioning it, but showing his emotions about it. Idmon's untimely death is hinted at again in 360f. *quamvis arcentibus … / alitibus*, and narrated in 5.1–12.

lacrimae … canenti: the combination of *cadere* with *lacrimae* is first attested in Ennius (*scen.* 206V) *lacrumae guttatim cadunt.* Later it occurs in Ovid and Lucan. *canenti*: the dative in this expression is first found in Ter. *Ad.* 536.

in ignibus: in AR Idmon's foreknowledge was based on earlier auguries (1.445ff.), whereas here the future is revealed at this moment only. In this way VF provides an implicit explanation for Idmon's emotional reaction, in keeping with the poet's general intentions (see above). In VF's models (Hom. *Il.* 2.859, V. *A.* 9.328; cf. also ib. 2.429f., 7.756ff., 11.843f.) it is not clear whether the prophet does not foresee his own fate or, seeing it, is unable to change anything about it.

For *claudere* with dative 'to make inaccessible to' cf. V. *A.* 1.232f., but it already occurs in Cicero: *Ver.* 4.116 *portum … qui … classibus … clausus fuisset.*

The paragraph ends with a strong alliteration *inv- in ign-*.

240–254 (Jason's reaction to the predictions)

As has been noticed (Adamietz 1976:15 n.32, Barich 122), this first speech of Jason to his men, which has no counterpart in AR, is to some extent indebted to V. *A.* 1.198–207. However, the circumstances and the tone are different: Aeneas tries to encourage the Trojans after they have suffered from the storm, but he himself is beset by unspoken doubts and sorrow (208f.). Jason on the other hand, speaking on the eve of the departure, appears to be full of confidence, and stresses the positive elements in the two prophecies. As Lipscomb (27) notices, this is one of only three instances of three successive speeches by three different speakers (the other two are 3.617ff. and 5.624ff.).

240–243

vix ea fatus erat, iungit cum talia ductor
Aesonius: 'superum quando consulta videtis,
o socii, quantisque datur spes maxima coeptis,
vos quoque nunc vires animosque adferte paternos.

vix … erat: as in V. *A.* 1.586, 2.323 and 692. VF has a shortened form *vix ea* in 5.253.

iungit: one would expect this verb to mean 'to add something (to one's own words)', but in fact TLL (7.2.656.58ff.) gives only one instance for this use, to wit Stat. *Ach.* 1.806. Here in VF it does not even denote the continuation of a speech, but the reaction of another speaker. (Sil. 14.164 *iungebatque preces*, quoted by Langen, is not a parallel, because there the speaker is adding a prayer to his own action). OLD (10) gives as a translation 'to say in answer, rejoin', quoting only our passage, but the poet rather suggests that Jason's words are in fact just an addendum to Idmon's hopeful prophecy.

For *ductor—dux* see note on 164, for *Aesonius—Aesonides* on 32.

Jason's short speech consists of four elements. In the first sentence he exhorts his men to bravery by pointing to the favourable omens. He then declares a god's will, not the evil intentions of Pelias, to be the ulterior motivation of the expedition, thus lifting the issue to a higher level. After another encouragement, in the third sentence, he concludes by urging the men to pass the last night ashore with merriment.

quando: the original long quantity of *-o* in this word is in most places maintained by VF (here and in six other instances), against once *quandŏ* (7.16). In eight cases the quantity cannot be determined. In Virgil the *-o* is never short: in ten instances it is long, whereas 18 times the quantity cannot be determined (his tendency to couple it with *si* is very marked: 13 times in all). The numbers for Ovid are: eight instances (only one in the *Met.*, five in *Her.*), three of which with long *-o*, five times in synaloepha.

consulta, 'decisions', is combined with a subjective genitive from Cicero (*Leg.* 1.62) on. In an oracular context it is first seen in V. *A.* 6.151 *dum consulta petis*. Cf. Stat. *Theb.* 10.770 *vatis consulta.*

videtis: the Argonauts have **seen** only the flames on the altar (205f.), but they have **heard** the interpretation of the seers.

o socii: a verbal reminiscence of V. *A.* 1.198. In VF it occurs again in 2.55 and 8.183. In a comparable context Propertius has (3.21.11) *nunc agite, o socii, propellite in aequora navem.*

quantisque (mss.) can be kept, not as part of a parenthesis (Kramer), but as a case of variation in constructions (Loehbach 1872 and Samuelsson 1930). In poetry a subjunctive is no more necessary in an indirect question than in oblique speech, as for instance in 281f.; '(since you see) how great is the enterprise for which very good hope is given'. Similar variations with verbs meaning 'to see' occur in 499 *coepta tuens tantamque operis consurgere molem* and 701 *vela videt nec qua se ardens effundere possit.* Liberman construes (n. 60 on p.156) *quando consulta videtis daturque spes maxima quantis coeptis*, so that *daturque* etc. does not depend on *videtis* but is on the same syntactical level: '(since) high hopes are held out to an enterprise how great!' This however results in a rather awkward use of *quantis*. Liberman refers to 629 below and to 4.398, but in the first of these two passages *quanto … (fremitu)* is part of a principal sentence, not a subordinate one as we have here, whereas in 4.398 *quantum mutata* explains *qualis* with which it is coordinated. With *quantis* both aspects of this enterprise are meant: 'how great' implies 'how difficult and dangerous' (Mopsus) and 'how possibly glorious' (Idmon).

datur spes: the combination is first met in Ter. *Haut.* 636 *spem vitae dare*. Virgil has it (*A.* 4.55 *spemque dedit dubiae menti*) with a dative that is semantically somewhat different from *quantis … coeptis*. Cf. Perutelli on 7.628.

vos quoque: 'in response to the gods' favour, it is now your turn to …'

For *quoque* 'attaching to the whole rather than any individual word' see OLD 2c and K/S 2.637.

vires animosque: probably 'physical and mental strength'; cf. V. *A.* 10.357 *animis et viribus aequis*. Horace has forms of *animus paternus* in *Carm.* 2.2.6 and 4.4.27f., but in the sense of 'paternal feelings', not 'hereditary courage' as here.

adferre has *animum* for the object in Cicero (*Att.* 12.38a.1, *Phil.* 8.22) and Livy (4.2.13), but with different meanings: 'to bring one's mind to' or 'to encourage', whereas here it must mean 'to contribute one's courage'. In this sense *vires adferre* is not unusual: OLD 2c 'to bring (qualities, resources, etc.) with one (into a situation specified or implied)' cites Liv. 21.55.8 and Ov. *Tr.* 4.6.29.

244–247

> non mihi Thessalici pietas culpanda tyranni
> suspective doli, deus haec, deus omine dextro
> imperat; ipse suo voluit commercia mundo
> Iuppiter et tantos hominum miscere labores.

We should punctuate with a comma after *doli*, because *Thessalici … doli* is the first (negated) subject of *imperat*, as opposed to the 'true' subject *deus* (cf. *Mnem.* 1987:114f.): 'it is not the piety of the Thessalian king, blameworthy in my opinion, nor his devices that I have seen through, but the god who commands us to undertake this expedition'. *non* is not to be combined with *culpanda*: since Jason cannot know that Phrixus was not in fact murdered by Aeetes (41ff.), he will not deny Aeetes' piety towards his relative, but it is wickedly employed to eliminate Jason and therefore culpable. *non* cannot go with *suspecti* either, because in fact Jason did see through his uncle's evil intentions (63f.). The parallel adduced by Pollini (1984:58f.) is decisive: V. *A.* 2.601ff. *non tibi Tyndaridis facies invisa Lacaenae / culpatusve Paris, divum inclementia, divum, / has evertit opes*. Here *culpatus* (the only instance of the verb in Virgil!) is not denied: it means 'declared guilty'; likewise *culpanda* is not negated. Both in Virgil and in VF the opposition to the clause with *non* begins after two and a half feet in the second line; in both cases *sed* could have been used instead of the asyndeton. Dräger adopts this interpretation. In itself *culpanda pietas* is a *callida iunctura* worthy of Horace.

tyranni does not necessarily have a negative ring, but in VF it mostly denotes real 'tyrants' such as Pelias (here and in 5.659), Laomedon (2.577 and 4.59), Amycus (4.751) and Aeetes (nine times). Styrus is still a neutral character where he is mentioned (5.258, 6.44, 8.153), but in the event he will turn out to be an adversary of Jason. The noun denotes a ruler in a general sense in 7.134.

For *-ve* to continue a negation see Sz. 500.

Seafaring, traditionally considered a transgression of natural bounds and therefore more or less sinful, receives a more positive appreciation, for instance at the end of the second chorus in Seneca's *Medea* (364–379) and *Nat.* 5.18 (but only with regard to its commercial aspects, as is implied here too).

deus reminds us again of Aeneas' first speech (*A.* 1.199 *dabit deus his quoque finem*), and also of Hor. *Epod.* 13.7f. *deus haec fortasse benigna / reducet in sedem vice*. Later (3.271) VF has again *deus haec, deus*.

haec … imperat: with this assurance Jason anticipates Jupiter's new world order as it will be set forth in 531–567.

omine dextro: also in Stat. *Theb.* 7.663 (cf. Sil. 13.114 *dextrum … omen*); but *ominibus … bonis* in Cic. *Pis.* 31 is a case of OLD 2 rather than ib. 1. Note the strong alliteration *doli—deus—deus—dextro*.

ipse … Iuppiter: by an educated guess Jason specifies his *deus*.

The sentence presents some difficulties: is *commercia*, like *miscere labores*, the object of *voluit*, or, like *labores*, of *miscere*; and what does *miscere labores* mean exactly? (cf. *Mnem.* 1987:115f.) Clearly the first inspiration for this passage is provided by Virgil's theodicy in *G.* 1.118ff., where he speaks of *hominumque boumque labores*, but the combination of *commercium* and *mundus* is from Lucan; 8.312f. and 9.443f. On the other hand, forms of *commercium* are coupled with *miscere* (though not as the object) in Sen. *Nat.* 5.18.4, Plin. *Paneg.* 29.2 and Mela 1.68. The link between these cases seems to be provided by Manilius, who combines *commercia iungere* (the nearest equivalent to *commercia miscere*) with *mundi*: 2.382 *iungunt commercia mundi* and 4.296 *velut hospitio mundi commercia iungunt.* Probably VF replaced *iungere* by the more original *miscere* and obtained the same verse-ending as Luc. 9.443 by writing *mundo* instead of Manilius' *mundi.* Therefore both *commercia* and *labores* have to be taken as objects of *miscere*, and we should translate: 'Jupiter himself wished to create, by establishing communications, contacts for (in the interest of) his world, and to let people join in such great efforts (sc. as demanded by seafaring)'. Dräger concurs with this interpretation. As TLL (8.1085.33) notes, we have here a zeugma, since *commercia miscere* combines the notions of 'to bring into contact' (OLD 13 'to produce, stir up [a confused activity … etc.]') and 'to exchange' (OLD 10), whereas *labores miscere* is rather 'to combine efforts' (OLD 9).

suo … mundo could in itself be a local ablative 'in his world'. Claudian (*Rapt. Pros.* 1.91) made use of the expression to describe Mercury's function as an intermediary between the two worlds: *geminoque facis commercia mundo.*

248–251

> ite, viri, mecum dubiisque evincite rebus
> quae meminisse iuvet nostrisque nepotibus instent.
> hanc vero, ⟨o⟩ socii, venientem litore laeti
> dulcibus adloquiis ludoque educite noctem!'

ite: the imperative is 'real', not 'half-interjectional' (Sz. 471), as is made clear by *mecum*, and it is therefore connected with the following *evincite* by the conjuncion *et.* The same applies to 3.448 and 8.355; in all three instances *ite* is immediately followed by the addressed person or thing.

evincite: the construction is remarkable in that the verb usually takes an object denoting the obstacle to be passed (OLD 2) or the adversary

to be defeated. Here, however, the object is contained in the following *quae* … *instent*, which words denote the result to be achieved. Langen, paraphrasing correctly 'vincendo consequi, efficere', adduces Ov. *Pont.* 3.1.31 (as does TLL 5.2.1043.37: 'perficere, praestare'), where the internal object *hoc* has the same function. There seem to be no other parallels with *evincere*, but *pervincere* is used in this sense, as in Cat. 76.15 *hoc est tibi pervincendum* (OLD s.v. *pervinco* 2).

dubiis … *rebus* seems to be an ablative of circumstance 'in difficult situations', and the line-ending reminds us of V. *A.* 6.196 *dubiis ne defice rebus* (an imperative again).

quae meminisse iuvet: Virgil's *forsan et haec olim meminisse iuvabit* (*A.* 1.203) is made into a subordinate clause. Ovid took over the expression (*Met.* 7.797, 9.485), as did Statius (*Theb.* 1.473 and *Ach.* 2.167).

instare with dative 'to inspire, stimulate' (also in 302 below) is far from common. In Sen. *Ep.* 53.3 *institi* … *gubernatori et illum* … *coegi* there is an element of pressing, urging, which is absent from our passage. The same goes for Sil. 7.458 *dumque haec aligeris instat Cytherea*, unless the meaning there is 'instanter dicere', as TLL (7.1.2004.22) and Spaltenstein ad l. would have it. Nor is Sil. 7.349 a good parallel: *instat trepidis stimulatque ruentes / navus abire timor*. The other parallels adduced by Langen on 302 are still less convincing.

socii: not only in 242, but also in the other two instances where Jason addresses his men (2.55 and 8.183), *socii* is preceded by *o*. In Virgil *o socii* occurs three times (*A.* 1.198, 2.387, 3.560), *socii* without *o* once (10.369). We should therefore seriously consider reading *o socii* here too, as Burman was the first to do. After *vero* of course, *o* may have dropped out quite easily.

On the other hand, Heinsius' insertion of *in* before *litore*, printed by Courtney, does not seem necessary. As Hosius (in his review of Damsté 1921: PhW 1922:445) noted, misunderstanding of *litore* is hardly possible here, and VF also has *litore* denoting place in 494 below, 2.90, 3.602 and 4.505. Therefore Ehlers and Liberman are right in omitting the preposition.

veniens of time, 'next', is classical: Cic. *Q. fr.* 3.4.4 *cura venientis anni.*

laeti: which they were already in 188.

dulcibus adloquiis 'with pleasant conversation'; another reminiscence of Horace (*Epod.* 13.18); see note on 245 *deus haec*. Statius has the expression in *Silv.* 2.1.232. In those two cases, but not here in VF, it conveys the notion of 'consoling, comforting'. *adloquium* already contains the element of reciprocity ('conversation') in Luc. 10.173f. *longis Caesar*

producere noctem / incohat adloquiis. This sense also seems to be present in *Arg.* 2.354, but not in the other instances in VF (5.406, 7.289 and 374).

ludo: 'fun, merriment' (OLD 5), first in Lucil. (1070 M.) *serus cum e medio ludo bene potus recessit*. Virgil has it in combination with *ducere*: *G.* 3.379, *A.* 9.166f. (cf. also *A.* 9. 336 *luserat*, ib. 338 *ludum*). The fun is ended in 294.

educite: 'to spend' from Propertius (2.9.47) on (*si forte pios eduximus annos*), and in combination with *ludo* again Stat. *Theb.* 2.74 *insomnem ludo certatim educere noctem* (cf. V. *A.* 9.166f. cited above); TLL 5.2.122.40ff. In 2.371 VF goes one better: *nimbos educere luxu* (where see Poortvliet). Note that Lucan had already combined a form of *adloquium* with *producere noctem* (10.173f., quoted above), and that Statius has *producere … ludo* (*Theb.* 8.219).

252–254

> paretur. molli iuvenes funduntur in alga
> conspicuusque toris Tirynthius. exta ministri
> rapta simul veribus Cereremque dedere canistris.

paretur: Liv. 9.32 (with *dicto*), Ov. *Met.* 6.162 and (as first word of the line) Luc. 4.151.

molli … alga: a variation of Lucan's *molli …/ quem dabat alga toro* (5.520f.).

funduntur: while *fusus* is quite common in the sense of 'stretched out' (OLD 13), the finite form is not. In fact, this is the only instance recorded in TLL (6.1.1572.3ff.), so Langen's 'usitatius est … participium' is put too weakly.

toris: Kurtz' idea (1877) that this noun denotes the couch on which Hercules is supposed to lie was successful, in that it was taken over by Mozley, Delz, Courtney, Liberman, Spaltenstein and others. It was rightly rejected by Langen (see also *Mnem.* 1987:116f.). V. *A.* 8.176ff. is not a true parallel; there the singular (*toro*) in combination with *villosi pelle leonis* makes clear what is meant: a cushion (not a mattress) covering Aeneas' seat (*solio … acerno*). Here the heroes lie on the seaweed of the beach, and Hercules is not the leader, as Aeneas was (*praecipuum*), so he need not be honoured with furniture of his own. The plural *toris*, on the other hand, very often characterizes the mighty bulk of Hercules: see for parallels Langen and cf. also Poortvliet on 2.510 *surgentemque toris*. The *tori* in 295 (where the subject is a plural) are the same as

the *alga*, as in 137 a *torus* consists of leaves. Hercules therefore is here called 'conspicuous' because of his muscles.

For *Tirynthius* see note on 107.

ministri: did the Argonauts have servants with them? Heinsius denied this and radically proposed *salignis* instead, referring to Ov. *Fast.* 2.363f. Burman thought the younger Argonauts performed the menial tasks, pointing to AR 1.407ff. More probable is the explanation of (Lemaire-) Wagner: there is room for domestic servants as long as Jason and his men are still ashore, as is clear from AR 1.234 and chiefly 305.

rapta: they 'quickly take' the hot meat from the spits. Langen gives several examples for *rapere* = *celeriter demere, corripere*, though with different objects. In VF he notes 5.244 *membra toris rapit ille* and 6.318 *ab invita rapientem tela carina.*

veribus: also mentioned by Virgil in his description of that other meal on the beach (*A.* 1.212), and again ib. 5.103.

Cererem: bread is provided with (*simul*) the meat. The metonymy is of course traditional: see Austin on V. *A.* 1.177, Eden on ib. 8.181 and Bömer on Ov. *Met.* 3.437. In 578 the name denotes not the food, but the corn still in the fields.

canistris: 'in baskets', also Virgilian: *A.* 1.701 *Cereremque canistris* (provided by *famuli*) and 8.180 (immediately before the *dona laboratae Cereris*). The combination of the noun with the proper name is maintained by Statius (*Theb.* 1.523f.) *cumulare canistris / perdomitam saxo Cererem.* Liberman (p.156) strangely suggests *ministris* (as a dative of Agent with *rapta* sc. *sunt*) for *ministri*, thus leaving *dedere* without a subject.

255–273 (the arrival of Chiron with the young Achilles)

This scene differs from the corresponding one in AR in two respects. First it is placed on the eve of departure, not, as in the Greek epic, on the following morning. Rather than assuming with Shelton (17) that this episode is 'rather incongruously inserted at this point', we may explain this with Adamietz (1976:16) by VF's omission of the quarrelsome behaviour of Idas (AR 1.462–495), which the Roman poet must have found less appropriate; he therefore replaced it by the merry meeting of Peleus and his son at this point of his narrative. There is also a considerable difference in size; while the scene in AR consists of six lines (1.553–558), VF uses 19 lines for it. This cannot be explained by a prominent role for Peleus in the rest of the poem, for his contribution to the success of the expedition is decidedly smaller than in AR

(*Ratis*[1] 228f.). Perhaps to compensate for this, VF gives him more attention before the sailing: he is mentioned in the description of the ship's painting (130–133 and 144) and receives four lines in the catalogue (403–406). This may also be VF's reason for enlarging this scene. Moreover, the joy both caused and experienced by the young Achilles contributes to the relaxed atmosphere prevalent at this moment. This creates a marked difference to Hector's farewell to his son (*Il.* 6.466ff.), which takes place immediately before the battle and is fraught with anxiety.

255–259

> iamque aderat summo decurrens vertice Chiron
> clamantemque patri procul ostendebat Achillem.
> ut puer ad notas erectum Pelea voces
> vidit et ingenti tendentem bracchia passu,
> adsiluit caraque diu cervice pependit.

For *iamque aderat* cf. V. *A.* 12.391 (Iapyx); VF has it again in 5.273 (and in 2.107 *iamque dies aderat*).

summo … vertice: like AR (1.553) VF does not mention the name of the mountain (Pelion: Pind. *P.* 3.4, Eur. *Iph. Aul.* 705; Stat. *Ach.* 1.38f.).

decurrens: with ablative from Virgil on (*A.* 11.490); with *vertice* Luc. 1.674f.

Chiron: traditionally the educator of the young Achilles. The most complete version of this story is of course to be found in Statius' *Achilleis*, notably in 2.94–167. In *Silv.* 2.1.88f. Statius makes Chiron surpass Peleus, either in his treatment of the boy (van Dam) or in the boy's affection.

clamantem: from childish delight at seeing his father.

patri: in view of the obvious model V. *A.* 2.674 *parvumque patri tendebat Iulum*, the dative is most naturally construed with the main verb (as in 6.544 *ostentat*). *clamare* may also take a dative, but a defining object is usually expressed or (as in Ter. *An.* 491) implied, whereas here the verb simply means 'to utter cries'.

procul: it seems most natural to take this with *ostendebat* 'he showed from afar' (of course, the boy would be 'crying from afar' as well). In itself the adverb could also be construed with the participle; as in V. *A.* 2.42 *et procul: 'o miseri …* a verb meaning 'to call, shout' must be supplied, and the fact that that line immediately follows *summa decurrit ab arce* (~ *summo decurrens vertice*) suggests that this passage was more or less consciously present in VF's mind. Furthermore, in 5.441 *clamantemque procul linquens regina parentem* clearly *procul* goes with *cla-*

mantem rather than with *linquens* (Wijsman). On the other hand the caesura here rather points to the combination *procul ostendebat*, and Liberman quotes two other instances of this combination (Liv. 22.3.6 and Phaed. 3.15.3).

ostendebat: the mss. have *ostenderet* (V), *ostenderat* (L) or *ostentarat* (S). This last form was printed from the first edition on, most recently by Bury. Carrio in the first instance contributed *ostentabat*, which prevailed up to Thilo. In his second edition he printed *ostendebat*, which eventually won the day (Langen, Kramer, Courtney, Ehlers, Liberman, Spaltenstein, Dräger). Since the different forms are most easily explained if the archetype had *ostenderat*, the error indeed points to a form of *ostendere* rather than *ostentare*. However, in 6.544 (cited above) we have (*se …) ostentat* and in 4.757 *ostentans prolem Iovis*, so there is still room for some doubt.

For *Achillem* or *Achillen* see note on 133.

erigere in the sense of 'to rouse, excite, stimulate' (OLD 7) is not uncommon, but when it is construed with *ad* and an accusative this combination usually denotes the action or feeling to which someone is roused. Here, however, the 'well-known sounds of (the boy's) voice' are the cause of Peleus' agitation. This is therefore a case of what in K/S (1.522 γ) is called the 'causal' use of the preposition. The only good parallel with *erigere* seems to be Sen. *Ep.* 56.12 *leve illud ingenium est … quod ad vocem* (!) *et accidentia erigitur*. In Sen. *Nat.* 7.1.1. *nemo usque eo tardus et hebes et demissus in terram est ut ad divina non erigatur ac tota mente consurgat* the original meaning 'to elevate, to erect' is clear from the synonymous *consurgat* and the opposition *demissus est*.

For *notas … voces* cf. V. *A.* 6.499 *notis … vocibus* and Stat. *Ach.* 1.887 *notas accepit pectore voces*.

ingenti … passu: the interpretation put forward in *Mnem.* 1987:117ff., that this means 'with arms (not "feet") wide apart', was with some hesitation taken over in TLL (10.1.630.71ff.). This is clearly the meaning we expect, as Heinsius was the first to note and Langen agreed, and it can be paralleled from Germ. *Arat.* 187ff. Germanicus followed Hipparchus in describing the distance between the feet of Cepheus as smaller than that between either foot and the tail of the Bear, whereas Aratus himself adhered to the view of Eudoxus, who thought that all three distances were equal; see Le Boeuffle in the Budé edition (1975:13 n.4), Maurach (1978:86) and Gain (1976:89). Now we can hardly assume that Germanicus with *diducto passu* stressed the length of the distance between Cepheus' feet, while at the same time explicitly opposing the

view of Aratus, who took the same distance as relatively longer (and yet strongly accentuated Cepheus' outstretched arms, not feet!). VF took over Germanicus' use of *passus* for 'stretching of the arms' (unless of course it was more common than we now know), and combined it with Manilius' *panduntur bracchia* (5.550). He knew the work of Manilius, as is clear from the resemblances between his story of Hesione (2.451–549, where see Poortvliet) and Manilius' account of the rescue of Andromeda (5.538ff.). Furthermore, the passage of Germanicus in which *diducto passu* occurs (188–206) deals with the 'family-group' Cepheus—Cassiopeia—Andromeda. Since VF was familiar with Manilius' story of Andromeda we may reasonably assume that he also took notice of the relatively recent work of Germanicus which touched on the same subject. Peleus therefore 'stretches his arms in wide embrace'. For *tendere bracchia* cf. for instance [Tib.] 3.4.64, Ov. *Am.* 1.2.33, *Her.* 4.153f. (TLL 2.2157.35f.) and, again, Germ. (*Arat.* 68). Of course, V. *A.* 2.674 *parvumque patri tendebat Iulum* is still present as well.

adsilire is earlier attested in Phaedrus (2.5.21 and 4.2.14) and Columella (8.3.5 and 8.11.4).

carus occurs as an epithet for parts of the body from Plautus on (*Capt.* 229f. *pro tuo caro capite / carum … meum caput*). Statius has the combination *cara … cervice* in all his works (*Silv.* 3.2.58, *Theb.* 12.388, *Ach.* 1.929), and *cervice pependit* in *Silv.* 1.2.103. More common was *collo pendere*, for instance V. *A.* 1.715. In 2.426f. VF combines *pendet* both with *cervice* and with *a Castore* (see Poortvliet). Cf. also Ovid. *Met.* 1.485 *inque patris blandis haerens cervice lacertis* and Prop. 4.1.43 *cum pater* (= Anchises) *in nati trepidus cervice pependit.*

260–263

> illum nec valido spumantia pocula Baccho
> sollicitant, veteri nec conspicienda metallo
> signa tenent; stupet in ducibus magnumque sonantes
> haurit et Herculeo fert comminus ora leoni.

valido … Baccho: for the use of the adjective cf. Ov. *Fast.* 6.677 *valido … vino* (and Cic. *Tusc.* 5.13 *levia quaedam vina nihil valent in aqua*). VF has the trite metonymy *Bacchus* = *vinum* (cf. Lucr. 2.655ff.) again in 2.70 and 348, 3.5 and 5.192. *spumantia pocula*: V. *Ecl.* 5.67 *pocula bina novo spumantia lacte*; cf. 815 below *nigro fumantia pocula tabo.*

sollicitant: the verb when construed with an animate object usually has a negative ring: 'to disturb, worry, try to win over, incite to revolt'.

Here it clearly means 'to attract the attention, occupy the mind', a sense lacking in OLD but recognized in L/S (II B 2 ext.). The only instance cited there is Quintil. *Inst.* 11.3.151 *sollicitari partibus* (as opposed to *summae meminerimus*). In some other cases the sense of 'rousing, exciting someone's desires' is also present, as in Sen. *Ep.* 88.7, which is cited in Georges under the heading 'interessieren' (II 2 γ).

nec taking second place in a clause is quite common.

veteri: this form of the ablative (see K/H 359) seems to be restricted to post-classical hexametric poetry: Stat. *Theb.* 1.360. Sil. 4.360, Juv. 6.121. The adjective itself, which of course can mean 'old' in the sense of 'decayed' (OLD 4), sometimes takes the opposite connotation of 'valuable or respectable because of its antiquity'. Instances are not numerous, but Ov. *Am.* 1.8.65 *veteres … cerae* and Hor. *S.* 2.3.64 *veteres statuas* come close. Cf. also Stat. *Silv.* 2.2.63 (where see van Dam) and 4.6.20–23. Virgil seems to prefer *vetustus* in this sense: *A.* 2.713, 3.84, 8.478.

metallo: this may have been gold (see note on 148), but in itself might equally well be silver (OLD 2), which is however conspicuously absent from the *Argonautica*: there is no instance of *argentum*.

conspicienda: 'attracting attention' (OLD), by virtue of their 'ancient metal'. It is only natural for the boy to be less interested in the tableware than in the actual presence of the greatest heroes of his time.

signa: the embossed figures on the cups; V. *Ecl.* 3.40., *A.* 5.267 and 536, 9.263; Ov. *Met.* 5.81, 12.235 and 13.700; Stat. *Theb.* 1.540. In 337 below VF has *signiferam cratera*.

tenent: hold his attention (OLD 22a); cf. 102.

stupet in ducibus: for *stupere in* 'to marvel at' cf. V. *A.* 10.446 *stupet in Turno* and Hor. *S.* 1.6.17 *stupet in titulis et imaginibus*.

magnum sonantes: the related expressions *magna* (or *grande*) *sonare* may mean either 'to speak in lofty tones' (Hor. *S.* 1.4.44, Ov. *Rem.* 375, *Her.* 15.30), or 'to speak in a loud voice' (Juv. 6.517, 7.108, where the former sense also seems present). This is not the case in Hor. *S.* 1.6.43f. *magna sonabit / cornua quod vincatque tubas*, unless we punctuate after (*funera*) *magna*. The sg. form *magnum*, however, only denotes the volume of the voice, not the content of the uttered words: Pl. *Mil.* 823 *magnum clamat*. Here too the loud noise of the heroes is meant: this is not exactly a quiet dinner conversation.

haurit: with or without *auribus* or *oculis* this verb is rather freely used as 'to drink in with the … senses' (OLD 6; TLL 6.3.2570.49ff.). Our passage, however, is unique in that the grammatical object is not the

sound, as usual, or the emotion, as in Liv. 27.51.1 *gaudium*, but the speakers themselves. While the heroes *hauriunt Bacchum*, the boy 'quaffs' the sensations involved in the situation.

Herculeo … leoni: the adjective is first found in V. *G.* 2.66; *leo* denoting the lion's skin is not attested before VF (again in 8.126).

fert comminus ora: also in Stat. *Theb.* 1.641, but without an accompanying dative form. Here, *Herculeo … leoni* seems to depend on *ferre*, as in V. *G.* 4.330 *fer stabulis inimicum ignem* (where however *stabulis* is also connected with *inimicum*), and Ov. *Ars* 2.734 *sertaque odoratae myrtea ferte comae* (where the sense seems to be at least as much 'for' as 'to'). The meaning of the verb is purely local in 2.608f. *sub aequora vultus /… tulit*; in 4.323f. VF has the combination of *ora* and *comminus* again, but with the unremarkable predicate *tenet.* The construction with a verb of motion is rare, but not unique: *procurrit* Sen. *Nat.* 3.28.3, *venientes* Luc. 1.570, *admota* ib. 6.2, *ire* Prop. 2.19.22, Ov. *Fast.* 5.176, Stat. *Theb.* 2.511. The boy's curiosity, first aroused by the general spectacle and clamour, is now focused on a telling detail, which he views from nearby (cf. *comminus* 232 above).

264–270

> laetus at impliciti Peleus rapit oscula nati
> suspiciensque polum 'placido si currere fluctu
> Pelea vultis' ait 'ventosque optare ferentes,
> hoc, superi, servate caput! tu cetera, Chiron,
> da mihi. te parvus lituos et bella loquentem
> miretur; sub te puerilia tela magistro
> venator ferat et nostram festinat ad hastam'.

laetus: again the accentuation of cheerfulness (188, 250).

at takes second position in the clause, as in 2.437, 4.85, 5.297 and 6.214 (Sz. 489b).

impliciti: the participle denoting the person who is held in embrace is not common. The only other instances mentioned in TLL (7.1.642.83ff.) are Ov. *Ars* 1.561, Stat. *Silv.* 2.1.46 and Petr. 127.8 (and cf. Lucr. 4.1149). The discussion about the exact meaning 'embracing' or 'embraced' (see Vollmer on Stat. *Silv.* 3.3.18 and van Dam on ib. 2.1.46, cited above) seems somewhat idle, because the reciprocity of the gesture is often obvious or at least probable, as in this case. Cf. K.F. Smith (on Tib. 1.4.55) about the similar topic of kissing.

oscula rapere 'to snatch kisses', although here neither hurry nor stealth is implied. The expression occurs further in Hor. *Carm.* 2.12.25–28,

Tib. 1.4.53ff. and 1.8.58, Ov. *Am.* 2.4.26 and *Her.* 13.120 (s.v.l.): TLL 9.2.1113.68ff.

suspiciensque polum: cf. V. *A.* 12.196 *suspiciens caelum*, but already in Cic. *N.D.* 2.4 *cum caelum suspeximus*.

Peleus' short speech contains two elements: a prayer to the gods for the safety of his son during his absence, and an appeal to Chiron to take care of young Achilles' education.

The first sentence is somewhat complicated, but there is no need to change, with Langen, *placido* into *placidum*. As Burman noted, combating the old conjecture *placito*, the expression *placido fluctu currere* is the equivalent of *ventos ferentes*. Then *Pelea* is the subject of *optare*, which in its turn governs both *placido fluctu currere* and *ventos ferentes* (again with variation in construction, as in 51f. above; ANRW 2459). We should therefore construe, with Thilo (and Ph. Wagner in his review of Thilo, Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher 89, 1864): *si vultis Pelea optare placido fluctu currere et (optare) ventos ferentes*; 'if you want Peleus to wish for a quiet journey and favourable winds, then keep his son safe', *i.e.* 'Peleus would have no wish for a safe homecoming, if on his return he were to find his son no longer alive and prosperous'.

placidus is used to describe a tranquil sea from Lucretius on (*placidi … ponti* 2.559), and Virgil has *placidum … mare* (*Ecl.* 2.26). The combination with *fluctus* is new, but cf. *placatis … fluctibus* (Cic. *Att.* 8.3.5) and Sen. *Tro.* 201 *placidumque fluctu murmurat leni mare*.

currere with an ablative denoting the surface which is crossed, by a swimming person or a sailing ship, is first seen in Ov. *Her.* 18.6 *currere … nota … aqua*. It occurs again below in 306 (307); cf. also 3.151f. *caeca profundo / currit hiems*.

ventos ferentes: 'carrying winds', already in Virgil (*G.* 2.311 and *A.* 3.473 in the sg., *A.* 4.430 in the pl.), also in Ovid. Cf. Sen. *Dial.* 7 (= *De vita beata*). 22.3 *secundus et ferens ventus*. VF has it again in 6.327.

hoc caput as 'this person', not meaning 'myself' (as for instance in Ov. *Tr.* 2.102), is very rare. VF has it once more (5.18), but there seem to be no other instances. The nearest parallel is Luc. 2.85 *hunc, Cimbri, servate senem* (= Marium): whether those words are still spoken by the mysterious voice of 80ff. or by the narrator, it is certainly not Marius referring to himself. The wording shows that this passage was VF's model.

Traces of Peleus' speech are to be found in Silius' farewell words of Hannibal to his infant son (3.69ff., notably *hoc pignus belli, coniunx, servare labora* 80).

cetera … da mihi: *dare* in the sense of *praestare* 'to supply (help, coopera-

tion, or sim.)' is not recognized as a separate item in OLD, but L/S notes (II. F) 'to do any thing for the sake of another', citing Sulpicius (Cic. *Fam.* 4.5.6) *da hoc illi mortuae* .... One could also compare V. *A.* 9.83f. *da, nate, petenti / quod* ... etc. *cetera*: the gods are to provide safety, Chiron education in general.

Note the very strong alliteration in 265–267: *p-... p-... f-... / p-... v- ... v-... f-... / s-... s-... c-... c-... Ch-....*

For *loqui* (*lituos et bella*) 'to speak of' (OLD 4) the nearest parallels are in Cicero: *Att.* 9.2a.3 *nihil nisi classis loquens et exercitus*, ib. 9.13.8 (9.13a SB) *Dolabella ... merum bellum loquitur.*

The *lituus* as trumpet of war is mentioned by Virgil in *G.* 3.183 and *A.* 6.167. Statius makes Chiron disobey these instructions in *Silv.* 5.3.193f. *quique tubas acres lituosque audire volentem / Aeaciden alio frangebat carmine Chiron.*

miretur: 'to admire', as in V. *A.* 8.515ff. *sub te tolerare magistro / militiam et grave Martis opus, tua cernere facta / adsuescat, primis et te miretur ab annis*. This was clearly the model passage for this sentence: the combination *sub te ... magistro* being taken over as well as the anaphora of the pronoun (*tu ... te ... sub te* instead of *sub te ... tua ... te*). The *puerilia tela*, however, VF took from *A.* 11.578 *tela manu iam tum tenera puerilia torsit* (Camilla). Here hunting-spears are meant, whereas in 8.515ff. Virgil clearly has military training in mind. Statius speaks of *breviora tela* (belonging to the boy Archemorus or Opheltes) in *Theb.* 6.74. For *tela ferre* cf. V. *A.* 2.216 *tela ferentem* and ib. 12.465 *tela ferentis.*

nostram ... ad hastam: there seems to be no tradition in which Peleus actually left a spear behind for his son, awaiting the time when the boy's strength and skill would enable him to handle it. Probably Langen is right in taking the phrase as another instance of Valerian brachylogy: 'let him hurry to obtain [the strength necessary to wield] my spear'. But there is also a reminiscence of Hom. *Il.* 16.141ff., where it is expressly stated that Achilles was the only one who could wield the spear (called Pelias after Mt. Pelion) that Chiron had given to the boy's father. Cf. also Stat. *Ach.* 1.41 *patria iam se metitur in hasta.*

festinet ad: OLD 14c 'to be impatient to reach'.

We can discern three stages in the boy's training: first, as long as he is still *parvus*, he must be content with listening to Chiron; then when he is a *puer* he may go hunting, and finally his father's spear (obviously a military weapon) will come within his reach.

Note also the sustained alliteration (after 265–267): *li-... lo-... / mi-... te... te-... ma-... / fe-... fe-...*

271–273

> omnibus inde * viae calor additus; ire per altum
> magna mente volunt. Phrixi promittitur absens
> vellus et auratis Argo reditura corymbis.

The text is still uncertain here; mss. being divided (*vi(a)e* S, *me* LV), conjectures have been rife. None of these, however, carries conviction: *mero* (M) is less than heroic, and moreover the enthusiasm aroused is caused (*inde* is not to be taken in a temporal but in a causal sense) not by the wine, but by Peleus' behaviour and words. Instead of *magis* (Carrio 2), in itself pleonastic with *additus*, we should rather expect the metrically impossible *maior* (Thilo LXXVIII), whereas *animis* (Peerlkamp, taken over by Langen) suits the context in the probable model passage V. *A.* 2.355 *sic animis iuvenum furor additus*, but combines awkwardly with *omnibus*. Ph. Wagner's *viris* (cf. p. 159) is superfluous, and Hirschwälder's *maris* certainly not better than *viae*. Yet one cannot be quite at ease with this now generally adopted reading, because there seem to be no other instances of *calor* with an objective genitive ('enthusiasm for the voyage'): the genitives combined with this noun are defining or at best causal. We do not even need an objective genitive: if it were not already clear where the ardour of the men was directed, the sequel (*ire per altum*) would have easily explained it. Therefore Liberman may be right in printing Sandstroem's proposal *idem*, for which, combined with *omnibus*, he gives some parallels in VF, the most similar being 4.193 and 216. Moreover he explains the corruption convincingly: *inde idem*—*inde m* (by haplography)—*inde me*—*inde vie*.

additus: OLD 11 'to make larger or more intense, increase …'. It is not clear why in TLL this case is entered under IIC (1.586.15) 'cum notione augendi: praeterea dare, inicere', and not simply under III (ib. 591.79ff.: '= *augere*').

ire per altum: as in V. *A.* 4.310. VF has *per altum* again in 765 below and in 4.561 and 569, *ire per* in 438 below, 6.238 and 7.138 (*per undas*).

magna mente: here, *mens* seems to be used in the sense of 'determination, firmness, spirit', which is more often expressed with *animus*. TLL (8.727.84ff.) 'speciatim de animo forti et confirmato' mentions this case and some others, among which Stat. *Theb.* 5.6 and Sil. 10.627. Without *magna* etc. one can compare Hor. *Ep.* 2.2.36 (where see Brink). V. *A.* 6.11f. is different: *magnam qui mentem animumque / Delius inspirat vates*.

Phrixi … vellus: the fleece that once belonged to Phrixus.

For *promittere* see OLD 2d ('… to count upon (a prospect), …'). The unusual (OLD ib.: 'rarely *-ittere* alone', quoting only this case) absence of a dative is to be explained by the passive form. Comparable is V. *A.* 9.296 *sponde digna tuis ingentibus omnia coeptis* (Hardie: 'a bold use of *spondeo*'). It does not seem necessary to take *reditura* also with *vellus* as Langen suggests: *absens vellus* corresponds to *Argo reditura* 'they count upon (obtaining) the Fleece and a safe return of the Argo' (a case of dominant participle).

absens: of course one can only 'promise oneself' a thing that is not present, but the opposition is to the Argo, which is before their eyes.

auratis … corymbis: the noun in the context of a ship's decoration is only attested in Latin in VF (TLL 4.1081.68): here, in 4.691 and in 8.194. It is clearly based on Hom. *Il.* 9.241, and it must denote the stern of the ship (cf. schol. ad l.), which in 4.691 escapes through the Clashing Rocks, suffering only some damage *extremis … corymbis*. Again, 8.194 refers to this fact: *non totis* (= *integris*) *Argo redit ecce corymbis*.

auratis: 'decorated with gold (as a sign of triumph)'. 'Gilded' seems too strong; the weaker sense is recognized in OLD (2 'adorned with gold') and TLL (2.1520.28 'auro ornatus'). The golden shine is probably not caused simply by the Golden Fleece, although this object is of course obliquely suggested. Cf. also 8.203 *auratae … Minervae*, evidently on the stern (*puppe procul … post terga magistri* 202).

274–293 (Orpheus' song of Helle)

The night scene on the beach and the song of Orpheus are already present in AR, where the singer starts (496–511) after the quarrel between Idmon and Idas, which is left out by VF (see n. on 255–273). It is of course also influenced by Iopas' song in V. *A.* 1.742–746, which in its turn is performed not before the sailing, as here, but during the banquet after the arrival in Carthage. The Greek version contains philosophical and mythical elements, whereas in Virgil only the first are represented (see Austin ad l.). In VF, on the other hand, the contents of Orpheus' song are purely mythical: it describes the history of Phrixus and Helle, constituting thereby the closest possible link with the expedition itself (cf. Dräger *Ratis*[2] 211, Schubert ib. 273, Aricò ib. 287). The towns of Sestus and Abydus suggest the Hellespont (which name, incidentally, does not occur in VF), and when the Argonauts later arrive there, the shade of Helle appears and encourages them (2.588ff.; see Poortvliet 294f.).

274–276

> sol ruit et totum Minyis laetantibus undae
> deduxere diem. sparguntur litore curvo
> lumina nondum ullis terras monstrantia nautis.

Cf. Gärtner 1998 for the indication of the times of day.

sol ruit: as in V. *A.* 3.508. According to OLD (A 3b) the verb is used in both passages (and in Apul. *Met.* 3.16) 'of heavenly bodies in their setting', but Williams is probably right in stating (ad l.) that it denotes in itself only '(the sun) sped on its course'. However, there is also a hint of the more usual expression *nox ruit* (V. *A.* 2.250, 6.539, 8.369; *Arg.* 7.3); OLD (l.c.) 'to hurry on'. Cf. also 7.456f. *ruebant / sidera* and Perutelli ad l.

Minyis laetantibus: again the positive mentality of the Argonauts is stressed (cf. 188, 250, 264).

totum … diem: the light of day (OLD 2a). What exactly happens to this light depends on the verb in the next line. Whereas most mss. have *diduxere*, most modern editors (Thilo, Langen, Kramer, Courtney, Ehlers, Liberman, Spaltenstein, Dräger) prefer the less well-attested *deduxere*. Probably they are right: for one thing, *diducere* does not occur elsewhere in VF, but he has forms of *deducere* in 2.403, 4.275 and 6.261. Moreover, *diem diduxere … undae* would mean 'the waves spread the light (on themselves)', the glow of the sun being reflected on the waves (Bährens: 'solis occidentis lumen per mare spargitur'), but *diem deduxere* means '(the waves) draw the daylight down' (the sun disappearing beneath the surface of the sea), which is more appropriate to denote the sunset. Man. 3.241 *in quocumque dies deducitur astro* and 3.396 *deducat proprias noctemque diemque per horas* are different in meaning (OLD 8f. 'to cause to complete a course, cycle, etc.'), but Sen. *Apoc.* 2.4 (Phoebus) *obliquo flexam deducens tramite lucem* is very similar. Lucan has *deducere* and *diducere* within three lines: 5.541 *sol non rutilas deduxit in aequora nubes* is somewhat parallel to *undae / deduxere diem*, but ib. 543 *altera pars Borean diducta luce vocabat* is not enlightening for our passage.

dies in the *Argonautica* is 16 times masculine (5.276 counted as one) and 14 times feminine (only in the nom. [or voc.: 7.336] sg.), whereas in 23 cases the gender cannot be determined. See Romeo 20–23 and Poortvliet 54.

sparguntur … lumina is a novel expression. *lumen spargebat* in Petr. 22.3 means what we expect it to mean: 'to scatter light' (OLD 2c, quoting also Sen. *Med.* 74 *radios spargere lucidos* in the same sense). Likewise, the

combination *lumine spargere*, which occurs in Lucr. (2.144) and several times in the *Aeneid* (4.584, 9.459, 12.113) obviously means 'to illuminate clearly'. In 5.247f. VF allows himself a double-entendre: (Sol) *omnituens tua nunc terris, tua lumina toto / sparge mari*, both 'eyes' and 'rays' being meant. Here, however, the lights of the fires on the beach are said to 'disperse', *i.e.* to become visible in several places.

litore curvo: V. *A.* 3.16 and 223, and cf. ib. 6.4 *litora curvae / praetexunt puppes*; but *curvo litore* occurs already in Accius (*trag.* 569R). VF has *litora curva* in 3.568 and *litora … sinuosa* in 2.451f.

nondum ullis … nautis: the Argonauts in VF's version being the first to sail the sea.

terras monstrantia: the verb often means 'to show where … is', with objects such as *viam*, *iter* and places, for instance in Virgil *litora* (*A.* 3.690f.). The subject is rarely non-personal, as here; other cases are Hor. *S.* 2.6.10 (*fors*), Luc. 6.357 (*fabula*) and 7.393 (*ruinae*), and Stat. *Theb.* 12.409 (*murmura*).

277–282

> Thracius hic noctem dulci testudine vates
> extrahit, ut steterit redimitus tempora vittis
> Phrixus et iniustas contectus nubibus aras
> fugerit Inoo linquens Athamanta Learcho;
> aureus ut iuvenem miserantibus intulit undis
> vector et adstrictis ut sedit cornibus Helle.

Thracius … vates: a variation on *Thracius Orpheus* (V. *Ecl.* 4.55, Ov. *Met.* 11.92), *Threicius sacerdos* (V. *A.* 6.645) and *Threicius vates* (Ov. *Met.* 11.2).

dulci testudine: Orpheus' lyre was first mentioned in 187. The adjective meaning 'sweet-sounding, melodious' (OLD 4), is used to characterize musical instruments by Horace (*Carm.* 1.17.10 *fistula*), Propertius (4.4.5, again with *fistula*) and Tibullus (1.7.47 *tibia*), and later by Statius (*Theb.* 9.724 *lituos* and *Ach.* 1.572f. *dulcia notae / fila lyrae.*)

noctem … extrahit: Langen's statement that this verb usually denotes the passing of time in an unpleasant way, so that it seems too long, is borne out by Caes. *Civ.* 1.32.3 (*Catone … dies extrahente*, a case of parliamentary obstruction) and 1.33.3 (*triduum disputationibus excusationibusque extrahitur*, 'were lost'), and Livy (*e.g.* 10.29.8 *Fabius … cunctando extraxerat diem*). In Curt. 7.8.2, however, *noctem vigiliis extraxit*, it seems to be used in a neutral sense, whereas in Luc. 4.200 *extrahit insomnes bellorum fabula noctes* it approaches—as is duly noted by Langen—the sense it has here, that of making the time pass by agreeable entertainment. Virgil prefers

the simple verb to the compound: *A.* 1.748 *vario noctem sermone trahebat*, 6.537 *et fors omne datum traherent per talia tempus.*

ut steterit: the first part of Orpheus' song describes Phrixus standing before the altar on which his father wished to sacrifice him at the behest of his second wife Ino; cf. 41f. and for the story Ov. *Fast.* 3.851ff. with Bömer.

redimitus tempora vittis: cf. V. *G.* 1.349 *tota redimitus tempora quercu*, *A.* 3.81 *vittis et sacra redimitus tempora lauro*, ib. 10.538 *sacra redimibat tempora vitta*, Ov. *Met.* 14.654 *picta redimitus tempora mitra* (where see Bömer). In the passage cited above Ovid has (*Fast.* 3.861f.) *et soror et Phrixus velati tempora vittis / stant simul ante aras*. The ribbons on the victim (OLD 2b) are also mentioned in V. *A.* 2.133 *circum tempora vittae* and ib. 156 *vittaeque deum quas hostia gessi*. VF refers to them again in 2.588 *vittataque constitit Helle* and 7.57 *cum vittis … feralibus Hellen.*

contectus nubibus: the second element of the story; Phrixus (and Helle) escaped (*fugerit* 280) with the help of their own mother Nephele, who enveloped them in a cloud (which of course she was originally herself). Cf. Ov. *Fast.* 3.865 (cited above) *nimbis comitantibus.*

iniustas … aras: the personification here consists not in the attribution of an action or emotion to a non-animate subject (or object), which is not unusual, but in transferring a quality of an action which is performed near or in relation to a given object to the object itself. We could paraphrase 'ubi iniuste positus erat'; cf. Korn on 4.152 *iniqua altaria.* All instances in TLL of *iniustus* in a transferred sense (8.1.1687.72ff. 'de rebus variis fere ad animantia pertinentibus') contain abstract nouns, with the exception of Ov. *Am.* 2.11.12 *iniusti caerula forma maris* and Prop. 1.15.12 *iniusto … salo.*

linquens: both the object and the noun in the dative refer here to people, which is unusual; OLD 6 mentions Stat. *Theb.* 9.57 *fero me linquite fratri.*

Learchus and Melicertes were the sons of Athamas and Ino (see above). VF makes Phrixus 'leave Athamas to (his son) Learchus'; we should rather expect it to be the other way round. Anyhow, the boy was not to profit from this 'gift': his own father went mad and killed him, whereupon Ino with their other son leapt into the sea. She was eventually transformed into the sea-goddess Leucothea, and Melicertes became known as Palaemon. The story is told by Ovid (*Met.* 4.(464–)512–542 and *Fast.* 6.481–562); furthermore in Apollod. 1.9.1–2, Paus. 1.44.7f., 9.34.7, Eur. *Med.* 1284ff., Hyg. 4 and 5. It was obviously so well known that even Cicero in his speeches could mention Athamas

as a typical madman: *Har.* 39 *illa exsultatio Athamantis*, *Pis.* 47 *Athamante dementiorem* (cf. *Tusc.* 3.11). Statius refers to it repeatedly (see Williams on *Theb.* 10.425).

The adjective *Inous* denoting 'son of Ino' is attested in Virgil (*G.* 1.437 *Inoo Melicertae*, *A.* 5.823 *Inousque Palaemon*). In the wider sense of 'related to Ino' it occurs in Ovid (*Ars* 3.176 *Inois* … *dolis*, sc. in rescuing Phrixus and Helle, and *Met.* 3.722 *Inoo* … *raptu*, sc. in the killing of Pentheus by the Maenads), Sen. *Phoen.* 23 *Inoa rupes* (from which she leapt into the sea) and Statius (*Theb.* 4.59 and 10.425, *Silv.* 2.1.98, 2.2.35 and 4.3.60). VF seems to have his own words in mind when he later (521) writes *Inoas* … *ad aras*, and uses the adjective a third time in 2.607 *Inois* … *undis*.

ut … *intulit* … *et* … *sedit*: the indicative in indirect questions (*ut* = 'how') is not unusual in poetry (K/S 2.494.8). Even the change to it from the subjunctive is not without precedent, a remarkable instance being Prop. 3.5.25–46. VF has *ut* followed first by a subjunctive and then by an indicative again in 7.119f., where see Perutelli.

aureus … *vector*: of course the ram that carried Phrixus and Helle was not 'made of gold', but the adjective can denote 'covered with gold' (OLD 2; TLL 2.1490.69ff., mentioning Ov. *Her.* 12.151f. *Iason* … *aureus*) or 'shining like gold' (OLD 4; TLL ib.1491.24ff.). Cf. *aureus* in 8.128, said of Jason wearing the Golden Fleece, which is itself qualified by the adjective in 5.200 and 433, 7.167 (*vellera*), 5.553, 8.42 and 131 (*terga*) and 7.30 (*pellis*).

The noun *vector*, which often means 'passenger' in prose and poetry, is sometimes used in poetry to denote 'one that carries or transports' (OLD 1), also in cases of transportation over water, as in Luc. 6.392, Sen. *Med.* 775, *Her.O.* 514 (Nessus) and *Her.F.* 9 (Jupiter in the guise of the bull carrying Europa, which seems to be the closest parallel).

The transportation of Phrixus and Helle over the sea constitutes the third stage of the story. The conjecture *mirantibus*, by Haupt ascribed to Bentley and by Harles to Oudendorp, would yield good sense and is printed by Liberman. It had been advocated by Bährens and Köstlin 1891, who referred to Ov. *Am.* 2.11.1 *mirantibus aequoris undis* and V. *A.* 8.91 *mirantur et undae*. Here, however, the situation is different. The pity felt by the waves increases the pathos which will culminate in 291ff., and Helle's later drowning is not their fault. In any case the participle personifies by attributing an emotion to an aspect of nature; cf. 7.142 *miserata quies* and Stadler ad l.

intulit undis: cf. 4.83 *fluctibus intulerant* (where see Korn). Langen in a long note with many parallels pays attention to the difference between most Greek authors, according to whom the ram flew over the sea, and the general opinion of Roman writers, who make the animal swim. His explanation, that the Greek version sounded too fantastic to the Romans, may be true, but there is no way of telling.

adstrictis … cornibus: although TLL (2.960.64ff.) gives several instances of 'contrahere, comprimere, in angustum cogere, coartare, adducere', the only good parallel for the meaning 'to grasp tightly' (OLD 2) seems to be Stat. *Theb.* 9.539 *astrictis accedunt comminus armis* (Hor. *Carm.* 3.8.10 and Ov. *Fast.* 4.929f., quoted by Dewar ad l., are somewhat different).

ut taking second place in a clause is quite common (K/S 2.615).

283–287

septem Aurora vias totidemque peregerat umbras
luna polo dirimique procul non aequore visa
coeperat a gemina discedere Sestos Abydo.
hic soror Aeoliden aevum mansura per omne
deserit, heu! saevae nequiquam erepta novercae.

septem … polo: at first sight a rather unusual way of saying 'seven nights and days had passed'. We have to take *Aurora*, as opposed to the following *luna*, as 'the sun', as in V. *A.* 6.535f. (*Aurora … iam medium … traiecerat axem*). For *viam* (*iter, cursum*) *peragere* 'to complete a course' (OLD 4b) there is no lack of parallels, including Ov. *Tr.* 5.10.6 (*annus iter*), 4.7.2 (*Sol iter*), Sen. *Ep.* 77.3 (*viam*), V. *A.* 4.653 (*cursum*).

Heinsius' *vices* is attractive in view of 505f. *nostra* (= *Solis*) *dies …/ tot peragit reficitque vices*, Ov. *Met.* 4.218 *noxque vicem peragit* and Sen. *Her.O.* 1512 *perage nunc, Titan, vices*. It is now printed by Liberman, who denies that *vias peragere* is Latin. Because the mss. reading can be kept, we should do so, without the need of assuming a special sense of *via* 'Weg bei Tageslicht' (Maurach 1983:137: 'mit Hilfe des nachfolgenden *umbra*'): the sun usually travels its course in daylight. For *umbras* meaning 'nights' Langen gives some parallels from Manilius, *e.g.* 3.235f. *variisque dierum / umbrarumque modis*, ib. 301f. *mensura dierum / umbrarumque* and 450f. *umbris / … luces*. Ultimately the only item to be explained is the meaning of *peregerat umbras*, because this second object is different from the first in not denoting a distance to be covered. However, assuming a slight zeugma we could say that the moon 'passes the night', in that she makes it pass by completing her course; the verb is regularly construed

with nouns denoting 'time' as well as 'distance'. Cf. Ov. *Am.* 1.2.3 *noctem … peregi*, *Her.* 21.85 *luce peracta.*

dirimique … Abydo: the general meaning is clear. 'Sestos, first from afar (*procul*) seeming not to be separated (from Abydos) by the sea, had begun to take distance from its twin town', *i.e.* at a distance the two towns seem to be part of the same continent, but on approaching one discovers that there is a strait between them. Cf. Just. 4.1.18 (describing the Straits of Messina) *ea est enim procul inspicientibus natura loci, ut sinum maris, non transitum putes; quo cum accesseris, discedere ac seiungi promuntoria, quae ante iuncta fuerant, arbitrere.* The diction is somewhat complicated in that the negation *non*, modifying *dirimi visa*, is placed between these words. To the parallels given by Langen of unusual word order, several instances can be added where a negation is involved: 1.582 *nec … minor*, 2.48 *non … sine numine*, 250f. *non … Thraces*, 3.5 *nec … satum*, 122 *nec … isdem*, 6.519 *nec … potuere.* For *dirimere* 'to separate, divide' in a topographical sense cf. Liv. 22.15.4 *urbs Volturno flumine dirempta Falernum a Campano agro dividit*, 45.28.2 *Isthmus … duo maria … dirimens*, Man. 4.677 *Tanain Scythicis dirimentem fluctibus orbes*, Luc. 3.275 *mediae dirimens confinia terrae* and 9.958f. *Byzantion … / Pontus et … dirimat Calchedona*, also referring to the Hellespont, cf. ib. 956 *Nepheleias … Helle.*

For the present tense *dirimi* 'to be separated' cf. K/S 1.118 A.2, and for *-que* practically equivalent to a 'cum inversativum' (seven days and nights had passed when they reached the Hellespont) ib. 2.167.

discedere: the obvious correction (since the 1498 Bologna edition) for mss. *discendere*; see the passage in Justin quoted above. The same phenomenon is described in 4.645 (*discedere*; cf. also *recessit* 2.8 and *abscedunt* 4.636), its opposite in 2.443 (*accesserat*). Cf. ANRW 2464f.

gemina: the towns seem to constitute a 'pair', as in V. *A.* 6.893 (*geminae … portae*, 'twin gates'; OLD 4).

Sestos Abydo: traditionally coupled (Ov. *Her.* 18.127, *Tr.* 1.10.28 (with a reference to the fate of Helle), Luc. 6.55 (ending on *Seston Abydo*), 2.674, Stat. *Ach.* 1.204; cf. Mela 2.26). The names refer implicitly to the story of Hero and Leander, in which another girl drowned in the same waters.

The final part of Orpheus' song, relating the death of Helle, is also the longest: the intended sacrifice took one line, the escape in the cloud almost two, the swimming of the ram five, and the drowning of the girl and its ensuing commmiseration eight.

Aeoliden: in VF's version (see note on 40f.) Athamas, the father of Phrixus and Helle, is not the brother, but the son of Cretheus, who was

a son of Aeolus, so that the latter is the great-grandfather of Phrixus as well as of Helle (*Cretheia virgo*, 2.611). Cf. 6.542 *Aeolii … Phrixi*. The sons of Phrixus are in their turn called *Aeolidae* (5.461).

aevum mansura per omne: cf. Ov. *Met.* 5.227 *quin etiam mansura dabo monimenta per aevum*, *Culex* 38 *gloria perpetuum lucens mansura per aevum*. Without the participle Lucr. 2.561 and 3.605 (*aevum … per omnem*), V. *A.* 9.609 (*omne aevum*), *Epic. Drusi* 42 (*omne aevom*), *Laus Pis.* 222 (*omne per aevum*).

The oxymoron *mansura—deserit* is slight, because *mansura* is used in a temporal, not local, sense.

deseris … novercae: clearly a variation on V. *A.* 3.711 *deseris, heu, tantis nequiquam erepta periclis*; Anchises too 'forsakes' his son by his death.

saevae … novercae: from V. *G.* 2.128 *pocula si quando saevae infecere novercae*; also in Ov. *Her.* 6.126 and Luc. 4.637. Other epithets to characterize the traditional wicked stepmother are *iniusta* and *mala* (Virgil), *scelerata*, *dira* and *terribilis* (Ovid). VF has the combination again in 3.580 (Juno vs. Hercules) and 5.188 (Helle again).

erepta: the sense 'to rescue', present in the Virgil passage quoted above, is usual in the imperative (1.88, 225; 2.490; 4.539; 7.241; more or less also in 1.10 and 4.79), but only here in VF in this sense in the participle, as opposed to 2.569, 3.316 and 6.571 (if it is the correct reading; see Wijsman), where it denotes 'snatch(ed) away'.

288–293

> illa quidem fessis longe petit umida palmis
> vellera, sed bibulas urgenti pondere vestes
> unda trahit levique manus labuntur ab auro.
> quis tibi, Phrixe, dolor, rapido cum concitus aestu
> respiceres miserae clamantia virginis ora
> extremasque manus sparsosque per aequora crines!

illa quidem … sed: the position of *quidem* after the pronoun is customary (K/S 1.623 A.8).

fessis … palmis: parts of the body are sometimes described as 'tired': *artus* V. *G.* 4.190, *A.* 3.511 (see note on 48 above) and 9.814, *palmae* again in *Arg.* 4.326 and Sil. 6.515. With *manus* the adjective occurs first in Sen. *Phaed.* 1230; further in *Arg.* 3.552f., Stat. *Theb.* 6.785f., and cf. *Mor.* 28 *fessae succedit laeva sorori*, where *sorori* denotes the right hand. Here Helle's hands are tired from clinging to the horns of the ram (282).

longe petit: she reaches out for the Fleece 'from a distance'; obviously she has already fallen into the sea. For *petere* see OLD 1b ('to reach out for'); for this meaning of *longe* TLL (7.2.1645.75) gives as the first

instance Lucr. 1.230f. *externaque longe / flumina* ('the rivers outside the sea coming from afar', Bailey). Other Valerian instances are 1.653 and 7.394 (with *sequi*), 3.432 (*occurrit*), 6.579 (*conspicit*), 7.264 (*mirabar*). The combination with *petere* already occurs in Caes. *Civ.* 1.42.1; VF's immediate model may have been Luc. 3.537 *summis longe petit aequora remis*, and of course gave rise to the traditional figurative *longe petitus*, 'far-fetched'.

umida … vellera: VF rather insists on the ram swimming, not flying. Heinsius' *uvida* (on the strength of Hor. *Carm.* 1.5.14) is not necessary: see OLD s.v. *umidus* 1d.

bibulas … vestes: for the use of the chiefly poetical adjective denoting 'absorbent' materials, the closest parallels are in Ovid: *Met.* 6.9 *lanas* (Bömer: 'die Junktur … ist singulär'); ib. 4.730 *talaribus*, also 'sodden'.

urgenti … pondere: the verb is not infrequently used in the sense of 'to press down with something heavy, weigh down' (OLD 3), with *onus* as subject in Pl. *Poen.* 857, [Tib.] 4.1.43 and Ov. *Fast.* 4.515, and with *pondere* V. *G.* 2.351f., Colum. 5.7.4, Juv. 13.48f. (in all three cases with a finite form). Here, however, the weight (of Helle's drenched clothes) is not so much 'pressing' as 'drawing' her under water, and there seem to be no other instances of this peculiar use. For the same phenomenon cf. Plin. *Nat.* 7.17 *eosdem* (sorcerers) … *non posse mergi, ne veste quidem degravatos*.

unda trahit: this verb too hardly ever seems to mean 'to draw down (under a surface)'; in Stat. *Theb.* 9.297 *trahit unda timentes*, the nearest parallel, it rather denotes 'drag off' (Dewar).

levi … auro: the use of this adjective to qualify a metal is unexpectedly rare, the only parallels being Juv. 14.62 (*leve argentum* as opposed to *aspera* 'embossed') and, in a case of enallage, Lucr. 5.1259 *nitido … levique lepore*.

labuntur: the expression *labi ab* mostly denotes 'to descend smoothly (from the sky, through the air)', as in V. *A.* 11.724 (without *ab* ib. 1.394 and 11.588) and *Arg.* 7.259, or sometimes 'to fall from' (Ov. *Met.* 3.410 *lapsus ab arbore ramus*). Here it must mean 'to glide, slip' down along an object, as in 399f. below *lapsus ab arbore … / … anguis*.

The passage is remarkable for the accumulation of lines in which the adjective closes the first half and the noun the line itself: *saevae … novercae; fessis … palmis; bibulas … vestes*; cf. also *levique … auro*. The same phenomenon can be observed in 257, 258, 260, 261, 263 and 264, and again in 273, 276 and 279. Similar clusters are rare in Virgil. Moreover, *manus* refers back to *fessis … palmis* and *levi … auro* to *umida … vellera*, and there is also a link between *umida*, *bibulas* and *unda*.

quis … dolor: this type of *commiseratio* stems from comedy (Ter. *Ad.* 665f., *Eun.* 1015) and is very frequent in Ovid: *Met.* 1.358f., 5.626, 7.582,

14.177, *Her.* 11.87, *Tr.* 3.3.5. In every case it contains forms of *animus* (usually *quid … animi*, only the first-mentioned Ovid passage presenting *quis … animus* as here). Since no instances are recorded with *dolor*, this appears to be another Valerian innovation (cf. however Cic. *Att.* 8.6.3 *qui me horror perfudit*). The only parallel with *tibi* is Ov. *Met.* 1.358f., all other Ovidian passages having *mihi*, and Terence *illi*. Cf. below 621 *qui tum Minyis trepidantibus horror.*

rapido … aestu: the adjective is often used to qualify rivers and streams, but *aestus* only in Lucr. 5.519 *rapidi … aetheris aestus* ('swift currents of ether', Bailey). Here *aestus* must mean 'current (of the strait)', OLD 2b, not 'tide'.

concitus: Phrixus, on the ram, is carried away by the swift streaming waters. The participle is not often used of people; TLL 4.37.3 gives as earlier instances V. *A.* 12.902 *cursu concitus heros* (cf. Ov. *Fast.* 4.461f. *concita cursu / fertur*) and Sen. *Phaed.* 901f. *hi trepidum fuga / videre famuli concitum celeri pede.* For the quantity of *-i-* see n. on 3 above.

respiceres: the verb often means, as here, 'to look round (back) at' (OLD 2). The pathos of the drowning girl is heightened by the picture of Phrixus witnessing the event but being unable to help. *clamantia … ora*: from Ov. *Pont* 1.2.31f. *quarum clamantia fratrem* (!) */ cortice velavit populus ora novo* (cf. *Met.* 2.355 *ora vocantia matrem*).

extremasque manus: both 'extremam partem manuum' (Heinsius) and 'the last of Helle to be seen (with her hair)'. Probably VF was reminded of Prop. 2.26 (2 *lassas … manus*, 4 *umore gravis … comas*, 5f. *purpureis agitatam fluctibus Hellen / aurea quam molli tergore vexit ovis*, 11f. *at tu vix primas* (!) *extollens gurgite palmas / saepe meum nomen iam peritura vocas*). *sparsos … crines*: cf. Liv. 39.13.12 *crinibus sparsis* (of female Bacchantes), Ov. *Met.* 3.169 *sparsos per colla capillos* (where see Bömer), [Ov.] *Ep. Sapph.* 73 *sparsi sine lege capilli.* The usually pretty or exciting appearance is here turned into a tragic detail which closes the recital of Orpheus. Incidentally one might wonder whether this sad story was appropriate for the festive occasion or encouraging for the sailors.

294–314

After the farewell feast Jason provisionally takes leave of his parents, which he will repeat the next morning in fuller form (315–349). During the night he is fortified by the apparition of the ship's tutelary deity, which speaks stimulating words to him.

294–299

> iamque mero ludoque modus positique quietis
> conticuere toris, solus quibus ordine fusis
> impatiens somni ductor manet. hunc gravis Aeson
> et pariter vigil Alcimede spectantque tenentque
> pleni oculos. illis placidi sermonis Iason
> suggerit adfatus turbataque pectora mulcet.

The circle narrows and attention is again focused on Jason. VF does not specify the locality of the interview between Jason and his parents. In AR, Aeson and Alcimede remain at home, and there is only one farewell. After the complaint of his mother (1.278–291) and his own comforting words (ib. 295–305) Jason leaves the house in 1.306 and the town in 317. The reason for the double farewell in VF (the more extensive part takes place the next morning: 315–349) is not obvious. Perhaps the poet wanted to stress Jason's filial piety, which has however been questioned (Lüthje 26ff.; but cf. Barich 45–48).

iamque is frequently used to introduce a new paragraph, as in 255; again in 2.34, 72, 107; 3.417; 4.58, 344; 6.507; 8.68.

For *modus* with a dative '(there was) an end of …' cf. Pl. *Merc.* 652 *quis modus tibi exilio tandem eveniet* and Luc. 2.131 *ille fuit vitae Mario modus.* Without *esse*, but with a genitive, it occurs in Stat. *Theb.* 5.420 *tunc modus armorum* and Sil. 16.225 *suadendi modus hic.* The same effect as here is described in Stat. *Theb.* 5.195f. *conticuere* (!) *chori, dapibus ludoque* (!) *licenti / fit modus.*

mero ludoque: the wine had been mentioned in 260 (*valido … Baccho*), the (other aspects of) merriment in 251 (*ludo*). The combination of the nouns seems new, but cf. Lucil. 1070 (quoted on 251), Lucr. 4. 1131f. *ludi / pocula crebra*, Cic. *Ver.* 3.62 *in vino ac ludo* (s.v.l.), Hor. *S.* 2.2.123 *post hoc ludus erat … potare*, and for the combination with *modus* Stat. *Theb.* 5.195f. (quoted above).

positi: 'lying down', as in V. *A.* 4.527 *somno positae* and Ov. *Met.* 3.420 *humi positus*, *Her.* 4.98. The finite and infinitive forms are more frequent still.

quietis … toris: the adjective infrequently refers to places, and then usually in the sense of 'quiet, undisturbed'. Here its main meaning must be 'silent', so that we have a case of enallage, because it was the men who fell silent.

conticuere: V. *A.* 2.1 *conticuere omnes* (in attention, but in our passage sleep is implied).

toris: here in contradistinction to 253 the couches on which the heroes

rest are meant, probably made from the seaweed of 252.

solus … impatiens somni ductor: a passing reference to the theme of the 'lonely vigil' (see Leeman 1992). Jason, however, only stays awake for the time it takes to comfort his parents; after that he receives encouragement in his sleep.

ordine: probably 'in regular order' (opposed to *ordine nullo* 3.593) rather than 'in one single row'; cf. V. *A.* 1.703 (also *quibus ordine*!), 3.548, 5.102 (where also *fusi*!). For *fusis* see note on 252 *funduntur*.

impatiens somni: the genitive with participles on *-ans* and *-ens* does not always denote a lasting quality (K/S 1.451 i): cf. V. *A.* 11.639 *vulneris impatiens*. Jason does not give in to sleep in the present situation. See also *impatiens loci* 778 below and *impatiens morae* 3.613 and 8.303.

manet: for the time being, *i.e.* up to 300 *mox ubi*.

gravis: 'aged' (see note on 23). According to TLL (6.2.2283.54ff.) the adjective is used in this sense without *annis* etc., apart from our passage, in V. *A.* 5.387, Ov. *Her.* 5.95 and Stat. *Theb.* 7.518. In the first two of these instances, however, the meaning is probably 'sternly' (Williams, as in Stat. *Theb.* 6.286, cited by Smolenaars on 7.518) and 'having authority by experience' respectively. It seems, therefore, that this is a Silver Latin use, and rather restricted at that.

pariter, modifying the double predicate *spectantque tenentque*, probably combines the notions of 'in equal degree, as much' (OLD 2) and 'in the same manner, alike' (ib. 3). *vigil*, as well as *gravis*, in fact belongs to both subjects.

Alcimede: the name of Jason's mother is given as Alcimede by AR (1.47 and four more times in the first book), Ov. *Her.* 6.105, Hyg. 1314. Different traditions have other names: Polymela (*schol. Od.* 12.69), Polypheme or Theognete (*schol. AR* 1.47).

spectantque tenentque: cf. Ov. *Her.* 13.157 *hanc specto teneoque sinu.*

pleni oculos: the accusative is not surprising, in view of V. *G.* 4.181 *crura thymo plenae (apes)* and Luc. 8.752 *plenusque sinus ardente favilla* (cf. *Arg.* 2.507 *manus … plenus*), but the omission of *lacrimis* is. Langen (5) quotes this passage as a typical instance of Valerian brachylogy.

placidi sermonis: an explicative genitive with *adfatus*; 'speech consisting in kind (soothing?) words'. The adjective occurs with *ore* in V. *A.* 7.194 and 11.251, Ov. *Met.* 3.146f., 8.703, 11.282, *Tr.* 4.6.4, *Pont.* 2.2.79; with *dictis* Ov. *Met.* 1.390, 4.652, Luc. 10.175; with *verbis* Ov. *Fast.* 1.227f.; and with *sermone* Liv. 28.25.4.

In all cases the meaning 'calm, quiet' is present, sometimes also that of 'kind'; but only in the last cited, which is also the only one

with *sermone*, does the adjective seem to convey the notion of 'soothing, calming' (*primum … exasperati animi; mox ipsis placido sermone permulcentibus …*), which is rather appropriate here, as perhaps also in Ov. *Met.* 11.623 *Somne, quies rerum, placidissime, Somne, deorum.*

adfatus: not a common word. Virgil has it once: *A.* 4.283f. *quo nunc reginam ambire furentem / audeat adfatu?*, as does Seneca (*Med.* 187 *nostros proprius adfatus petit*). There are some instances in Statius, Silius and Apuleius, and VF has it again in 6.473 *adfatusque mali* (of deceitful love). In the present passage an echo of *adloquiis* (251) may be perceived.

suggerere with a dative (*illis*) 'to supply … words …' (OLD 3b); in this meaning mostly prosaic. VF has the verb in two more places: 3.7 and 6.289.

turbataque pectora: Virgil has (*A.* 2.200) *improvida pectora turbat*, whereas the combination *turbatus pectora* occurs in V. *A.* 8.29 and Ov. *Met.* 11.411. It is hardly likely that the more 'normal' expression we have here would not have been in use, but it is not recorded in extant literature.

mulcere 'to soothe, quiet' (OLD 2) is found from Lucretius on (5.1317, with *pectora*; 1390). Virgil has *dictis maerentia pectora mulcet* (*A.* 1.197); cf. ib. 5.464 *mulcens dictis* and 1.153 *ille regit dictis animos et pectora mulcet.* Note that Ovid has the verb in the same phrase with *placidus*: *Met.* 1.390f. *inde Promethides placidis Epimethida dictis / mulcet* and cf. Stat. *Theb.* 1.478 *mulcentem dictis corda aspera regem.*

300–308

The ship's tutelary deity appears to the sleeping Jason and encourages him.

300–304 (+308)

> mox ubi victa gravi ceciderunt lumina somno
> visa coronatae fulgens tutela carinae
> vocibus his instare duci: 'Dodonida quercum
> Chaoniique vides famulam Iovis. aequora tecum
> ingredior, nec fatidicis avellere silvis
> me nisi promisso potuit Saturnia caelo.

The encouragement Jason receives in his dream (compare Grillone 36–72, Gärtner 1996:292ff., Walde *Ratis*[2] 96ff.) is the third favourable omen that is given to him, after 156ff. (161 *augurium*) and 227–238 (Idmon's prophecy). He will not get information about Jupiter's statement of his intentions in 531ff. The speaker may be regarded as divine, as are, more

clearly, Juno (113–119), Sol (505–527), Jupiter (531–560), Boreas (598–607) and Neptune (642–650) in this book.

For the combination *mox ubi* see Wijsman on 5.683. *lumina*: Jason's (Spaltenstein, Dräger), not his parents' (Liberman); *mox* 'later' signals the time at which the dream appears.

victa 'overcome (by sleep)' is Ovidian: *Met.* 1.684, 11.238, 14.779, *Fast.* 1.422, 3.19, *Her.* 16.102, *Rem.* 500. It also occurs in Tib. 1.2.2. and Stat. *Theb.* 12.48f.

gravi ... somno: the combination is first attested in Ov. *Met.* 4.784 (later *e.g.* Sen. *Her.F.* 1051), but Lucretius already has *sopor ... gravissimus* (4.956).

ceciderunt: for the verb meaning 'to droop' (OLD 7), said of eyes, cf. Cic. *Dom.* 133 (not in sleep), Lucr. 3.466, Sen. *Ep.* 8.1, Sen. *Con.* 2.4.3, Stat. *Silv.* 3.5.39, Sil. 7.471 (not in sleep). The line-ending *lumina somno* occurs in V. *G.* 4.414.

The *tutela carinae* is usually the image of the tutelary deity of the ship, placed on the stern: V. *A.* 10.171 *aurato fulgebat Apolline puppis*, Sil. 13.78 *Troianam ostentat ... de puppe Minervam.* For several parallels cf. Langen (the exact location of the image not being mentioned), and see further Wachsmuth 82–98. Whether or not the *tutela* here is identical with the gilded image of Minerva on the stern (8.203), is not so clear: the apparition identifies itself as an 'oak from Dodona', thereby belonging to the resort of Jupiter (*famulam Iovis*); Juno disengaged it from its trunk by a promise of immortality. AR ascribes a similar role to Athena: 1.526f.

Perhaps VF wished to maintain the dual divine protection by suggesting Juno here and mentioning Minerva in the last book. Note that Statius makes Triton the deity represented on the Argo, and on the bow at that: *Theb.* 5.371f. *exstantem rostris modo gurgite in imo, / nunc caelo Tritona ferens.* Anyhow, there is no need to assume that in Jason's dream he became aware of the exact appearance of the *tutela*, nor of its location in the ship, which it seems to have left to visit our hero. Later the oak will reappear, and speak again, in 5.65.

coronatae ... carinae: Propertius has this combination in a metaphorical sense: 3.24.15f. *ecce coronatae portum tetigere carinae, / traiectae Syrtes, ancora iacta mihi est*, but the crowning of ships before departure and after arrival was real: V. *A.* 4.418, Ov. *Met.* 15.696 (where see Bömer) before sailing, V. *G.* 1.303f. and Ov. *Fast.* 4.335 after arrival. It seems improbable that the ship was thus adorned the day before departure, but we should bear in mind that we are dealing with a dream-vision. The same goes more or less for *fulgens*, but here the combination seems to be bor-

rowed from Lucan: 3.510f. *non robore picto / ornatas decuit fulgens tutela carinas* (where the participle in its turn may stem from V. *A.* 10.171); see Hunink ad l. For *visa* (*-us*) at the beginning of a line cf. V. *A.* 2.271, 5.722, 8.33, for *vocibus his* thus placed V. *A.* 9.83, and for *instare* see note on 249 above, where it is also used in the sense of 'to exhort, incite'. It takes an ablative again in 2.175, but with a somewhat different meaning (Poortvliet), and possibly in 4.39.

Instances of encouraging dreams in the *Aeneid* are 5.722ff. (Anchises) and 8.31ff. (Tiberinus). There is also an implicit connection with the nymphs into which the ships had been transformed (*A.* 9.107–122) and with the speech of Cymodocea in 10.228–245.

Dodonida quercum: the adjective, only here in VF, stems from the obvious model for these two lines: Ov. *Met.* 13.716f. *vocalemque* (~ *vocibus*) *sua terram Dodonida quercu / Chaoniosque sinus* (where see Bömer); cf. also *Fast.* 6.711 and perhaps *Her.* 6.47 (with Palmer's note). Silius imitated our passage (3.680) *implet fatidico Dodonida murmure quercum* (*Chaonias* in 679). Cicero uses the adjective with the other suffix: *quercum Dodonaeam* (*Att.* 2.4.5); cf. V. *A.* 3.466. The building in of the oak is expressly mentioned by AR (1.526f.) and Apollodorus (1.9.16).

The line beginning with *Chaoniique* is in all mss. found immediately before 309. In the Aldine edition it regained its rightful place. Courtney's explanation (the homoioteleuton with *quercum* in 302) may very well be right.

Chaoniique … Iovis: the adjective (again in 8.461 *Chaonio … trunco*) is quite regularly used by Virgil and other writers (Lucan has it near *quercus* in 3.180), once more to qualify Jupiter: V. *G.* 2.67 *Chaoniique patris.* Its feminine form *Chaonis* is attested in Ovid (*Met.* 10.90, *Ars* 2.150) and Seneca (*Her.O.* 1623 *Chaonis … loquax /… quercus*). Whether or not Dodona belonged to Chaonia proper or more generally to Epirus is a matter of little importance, because both names were coupled in the literary tradition, already implicitly in V. *Ecl.* 9.13; see Bömer on Ov. *Met.* 13.716f. The oracle at Dodona was in the predominant version, which is clearly followed here, given by the rustling oaks themselves (Hom. *Od.* 14.327f. (= 19.296f., where see Heubeck-Hoekstra), Aesch. *PV* 830ff., Soph. *Trach.* 1168). There were divergent traditions, ascribing the prophetic qualities to the doves nesting in the trees or other sources (see Bouché-Leclercq 2.277–331).

famulam Iovis; the link between (the oak of) Jupiter and the protection of the Argo, supplied by Athena in AR, is here left unspecified (see note on 301). *famulus* (or *famula*) denoting 'servant of a god' occurs

first in Cat. 63.68 (*Cybeles*); Virgil has it *A.* 11.558 (of Diana); the deity involved is Jupiter only once more: Juv. 14.81 *famulae Iovis*, the eagles being meant; but cf. Mart. 9.28.10 *famulum* … *Iovis* (the poet servant to the emperor).

aequora … *ingredior*: with *mare* the verb is combined from Cicero on (*N.D.* 3.51); with *aequor* in Curt. 4.7.11. VF has it again with an accusative in 5.70 *ingreditur cursus*, with *per* in 2.546f. (*per pascua*).

fatidicis … *silvis*: whereas the woods of Dodona can be said to be 'prophetic', there is a difficulty in the same adjective qualifying *ratem* in the prooemium, to which this passage harks back. See n. on 2 and *Mnem.* 1986:316f.

avellere: as in 7.48 (*templis*) and in other cases outside VF it is impossible to determine whether the verb has a dative or an ablative, though here the latter seems slightly preferable.

Saturnia: Nodell (1781:40ff.) proposed reading *Tritonia*, because Minerva takes care of the ship and Juno of the heroes themselves (as we saw in the note on 301, AR makes Athena build in the oak). He referred to 93 above, 2.49 and the mss. reading of Ov. *Her.* 6.47. But, apart from the unanimous testimony of the mss. here, Juno and Minerva formed a joint partnership for the protection of the Argonauts, and surely the 'promise of heaven' is more in line with Juno's position as a goddess than with Minerva's.

promisso … *caelo*: the future destiny of the Argo as a constellation has already been mentioned in the prooemium (4 *flammifero tandem consedit Olympo*). The expression is twice used in Ovid's *Fasti:* 3.159 and 505.

nisi remarkably enough occurs only once more in the *Argonautica*: 7.200; *ni* three times. In Virgil the numbers are *nisi* 5, *ni* 23. Ovid has hundreds of instances of *nisi*, Lucan 32. The ratio *nisi*—*ni* for Statius is 12–33, for Silius 9–43. It seems neither necessary nor advisable to print mss. *nesi* as Liberman does.

305–307

> tempus adest: age rumpe moras, dumque aequore toto
> currimus incertus si nubila duxerit aether,
> iam nunc mitte metus fidens superisque mihique'

tempus adest: cf. Pl. *Bacch.* 417 *aderit tempus*; V. *A.* 12.96 *tempus adest*, as in Ov. *Met.* 14.808 (where see Bömer) and Prop. 4.6.53.

age rumpe moras: in this scene VF clearly follows Mercury's speech to the sleeping Aeneas (V. *A.* 4.560–570; see Adamietz 1976:17); only there

the hero has to be roused to action, whereas here he receives, first and foremost, encouragement. The expression is therefore less appropriate here: Jason was not delaying. The verbal echo is unmistakable: *A.* 4.569 *heia age, rumpe moras*. The combination *moras rumpere* without *age* was used previously in V. *G.* 3.43 and recurs in *A.* 9.13 *rumpe moras omnis*. It is also present in Ov. *Met.* 15.583 (see Bömer), Luc. 2.525 (van Campen) and Sen. *Med.* 54, and VF has it again in 4.627, 6.127 and 7.33.

dumque … mihique: the best explication of this somewhat contorted sentence is still that of Ph. Wagner (1863; he however took over Gronov's *tuto* instead of *toto*) and Thilo (XX): 'already now, trusting in the gods and in me, refrain from fear, ⟨ which might occur ⟩ if the unreliable sky, while we speed over all the sea, will develop (storm-)clouds'. The only feasible alternative would be to take *incertus* as qualifying not *aether* but the addressed person (Jason) and *si* as introducing an indirect question (as in V. *A.* 4.110): '*et, incertus si nubila duxerit aether dum aequore toto currimus, iam nunc*'; 'and, not certain (= almost fearing) if the sky … etc.'. However, the parallel with 5.322 (also *iam nunc* after a future perfect), where the subordinate clause begins with *sin*, makes it probable that in the present passage too *si* has to be taken as conditional, not as introducing an indirect question. The solution of (Wagner and) Thilo was endorsed by Housman (CR 1900, 465f.). For the fact that the *dum*-clause precedes the conditional *si*-clause of which it is a part cf. 765, where the temporal clause (with *cum*) is equally placed before the sentence in which it properly belongs (*potui quae … ferre*).

As for the meaning, we must observe that *mitte metus* is not 'lay aside (stop) your (present) fear', as in 741 and in the comparable combinations *timorem mittere* (V. *A.* 1.202f.), *metum remittere* (Sen. *Phaed.* 435), *metum* or *timorem omittere* (Liv. 30.29.2; Cic. *Rep.* 6.10). Since there is only an anticipation of fear, *mittere* here must equal *non admittere* (Sen. *Tro.* 588).

aequore toto: cf. V. *A.* 1.29, 128.

For *currere* with an ablative to denote the surface crossed see note on 265.

The aether is called *incertus* probably because it is clouded and does not provide information. Commentators refer to V. *A.* 3.203 *incertos … soles* (Williams: 'obscure, dim' as well as 'anxious, helpless') and ib. 6.270 *incertam lunam*. In Ov. *Ars* 2.318 *aëre non certo* denotes 'the uncertain air' (Mozley) of autumn; *incertus … aer* in Luc. 4.49 comes closer: 'shifting weather circumstances'.

nubila ducere has a parallel in Quintilian *Inst.* 11.3.75 *oculi … (ut) … tristitiae quoddam nubila ducant* 'be clouded with grief' (Butler in the

Loeb edition) and one in Stat. *Ach.* 2.21f. *iam ardua ducere nubes / incipit … Scyros*. The expression was probably formed on the analogy of *colorem (pallorem) ducere*; cf. V. *Ecl.* 9.49, Ov. *Met.* 3.485 and 8.760, Luc. 6.828.

iam nunc: as in 334 and 5.322 'in anticipation, before the event', and therefore different from V. *A.* 6.798 and the instances given in OLD 3b, where the meaning is 'already now, and equally (or more so) later'.

mitte metus: for the combination see above. The imperative after a future perfect (K/S 1.151.6) occurs again in 4.591f. and 5.321f. (quoted above); after a future 7.447ff.

fidens: Jason will be thus called again in 8.112 when he climbs the back of the dragon, but then trusting Medea's words.

superisque mihique: the talking oak does not itself belong to the deities in heaven, but clearly acts as their representative or intermediary (*famulam Iovis* 308).

309–314

> dixerat. ille pavens laeto quamquam omine divum
> prosiluit stratis. Minyas simul obtulit omnes
> alma novo crispans pelagus Tithonia Phoebo.
> discurrunt transtris; hi celso cornua malo
> expediunt, alii tonsas in marmore summo
> praetemptant, prora funem legit Argus ab alta.

Jason awakes, and the new dawn reveals the preparations for the sailing.

For *dixerat* see note on 182.

pavens: the verb is not used by Virgil (whereas the adjective *pavidus*, the noun *pavor* and the intensive *pavitare* are), but frequently by Ovid (three instances of the participle) and once in Lucan (3.300). VF clearly took a fancy to *pavens*: he has it six times, and seven times other forms of the participle. It is best taken absolutely here (*laeto … omine* being an absolute ablative) as in most cases, except 756 below *subitisque pavens* and of course the instances with an accusative object: Jason is afraid, although the omen is positive. This seems preferable to the construction of the ablative with *pavens*, in which case *quamquam* only qualifies *laeto*: Jason is terrified by the omen, although it was reassuring. In Virgil, Aeneas' reactions to omens are more vehement: *A.* 4.279 (*amens*), 571 (*exterritus*), 3.172 (*attonitus*); comparable, however, is 10.250 *animos tamen omine* (!) *tollit.*

For *omine divum* cf. 231f., for *quamquam* modifying an adjective (or, as in this case, an absolute ablative) see K/S 2.444 A. 4.

laetus qualifying an omen must of course mean 'gladdening; favourable, propitious' (OLD 6). With *omen* it is first attested in Livy (45.1.4); afterwards in [Sen.] *Oct.* 704, Luc. 8.585 (*omine laeto*), Petr. 122.178, Stat. *Theb.* 8.708, Sil. 4.131 (TLL 7.2.888.76f.).

prosiluit stratis: Virgil has the verb once (*A.* 5.140); for the expression, *A.* 3.176 *corripio e stratis corpus* (also after a prophecy within a nocturnal apparition!) was the model. Cf. further *A.* 4.82 *stratisque relictis*, 3.513 *strato surgit* and 8.415 *mollibus e stratis … surgit.* The only other instance of the verb thus used seems to be Sen. *Cl.* 3.1.3 *e cubili prosilierit*, but cf. Ov. *Met.* 5.34f. *stratis tum denique Perseus / exsiluit* and Luc. 5.790f. *sic fata relictis / exsiluit stratis amens.*

For *Minyas* see note on 184.

simul: at the same time (as Jason got up).

obtulit: 'showed, revealed' (OLD 3). This meaning is recorded from Accius on (*praet.* 31; the reading is uncertain, but clearly an omen has presented itself), as in V. *A.* 4.556f. *huic se forma dei* (= *Mercurii*) … / *obtulit in somnis*. Other Virgilian instances have *se* for an object, but not Sen. *Her.F.* 586 *cum clara deos obtulerit dies* (a rather close parallel) nor Luc. 3.608 *amissum fratrem lugentibus offert.*

The fine and melodious line 311 (almost a golden one) has a novelty in *crispans*. Austin on V. *A.* 1.313 (*crispans hastilia*): 'the verb is not recorded before Virgil; it can be applied to frizzy, springy hair, or fluttering clothes, or rippling water'. Of this last use the present passage is the only instance before Rut. Nam. 2.13; somewhat related is Stat. *Theb.* 8.568 *mixtum cono crispaverat* ('had incrusted', Mozley) *aurum*, which is the other case mentioned in OLD 1b 'to produce ripples or undulations in (a surface)'. Colum. 10.166 has a similar expression: *apio viridi crispetur florida tellus*, but we cannot be sure that VF was familiar with that author. Nováková, discussing the use of light and shadow in VF (1964:124–136), establishes a predilection of our author for reflected light, and refers to other instances in connection with sunrise and sunset: 4.97 (where see Korn); 3.257, 411, 429; 5.177, 247f., 318.

alma … Tithonia: the adjective qualifies Aurora again in Stat. *Silv.* 1.2.44f. (and implicitly in Mart. 8.21.8 *Memnonis alma parens*), and *lux* in V. *A.* 1.306, 3.311, 8.455, 11.182f. (with *Aurora* as the subject of *extulerat*), *dies* in V. *A.* 5.64 (again *Aurora* being the subject of *extulerit*) and *Ecl.* 8.17. Strangely enough the learned Heinsius denied (*Syll.* 3.2.417) that *Tithonia* without *coniunx* could denote Aurora, and therefore proposed *Titania*. Langen gives several passages which effectively refute this view, among which Ov. *Fast.* 4.943 and *Arg.* 3.1.

For *novo … Phoebo* 'the rising sun' cf. V. *A.* 9.459f. *et iam prima* ***novo*** *spargebat* ***lumine*** *terras / Tithonii croceum linquens Aurora cubile.* In 2.441 VF has *sole novo* (as in V. *G.* 1.288).

discurrunt: 'they (the Minyans) run about', preparing the ship for departure. The simple ablative *transtris* denoting the extent of space where the action takes place is first (TLL 5.1.1366.44) seen with this verb in Luc. 5.295 *totis discurrere castris*, later in Stat. *Theb.* 7.455 *discurrunt muris* (beginning the line, as here).

hi … alii: not a common form of distribution. There is some mss. evidence for it in Ov. *Met.* 11. 644f. In the singular the words denote an opposition (Cic. *Top.* 88 *si huius rei haec, illius alia causa est*, Sen. *Ep.* 120.9f. *hunc vidimus … alium vidimus*, Quint. *Inst.* 11.3.176 *vel hoc vel aliud*). Lucan first has (3.576–578) *alii … hi.* VF has one more instance: 6.577f. *hos … alios*, whereas Silius (9.335ff.) writes *hi … hi … hi … alius.*

celso … malo: the mast is earlier qualified with this adjective in Cic. *Arat.* 135 and 199.

cornua: the tips of the yardarms (OLD 7e), here probably used by synecdoche for the yardarms (*antemnae*) themselves. Virgil has the noun in *A.* 3.549 and 5.832. Other instances are Hor. *Epod.* 16.59, Ov. *Met.* 11.476 (where see Bömer) and 482, Germ. *Arat.* 405, Luc. 5.427 and 8.193, Stat. *Silv.* 3.2.9 and Sil. 14.389.

expediunt: 'they prepare for use, make ready' (OLD 5). Several parallels in prose referring to ships are given in TLL 5.2.1611.40–45, whereas Ovid has in *Her.* 17.200 *expediunt … vela.* VF uses the verb in the same sense again in 2.342f. (*convivia*) and 8.302 (*clipeos et tela*).

tonsas; the oars (already in Ennius: *Ann.* 230f., *var.* 27, both in Festus 538.34). The combination with *marmore* shows that V. *A.* 7.28 *in lento luctantur marmore tonsae* was the model here: see Fordyce ad l., and cf. *A.* 10.299 with Harrison's note. VF uses the epic idiom again in 369, 471, 3.34 and 5.66 (where see Wijsman).

marmore '(the whitened surface of) the sea' (OLD 5; TLL 8.411.41ff.) is also Ennian: *Ann.* 384, and probably derived from Homer (*Il.* 14.273 ἅλα μαρμαρέην). Virgil has it first in *G.* 1.254 and then in *A.* 7.28 (see above), 718, and 10.208. The noun is therefore traditional, but fits well with the visual image of line 311, though *summo* is less telling than *flavo*, *lento* and *verso* in the earlier passages (and *candenti* in Lucr. 2.767).

praetemptant: 'to try in advance, test' (OLD). The word does not occur in Virgil, but several times in Ovid, the nearest parallel being *Met.* 5.339, because there too the object is an instrument (*chordas*). It

is also present in Tibullus (2.1.77), Lucan (9.398), Seneca (*Phaed.* 1060, *Oed.* 657) and postclassical prose authors.

funis is the regular word for a (mooring-)rope (OLD 16) and *legere* for 'to haul in (ropes)': OLD 4a, but the combination is not attested elsewhere. Luc. 3.44 *legere rudentes* comes closest (see Hunink for further literature on the subject). Clearly related are expressions like *ancoras legere* 'to weigh anchor' (Sen. *Tro.* 759). VF has (2.428) *legitur … uncus*.

prora … ab alta: the combination is first attested in Albinovanus Pedo (Bährens p. 351, Büchner p. 147: l. 12) *prora … sublimis ab alta*; later Avien. *Arat.* 919 *siquis prora nitatur ab alta*. It occurs again in 404 (= 384). Langen draws attention to the 'uncommon' position of *ab*. Of course, the word order in itself is normal, but here (object), predicate and subject are placed between, as also in 597 (again with a form of *altus*!).

Far more often than the prow, it is the stern which is called 'lofty' (*alta*); in VF 4.85, 5.45, 8.202 (*summa*), 1.719, 5.214 (*celsa / -is*), 8.177, 362f. (*alta / -is*). *puppis*, however, is much more frequently used than *prora*, and moreover sometimes denotes just the ship.

315–349

This is a rather extensive treatment of the farewell theme, full of pathos. Jason's parents, whose anxiety has already been sketched in 296–298, now give voice to their feelings. The gloom which threatens to cloud the hopeful expectations of the crew and their leader is in itself a none-too-good omen, but the effect of this is lessened by the order of the speeches: after Alcimede's miserable wailing the words of Aeson stress rather the heroic aspects of the enterprise which he is too old to take part in.

As has been noted before (note on 294–299), AR makes Jason take leave only once, in the palace the night before the sailing. VF obviously used the farewell scene of Pallas in V. *A.* 8.558–584 (where the mother of the departing hero is no longer alive) as his model, the ultimate source of epic leave-taking being of course the farewell of Hector and Andromache in *Il.* 6. VF has two echoes of this passage: first in 700–729 below, where Pelias is raving about his son having sailed as a member of the crew, and 8.140–170, where Medea's mother helplessly complains about the disappearance of her daughter.

315–319

increscunt matrum gemitus et fortia languent
corda patrum; longis flentes amplexibus haerent.
vox tamen Alcimedes planctus supereminet omnes;
femineis tantum illa furens ululatibus obstat,
obruat Idaeam quantum tuba Martia buxum.

The generally despondent mood of the other parents remaining behind is sketched only very briefly; all attention is focused on Alcimede and (later) Aeson.

increscunt: the verb denotes the increasing strength of sounds from Livy on (45.1.3 *fremitus*); TLL 7.1.1057.49.

languent: 'to want power or vigour' (OLD 4). The collocation with 'hearts' is first seen in Cat. 64.99 *languenti corde*. Silius took it over in 3.504f. *languida maestus (maestis) / corda virum fovet*. There is of course something of an oxymoron in the combination with *fortia*.

longis … amplexibus: this could be either a dative ('clinging to their embrace') or an ablative ('clinging to them in a (long) embrace'). Ov. *Met.* 7.143 (in the Jason-story!) *avidisque amplexibus haerent* is not much of a help. In Sil. 13.297 *amplexibus haeret*, the following *iungentum fata* shows that the author took *amplexibus* as a dative. TLL 1.1998.65f. gives two instances with an ablative: [Sen.] *Oct.* 743f. *amplexu novi / haerens mariti* and Plin. *Nat.* 36.127 *amplexuque haeret*. We have, however, to take into account the possibility that in these cases *amplexu* is in fact a dative, as in V. *A.* 6.698 *teque amplexu ne subtrahe nostro*, so there is really no way of telling. Elsewhere VF has *haerere in*: 571 *mediis in frontibus*, 762 *in pectore* (cf. Ov. *Pont.* 1.9.19 *haesit in amplexu*), which perhaps points to an ablative here.

The unwillingness to let go the beloved one is standard in similar scenes: Euander (V. *A.* 8.558f. *dextram complexus euntis / haeret*, ib. 581f. *dum te, care puer, … / complexu teneo*, and when Pallas' body is brought home (ib. 11.150), *procubuit super atque haeret lacrimansque gemensque*).

Alcimedes: the usual Greek genitive ending (the name Alcimede does not figure in K/H 423f. and 432). Dräger 1995 tones down her grief and despair.

supereminet (agin in 5.367): it seems best to print this with Courtney, Ehlers and Liberman as one word, as is customary in Virgil, who seems to have coined it and has it three times: *A.* 1.501 *deas … omnes*, 6.856 *viros … omnes* (both with the same pattern as in our passage), and 10.765 *umero supereminet undas*. Ovid has (*Met.* 3.182) *colloque tenus supereminet omnes* and (*Tr.* 1.2.49) *fluctus supereminet omnes*. The only instance of *eminere* with a sound as subject is Ov. *Met.* 15.607: *vox eminet una*.

The combination of *planctus* and *ululatus* (318) occurs again in Stat. *Theb.* 6.137 *planctuque et longis praefata ululatibus infit.*

femineis … ululatibus: after V. *A.* 4.667 *lamentis gemituque et femineo ululatu* and 9.477 *evolat infelix et femineo ululatu* (more comparable, because the mother of Euryalus hears the news of her son's death). VF, in general more conservative than Virgil in metrical matters, avoids the hiatus here (but not in 4.393 *Tartareo ululatu*). Both the adjective (Axelson 56) and the noun are chiefly, though not exclusively, poetic.

furens: 'raging', with grief, for which shade of meaning TLL (6.1.1627.56ff.) compares V. *A.* 11.709 *illa furens* (as in VF!) *acrique accensa dolore* and Sen. *Dial.* 5 (= *De ira* 3).6.2 *traditus dolori et furens*. In both cases, however, *dolor* is rather 'anger, resentment' than 'grief' (Gransden on the *Aeneid*-passage; note the title of Seneca's dialogue). The other instances in TLL (V. *A.* 3.313 and Luc. 5.157) are even less convincing, and it seems likely that VF, perhaps with Virgil's collocation in mind, extended the range of emotions the verb denotes.

obstare with a dative may mean 'to block proper appraisal of' and so 'to outweigh': Liv. 1.26.5 *recens meritum facto obstabat*, ib. 2.33.9 *sua laude obstitit famae consulis Marcius*. This was perhaps the way it came to mean 'to surpass', for which sense TLL (9.2.247.45 'poetice fere i.q. antecellere') cites only the present passage and Stat. *Ach.* 1.293ff. *quantum … / obruit, aut … quantum … / … tantum … / Deidamia … pulchrisque sororibus obstat.* This clear correspondence is another pointer to the earlier date of VF's work (cf. n. on 169). Incidentally, in both these passages there remains in the verb an element of the more general meaning 'to block, be a hindrance or an impediment', since the cries of Alcimede make the lamentations of the other women less audible, and Deidamia's beauty that of her sisters less conspicuous.

obruat: there is no need to change into *obruit*, as has been done from the first editions on until and including Langen, and now again by Liberman. The subjunctive is potential, as in 2.529 (where see Poortvliet, only there *tantum* and *quantum* are not adverbs), 3.55 (where the *Martia cassis* 53 corresponds with the *tuba Martia* here), 3.89, and 4.715f. (again with the present tense): *tantas quamvis Tyrrhenus et Aegon / volvat aquas, geminis tot desint (?) Syrtibus undae*). The verb is less uncommon than *obstare* in the sense 'to obscure …, overshadow, eclipse' (OLD 9b), developed from the meaning 'to overwhelm, overpower'. TLL (9.2.154.43ff.) gives several instances, also in prose authors (from Cicero on, *e.g. De Orat.* 1.116 and 2.292). In *Arg.* 8.85f. *adverso luctantia lumina cantu / obruit* the verb simply means 'to overcome'; its other Vale-

rian occurrences show the more basic meanings of ‘to cover, overwhelm, crush’.

Idaeam … buxum: the flute (made of boxwood) used in the worship of Cybele, the *Idaea* or *Berecyntia mater*. The adjective *Idaeus*, referring to (the Trojan) Mt. Ida, is connected with this cult from Cicero and Lucretius on, and the instrument is denoted with its material from V. *A.* 9.619f. *tympana vos buxusque vocat Berecyntia matris / Idaeae*. There the Trojans are taunted and the geographical epithets are called for, which is not the case in VF's imitation. Ovid (*Met.* 11.16; *Fast.* 4.181) and Horace (*Carm.* 3.19.18f.) have *Berecyntia tibia*, and *Idaea buxus* returns in Stat. *Theb.* 5.93f.

tuba Martia: ‘the trumpet of Mars’, not only louder than Cybele's flute and thereby drowning its sounds, but also representing male violence in war as against peaceful feminine behaviour. The collocation itself has its nearest attested parallel in Sen. *Dial.* 4 (= *De Ira* 2).2.4 *Martius ille tubarum sonus*, but the same idea is expressed in slightly different ways, for instance V. *G.* 4.71 *Martius ille aeris rauci canor*, *A.* 6.165 *aere ciere viros Martemque accendere cantu*.

tantum … quantum: the first book of the *Argonautica* contains relatively few similes (7), which are moreover distributed rather disproportionately. Whereas this one is the first, to be followed by that in 489, the remaining five are concentrated within 76 lines (682, 690, 704, 726, 757). This may point to an increase in pathos. On the construction the following can be said:

a) In three instances words denoting a comparison appear in both main and subordinate clause: here (*tantum … quantum*), 489 *haud aliter … quam* (see n.) and 757 *quam (multa) … sic*.
b) The main clause (with a predicate expressed) may precede the subordinate one (as here and in 689f. *sedent … qualiter omnia parata*), or follow it (as in 757 *cunctatur / pressit … subiere*).
c) In the remaining instances either a predicate has to be supplied from the preceding sentence (489 *haud aliter* (sc. *fecit Iason*) … *quam (mater) fugit [et] urget*) or the words containing the simile constitute a main clause, the comparison made exclusively by means of *sic* ‘in like manner’ (682 *coit*) or *haud secus* (704 *infremuit … lassatur … redit*) or *talem* (*fugit*) 728.

In all these three instances this sentence also contains a temporal subordinate clause: *cum … incubuit*, *cum … prosiluit* and *cum … torsit* respectively.

Langen cites from Dureau (de Lamalle, in his Paris edition of 1811) the reference to Antipater (16.305) νεβρείων ὁπόσον σάλπιγξ ὑπερίαχεν αὐλῶν, which may have contributed to VF's diction (ὑπερίαχεν—*supereminet*).

320–322

fatur et haec: 'nate indignos aditure labores,
dividimur nec ad hos animum componere casus
ante datum, sed bella tibi terrasque timebam.

Alcimede's speech of almost 16 lines is chiefly characterized by ethos and pathos: the loving mother, unable to cope with her grief (contrast *fortior Aeson* 335). Since her words naturally do not contain an argumentation, there is no clear development of thoughts. The several elements could be paraphrased as follows: 'Now we are being separated. This was not the kind of dangers I could foresee. If you should not return, I have no wish to stay alive any longer. How could I expect this special form of risk? What terrible things that may happen to you I see with my mind's eye! Now take leave of me as if you will never see me again'. For a discussion of the passage 320–347 see Fuà 1986.

fatur et haec: Virgil quite often ends a line with (*talia*, *ita*) *fatur*, but he never begins a line with this form. Lucan does this once (2.516), like Ovid (*Met.* 14.167), but VF in four more instances: 3.316 (again *fatur et haec*), 4.757, 5.615, 7.553. For *et* taking second position in the clause cf. 95 and 119.

indignos … labores: on the strength of Serv. ad V. *Ecl.* 10.10 (*Ennius ait* ***indignas turres*** [*fr. inc.* 6], *id est magnas*), Bulaeus (in Alardus' edition) took the adjective to mean here too 'enormous' (cf. TLL 7.1.1192.48). But in the absence of context we cannot tell what Ennius meant by the adjective, and there can hardly be any doubt that the sense here must be 'not deserved, unmerited' (OLD 4), as for instance in V. *A.* 11.108 *fortuna indigna*. There is a parallel in *Ciris* 247f. *omnia me potius digna atque indigna laborum / milia visuram*, remarkable in that there too the *labores* are object of a future participle.

aditure; the best known instance of the collocation with *labores* ('to meet, incur, undergo, submit to (danger, etc.'); OLD 11) is V. *A.* 1.10 *tot adire labores*, but already Nepos has it: *Timol.* 5.2 *se maximos labores summaque adisse pericula*. Cf. also Liv. 26.48.2 *quippe qui … tantum laboris periculique adissent.*

dividimur: the verb meaning 'to separate individuals (in a strictly

spatial sense)' is not common, but cf. Prop. 1.12.3 *tam multa illa meo divisa est milia lecto*. Note that *dividor* in Ov. *Tr.* 1.3.73 is different: there the speaker is 'torn asunder' (cf. 74 *et pars abrumpi corpore visa suo est*).

For *componere animum* TLL distinguishes three shades of meaning: 'sedare, lenire' (3.2117.74ff.), 'praeparare, apparare' (ib. 2119.62ff.) and 'informare, instruere, excolere' (ib. 20.32ff.). It is clearly the second of these, 'to prepare myself for', which applies here, and probably VF borrowed the phrase and its meaning from Luc. 9.380f. *componite mentes / ad* (!) *magnum virtutis opus summosque labores*. TLL (l.c.) also refers to Quint. *Inst.* 12.9.20 *animum ad omnes casus* (!) *componere* and Plin. *Ep.* 7.1.6 *ad abstinentiam … animum vultumque composui*.

datum '(I) was given the opportunity' with an infinitive from Lucr. on (4.878 *varieque (quareque) datum sit membra movere*). Cf. also Luc. 6.407 *divitias numerare datum est*.

bella … terrasque: 'wars, things that happen on land': the new dangers of the sea she could not have foreseen.

timere with both an object and a dative is normal practice from Cicero on (*Dom.* 8 *sibi nihil timere*). For the thought cf. Ov. *Her.* 1.69 *tantum bella timerem*, and for other wrongly directed fears ib. 6.79ff.

323–325

> vota aliis facienda deis. si fata reducunt
> te mihi, si trepidis placabile matribus aequor,
> possum equidem lucemque pati longumque timorem.

vota … deis: 'now I must pray and make my vows to other gods', to wit: the deities of the sea. For the expression cf. V. *Ecl.* 5.79f. *tibi sic vota quotannis / agricolae facient*.

The next sentence closely follows VF's model (V. *A.* 8.574ff.), both in thought ('I do not want to prolong life if my son does not return') and in the wording: *si … si … sin*, in Virgil *si … si … si … sin*; also *dum*, three times in the *Aeneid*-passage. For further details see below, and cf. Adamietz 1976:19f.

si fata reducunt / te mihi: V. *A.* 8.574f. *si numina vestra / incolumem Pallanta mihi, si fata reservant*. VF did not even change the tense of the verb, in spite of its different meaning; one would expect a future form here. For *reducere* with object and dative cf. Sen. *Dial.* 11. (= *Cons. Polyb.*) 4.1 *facilius … nos illis* (= *mortuis*) *dolor iste adiciet quam illos nobis reducet*.

trepidis … matribus: cf. V. *A.* 7.518 *trepidae matres*.

placabile: 'capable of being placated or mollified' (OLD 1), as in

4.472; in 5.331 it is used in an active sense. The noun it qualifies is hardly ever inanimate, with the exception of *ira* (Ov. *Met.* 10.399, *Pont.* 1.9.23; *Arg.* 4.472, cited above) and *iracundia* (Sen. *Ep.* 85.7). In Sen. *Nat.* 2.43.1 *id fulmen quod solus Iuppiter mittit placabile est* OLD (3) gives as the meaning 'peaceful in intention, conciliatory'. This may be right, but one could also say that the quality is transferred from the god itself to his instrument, and in the present passage too the sea is regarded as a deity (cf. *aliis* … *deis* 323). It is hard to decide whether *matribus* means '(mollified) **by** mothers' or '(made merciful) **towards** mothers', and one cannot be sure if VF meant exclusively one or the other of these possibilities.

possum … *pati*: V. *A.* 8.577 *vitam oro, patior quemvis durare laborem*: VF's construction is more simple, but he replaces *vitam* by the more 'poetic' *lucem*. For *possum* 'to bring oneself to' cf. Bömer on Ov. *Met.* 11.423.

longumque timorem: for *longus* denoting a state of mind cf. Cat. 76.13 *longum* … *amorem*. Note the 'sobbing' alliteration *p*… *l*… *pati* … *l*… *ti* …. VF has the combination again in 6.754.

326–328

> sin aliud fortuna parat, miserere parentum,
> Mors bona, dum metus est nec adhuc dolor. ei mihi, Colchos
> unde ego et avecti timuissem vellera Phrixi?

sin … *parat*: in the sense of 'to purpose, plan, intend' (OLD 8) this verb has *fortuna* for the subject in Luc. 4.497 *exemplum, Fortuna, paras* and ib. 6.593 (*finem*) *quem belli fortuna paret*; cf. (with *fata*) ib. 2.68 and 6.783. In those contexts there seems to be as little difference between *fata* and *fortuna* as here (*fata* 323—*fortuna* 326).

miserere parentum: V. *A.* 12.43 *miserere parentis*.

Mors bona: in the sense of 'kind, merciful' the adjective is often coupled with (names of) gods (OLD 4), but hardly ever with *mors*; such cases as Cic. *Fin.* 3.47, *Att.* 15.20.2, Sen. *Ep.* 67.9 are different, denoting 'a noble or less painful death', but Plin. *Ep.* 2.20.8 comes close. In thought, though less in the wording, there is also a parallel in V. *A.* 12.646f. *vos o mihi manes / este boni*, especially in view of the immediately preceding *usque adeone mori miserum est?* (~ *miserere* … *mors*).

dum … *dolor*: a variation on Luc. 2.27 *necdum est ille dolor nec iam metus*. The opposition fear—grief is also expressed in Luc. 8.53f. *quid perdis tempora luctus? / cum possis iam flere, times*, and more generally in Sen. *Tro.* 618 *magis haec timet quam maeret*, *Thy.* 968 *dolor an metus est.*

The thought 'fear preceding grief' is further conveyed in *Epic. Drusi* 397 *praevertitque metus per longa pericula luctum* (cf. also Curt. 3.5.4 *ingens sollicitudo et paene iam luctus*), whereas Ovid almost perversely makes fear worse than grief in *Met.* 11.425f. *tantumque dolebo, / non etiam metuam.*

For *adhuc* with a negation 'not yet', equivalent to *nondum*, see OLD 1b.

ei mihi: AR has ὤ μοι (1.290), and the words occur in the same metrical position in V. *A.* 11.57 *ei mihi, quantum /…*

Elsewhere in the *Aeneid* at the beginning of the line (*e.g.* 2.274), as in all other instances in VF (6.624; 7.201B, 236, 284, 483: a remarkable series), who has *ei* only in combination with *mihi.*

unde ego … timuissem: cf. Stat. *Theb.* 6.142 *unde ego bella tibi Thebasque ignara timerem?*; an evident case of borrowing, probably on the part of Statius. *unde* meaning 'from what source' (OLD A 3) usually modifies a noun (*e.g. amor* V. *Ecl.* 10.21) or a verb denoting 'to know' (*novi* Ov. *Met.* 9.508) or 'to have' (*habere*: Pl. *Bacch.* 630, Juv. 14.207). VF shortens again: 'how could I have known about the Colchians I now have to fear?'. The tense of *timuissem* is remarkable. Both K/S (1.180) and Sz. (334) state that a past potential subjunctive can only take the form of an imperfect, with some exceptions in combination with *forsitan / fortasse* (Sz. l.c.). One could wonder therefore if this is a case of the subjunctive in 'indignant or polemic questions', which occasionally takes the pluperfect form (Sz. 338). But Alcimede's words are not so much of an indignant and certainly not of a polemic character, but rather an expression of unbounded fear and grief. Moreover, the same type of question can be observed not only in 4.364f. (combined with an imperfect subjunctive), but also in 6.219 *quis tibi fatales umquam metuisset Amyclas* (again a pluperfect subjunctive with a verb of fearing), where only a potential subjunctive will do. It seems that we have here a grammatical innovation by VF, though restricted to interrogative sentences. In that case, Statius l.c. untypically reverted to the traditional diction.

avecti: the verb occurs only once more in the *Argonautica*: 783 below. Virgil has it four times, passive forms in *A.* 2.43 and 11.205, active ib. 1.512 and 2.179.

For the plural *vellera* see note on 56. The collocation *vellera Phrixi* closes the line again in 4.556; 6.11, 593; 7.14. Cf. also *Phrixea … vellera* 8.267f.

329–332

> quos iam mente dies, quam saeva insomnia curis
> prospicio! quotiens raucos ad litoris ictus
> deficiam Scythicum metuens pontumque *polumque*
> nec de te credam nostris ingrata serenis!

mente … prospicio: cf. Cic. *Div. Caec.* 42 *mente et cogitatione prospicio.* In 5.610 VF has *animo … prospice*, which collocation also occurs in Cic. *Clu.* 34 *animo prospexisse* and Liv. 39.51.4 *prospexerat animo.* The idea of 'seeing with the mind's eyes' is also expressed by means of *mente videre* (Cic. *Planc.* 56), *animo videre* and *mente cernere* (Cic. *N.D.* 1.49, Manil. 1.678). The combination *oculi mentis* is quite common: Cic. *De Orat.* 3.163, *Orat.* 101, Manil. 4.195, 875.

quos … dies: *quos* is taken up more pointedly in *quam saeva*, as *dies* is less explicit than its opposite *insomnia* and *mente* more general than *curis.* It seems therefore best to take the last noun as also syntactically balancing *mente*: '(I foresee) in my worrying mind', and not as short for *insomnia curis* (*effecta*) 'caused by my worries'.

insomnia (n. pl.) may mean 'sleeplessness', as it clearly does in 2.140 and 7.6. Here, however, *pace* Poortvliet on 2.140, it seems to denote 'dreams' (as in V. *A.* 4.9 and 6.896): a dream can be 'foreseen' and called 'grim, terrifying' more naturally than sleeplessness.

raucos … ictus: *raucos*, transmitted by the florilegia and Carrio (the other mss. having *paucos*) is clearly the correct form and has been printed from the Aldine edition (1523) on. Whether or not this indicates an independent tradition, embodied in the excerpta, is not primarily important for a commentary; it is denied by Ehlers (XVIII), and Courtney too is sceptical (XXXI). Recently, however, the importance of Carrio has been valued in a more positive way (see for instance Liberman's introduction). If *raucos* is a conjecture made by a medieval reader, it is not a bad one, because parallels are scarce. The adjective may denote the sound itself (as in 2.307 *rauco fremitu*) or the instrument or object from which the sound comes (as in V. *A.* 11.474f. *rauca … bucina*, ib. 2.545 *rauco … aere* and 5.866 *rauca … saxa*, Hor. *Carm.* 2.14.14 *fractisque rauci fluctibus Hadriae*, Stat. *Theb.* 5.291 *litore rauco*), but very seldom the event which causes the sound, as here. A near parallel, however, is to be seen in 614 below *raucoque ad litora tractu.*

litoris ictus: the shore resounds, being 'struck' by the waves, as in Luc. 5.551. *ictus* is qualified by an objective genitive from *Rhet. Her.* 3.27 on (*capitis ictus*); cf. also Liv. 38.5.3 *ad ictus moenium*, where *ad* has the

same almost causal sense (K/S 1.522 γ, Sz. 220b) as here.

deficiam: this verb often means simply 'to lose courage', as in 4.35 and 246, and Langen takes it here too in this sense, providing other parallels (*e.g.* V. *A.* 11.231, 424; 12.2). But in view of Alcimede's despair a somewhat stronger sense seems preferable, as (OLD 5b) 'to succumb to tiredness or weakness; to faint away'. For this meaning cf. Ov. *Her.* 19.8 and, especially relevant in view of 325f., *Pont.* 2.7.80 *vivere ne nolim deficiamque* (Wheeler in the Loeb edition: 'utter breakdown').

metuens: for the fourth time (after *timebam* 322, *timorem* 325 and *timuissem* 328) Alcimede accentuates her anxiety.

*pontumque *** cretamque* (Lα) has been remedied in several ways, the most popular now being *pontumque polumque*, which is found in the florilegia and ascribed by Carrio to his 'vetus codex'. All proposals to change *pontum* (*portum* Bury 1893, *Corum* Köstlin 1889, *caelum* Schenkl 1871, *ventum* Bury 1900) should be rejected: it is a normal word (whereas **cretamque* is a *vox nihili*), and does not call for an explanation. On the other hand, for *pontumque polumque* Liberman cites as parallels Stat. *Theb.* 11.67 and *Silv.* 3.2.10. Still, it is difficult to see why and how *polumque* could have resulted in the mss.-form; we can hardly assume a gloss, because the word is very common and easily understood. Liberman XCIX suggests that *cretamque* could be a corruption arisen from *Cytamque* which in its turn would have been the result of an attempt to fill a lacuna. However it seems unlikely that a scribe introduced this (not attested) form, so the origin of *cretamque* remains an unsolved problem, even if we think of *hiememque* (cf. 546f. below and 8.373; *Mnem.* 1987:123). For *Scythicum pontum* see note on 59.

nec … serenis: 'and with regard to you I will not trust clear skies in our country, and not be thankful for them'; *i.e.* 'even when the weather is fine here, I will still worry about you'.

ingrata: she will be unappreciative of local fair weather.

credam: not 'to believe', but 'to trust', as in V. *G.* 4.192 *credunt caelo adventantibus Euris* and Ov. *Fast.* 2.453 *tu desine credere ventis*.

nostris … serenis: cf. Luc. 9.423 (*Libycae quod fertile terrae est*) *nostris reficit sua rura serenis*. The singular of this substantively used adjective, as in 2.403 *primo … sereno*, is much older: Cato *Agr.* 156; the plural is already attested in Lucr. 2.1100 *caelique serena*. Cf. also V. *G.* 1.393 *soles et aperta serena*.

333–334

> da, precor, amplexus haesuraque verba relinque
> auribus et dulci iam nunc preme lumina dextra!'

da … amplexus: the expression is first found in Virgil (TLL 1.1.1998.23ff.): *A.* 1.687 *cum dabit amplexus* and 8.405 *optatos dedit amplexus*. Ovid has it six times, once (*Met.* 11.459) in the farewell scene of Alcyone. Cf. further *Arg.* 4.635 *dem sinite amplexus* and 8.10f. *o mihi si profugae genitor nunc ille supremos / amplexus, Aeeta, dares*. Other instances of the 'last embrace' are Sen. *Med.* 552 *liceat ultimum amplexum dare* and Luc. 3.745 *quod amplexus, extrema quod oscula fugi*. Although *dare* with a verbal noun is of course often just a periphrasis (see Eden on V. *A.* 8.405), in this specific combination it seems to have a greater element of really 'giving'. VF has *da, precor* again in 6.465; cf. *duc, precor* 5.387 and *dic, precor* 7.275.

haesuraque verba: 'quia ea esse ultima putat' (Langen). There seem to be no other instances of *verba* etc. as the subject of *haerere*. It is regularly construed with a dative as here, though *auribus* is probably at the same time governed by *relinque*, as in 2.408f. (*haesuraque caro / dona duci promit*) *duci* belongs both to *haesura* and to *promit*. Cf. Stat. *Silv.* 2.1.152 *tibi verba relinquit*. For *auribus haerere* cf. Sil. 12.518f. *Roma auribus haeret / Roma oculis*. The case of Manil. 2.468 *inque vicem praestant visus atque auribus haerent* is not quite clear, but *auribus* could very well be an ablative there (so van Wageningen ad l. and Spaltenstein on Sil. l.c.), as *oculis* in V. *A.* 1.717f. *haec oculis, haec pectore toto / haeret*. So: 'leave behind words (as if they were your last) that will continue to sound in my ears'. Note that the proximity of *amplexus* and *haesura* in a way echoes *amplexibus haerent* of 316.

dulci … dextra: there seem to be no other instances of *dulcis* in the sense of 'loving, affectionate' (OLD 6b) or of 'dear, cherished' (ib. 6a) in combination with *dext(e)ra* or *manus* (cf. TLL 6.1.2190.33ff. and ib. 2193.73ff.). Virgil has *dulce caput* (*A.* 4.493) and VF *dulces fratris … malas* (7.340). Cf. *dulces … amplexus* (237f.) and *dulcibus adloquiis* (251).

iam nunc: as in 307 (308) it means 'before it actually occurs'; here the sense is 'because there will perhaps be no opportunity later'.

preme lumina: cf. V. *A.* 9.486f. *nec … mater /… pressive oculos*. The combination is also used in cases of falling asleep, as in Ov. *Ars* 3.647f. *sunt quoque quae faciant altos medicamina somnos / victaque Lethaea lumina nocte premant*. A close parallel to our passage is Stat. *Silv.* 5.1.196 *cara pressit sua lumina dextra*. Other verbs can be used to describe the same situation, as

in Ov. *Her.* 1.102 *oculos comprimat*, *Arg.* 3.279 *sera componunt lumina dextra* and Luc. 5.280 *oculos morti clausuram quaerere dextram*. Quite different is *lumina premere* in the sense of 'to close one's eyes' as in 758 below and 2.227 (earlier in Luc. 8.615).

335–340

> talibus Alcimede maeret, sed fortior Aeson
> attollens dictis animos: 'o si mihi sanguis
> quantus erat cum signiferum cratera minantem
> non leviore Pholum manus haec compescuit auro,
> primus in aeratis posuissem puppibus arma
> concussoque ratem gauderem tollere remo.

talibus … maeret: for *maerere* meaning 'to give expression to one's grief' ('lamentari, planctu maerorem manifestare') TLL (8.39.69) quotes only two other instances: Mela 2.20 (with an ablative denoting the utterances (*vocibus*) as here) and Apul. *Met.* 3.26 (without such an ablative: *sic illa maerebat*). The transitive use ('cum maerore proferre, exclamare', TLL ib. 40.64ff.) is also rare: Ov. *Met.* 1.664 (Sil. 17.268), *Arg.* 4.136 (where see Korn, referring to Prop. 2.31.14). The causal ablative with the same verb (as in 6.626 *frater adhuc Amyci maeret nece*) is of course a different thing altogether.

fortior Aeson: Aeson (who does not speak in AR's farewell scene, but is lamenting in 263f.) is thus explicitly characterized as possessing more courage than his wife, in keeping with traditional views about '*virtus*'. His words will confirm this attitude.

attollens … animos: in itself this expression can mean 'to pluck up (one's own) spirits', as probably in V. *A.* 12.4 (Turnus) *attollitque animos* and certainly in Liv. 22.26.3 *ad consulatus spem cum attolleret animos*. Here, however, particularly because of *dictis* the sense must be 'to seek to raise the spirit (of Jason and other people present)', after the despondent words of Alcimede. For this use cf. V. *A.* 9.127 *ultro animos tollit dictis* and Sil. 1.105 *attollitque animos hortando*.

The speech of Aeson shows more structure than Alcimede's words. We can discern the following elements:

a) 336b–338: 'would that I still had the strength of my youth!' This is a Homeric motive: *Il.* 4.318ff., 7.132ff., 11.670ff., taken over by Virgil in Euander's farewell speech (*A.* 8.560ff.);
b) 339–340: 'then I would have been the first to take part in the expedition';

c) 341–344a: 'but as it is, I have full confidence in the men who are sailing';
d) 344b–347: 'I pray that on your glorious return you will have surpassed my own achievements'.

o si mihi: from V. *A.* 8.560 *o mihi … si.* The clause is formally a conditional, but in fact expresses a wish (K/S 1.184). Therefore a full stop (or an exclamation mark) after *auro*, as in Courtney, is preferable to a comma (Ehlers and Liberman), which turns the pathos (*o*) into a calmly reasoned statement.

In V. *A.* 5.397ff. and 11.173f. the same thought is expressed in 'real' conditionals. VF has the combination again in 8.10 (and without *o* in 7.198). Aeson here echoes the false words of Pelias in 51f. (where see note on the ellipse of the subjunctive).

sanguis: Strand (16f.) gives several parallels to show that the amount of blood (*quantus* 337!) is considered the measure of one's strength and vitality.

signiferum cratera: for *signa* denoting embossed figures on cups see note on 262, but there seem to be no other instances of the adjective *signifer* as a synonym of *caelatus*. Luc. 3.558 (cited in OLD 1 together with this passage) is not quite the same: *in signifera … puppe*; see Hunink.

cratera minantem: on the strength of V. *G.* 2.457 *et magno Hylaeum Lapithis cratere minantem* (and *Pholumque* ib. 456), also referring to the battle with the Centaurs, the Aldine edition first printed *signifero cratere minantem*, which held the field for some centuries (earlier editions also had the ablative, but *Nisantem* instead of *minantem*). The resemblance is striking indeed, but the mss. rather point to an accusative (*signiferam crateram sin autem*), and *minari* takes this case when denoting a weapon in V. *A.* 10.196 *saxumque undis immane minatur*, and in *Arg.* 3.552f. (*tela*) and 4.289 (*dextram*). So from Thilo on *signiferum cratera* has been the accepted reading, and we had best leave it at that (though not without some traces of doubt). For a *crater* used as a projectile (or striking weapon) see 142; the same scene is referred to in Stat. *Theb.* 2.563f. *qualis in adversos Lapithas erexit inanem / magnanimus cratera Pholus.*

non leviore … auro: 'with a cup of gold equally heavy' (sc. as the makeshift cudgel used by his adversary). The use of the metal's name instead of the object fabricated from it again refers to the description of the same battle in 140ff.; see note on *auro* 148. In 144 Aeson is pictured as 'raging with the sword' (*ense furens*), but of course there is no reason why he should not avail himself of other weapons as well.

Pholum: the obvious correction (by Sabellicus) for *t(h)olum* (Lα). The name of this Centaur occurs in Virgil first in *G.* 2.456 (quoted above), then in *A.* 8.294; in Ovid in *Met.* 12.306 (where see Bömer for the question of identification), and in Stat. *Theb.* 2.564 (also quoted above). Juvenal (12.44f.) mentions him and a *crater*, not in connection with the famous battle, but as a renowned drinker (*cratera* ... / *dignum sitiente Pholo*).

manus haec: cf., again in the Euander scene, V. *A.* 8.567 *haec* ... *dextra* (and *hoc caput*, 203 above).

compescuit: in Ovid's version Pholus takes to flight (it is not recorded whether he escapes or not); in Virgil he is killed, by Bacchus in the *Georgics*, by Hercules in the *Aeneid*. Hence perhaps the hesitation from Maserius on ('non ... interfectum, sed compressum et cohibitum') till Langen ('interfecit?') to take *compescere* as 'to kill'. Versions may differ, but there is another reason for doubt: according to TLL (3.2064.12ff.), this sense of the verb is extremely unusual, only this passage being cited and two of much later date. On the other hand, a win on points sounds less heroic than the definitive elimination of the adversary, so maybe this is another of VF's linguistic novelties.

primus ... *posuissem*: in V. *A.* 8.568ff. Euander too, after a more than passing reference to his own former prowess, states what he would have done (or rather not have done) if his youthful strength could have been restored to him.

arma: his weapons, including the shield which will be visible for some time after the sailing (495f.). Note that *arma ponere* alone may mean 'to lay down one's arms' (OLD s.v. *arma* 5d).

in aeratis ... *puppibus*: the first instance of this adjective ('bronze-beaked') qualifying 'ships' seems to be in Naevius (*fr.* 36 Bährens, 64 Büchner, from Var. *L.* 7.23; text uncertain, but the noun is *ratis*). Caesar uses it of warships (*Civ.* 2.3.1), and Virgil has *classis aeratas* (*A.* 8.675), *aerata* ... *Tigri* (*A.* 10.166) and *aeratae* ... *prorae* (*A.* 10.223). Further, Horace with *navis* (*Carm.* 2.16.21), with *triremi* (*Carm.* 3.1.39). With *puppes* first in Ovid (*Met.* 8.103 *aeratas impelli remige puppes*; see Bömer's note). In Statius the adjective qualifies *prora* (*Theb.* 5.335) and in Silius *carinas* (11.586). In a Greek mythological context the word is of course used anachronistically. The plural *puppes* is poetic, as is *currus* in 68; cf. also 7.220 *Thessalicae* ... *carinae*.

concusso ... *remo*: the collocation is new (TLL 4.118.74) and probably modelled after *concutere arma* (TLL ib. 57).

gauderem: the verb is followed by an infinitive from Ter. *Ad.* 254 on; cf.

also V. *A.* 2.239 *funemque manu contingere gaudent.* The tense is appropriate after *posuissem* because rowing comes later than boarding ship.

ratem tollere: not the same as in V. *A.* 10.295 *tollite, ferte rates*, where the ships have to be set ashore. Lucan extended the use to rowing itself (3.526f. *Caesaris hinc puppes, hinc Graio remige classis / tollitur*).

341–349

sed patriae valuere preces auditaque magnis
vota deis: video nostro tot in aequore reges
teque ducem. tales, tales ego ducere suetus
atque sequi. nunc ille dies—det Iuppiter oro—,
ille super, quo te Scythici regisque marisque
victorem atque umeros ardentem vellere rapto
accipiam cedantque tuae mea facta iuventae'.
sic ait. ille suo conlapsam pectore matrem
sustinuit magnaque senem cervice recepit.

In pointed opposition to Alcimede's complaints about her vain prayers (323) Aeson now states that his own prayers, obviously for a strong participation in the expedition, have been heard, which leads him to high hopes for its outcome.

For *patriae … preces* cf. V. *A.* 8.574 *et patrias audite preces* and Sen. *Her.F.* 1272f. *sunt quidem patriae preces / satis efficaces.*

valuere preces: a quite common collocation (Cat. 116.6 *nec nostras hic valuisse preces*, V. *A.* 11.229, Liv. 4.44.5, Ov. *Met.* 13.89, *Pont.* 3.3.92, ib. 3.7.36). *vota* is the subject of the same verb in Ov. *Met.* 13.128 and *Am.* 1.4.67.

auditaque ⟨*sunt*⟩ … *vota*: in the sense of 'to answer a prayer' the verb is combined with *preces* from Cicero on (*Pis.* 43); cf. V. *A.* 4.612 *et nostras audite preces*. With *vota* it occurs in Hor. *Carm.* 4.13.1 *audivere, Lyce, di mea vota.*

magnis … deis: cf. *aliis … deis* 323. The 'dativus auctoris' with *audire*, though not in this specific sense, is also as old as Cicero (*Tusc.* 4.44 *cui non sunt auditae Demosthenis vigiliae?*); cf. K/S 1.324f.

video: this reading, first found in two 15th century mss., seems to be the only plausible or even possible correction of *ut de(que)* (Lα). Ehlers is not quite convinced ('*–ō -ō susp* …'), but what else?

nostro … in aequore: 'on the sea near our country' (OLD 7c).

tot … reges: see note on 203.

teque ducem: it is of course a matter of paternal pride for Aeson to see his son a leader of so many heroes of royal lineage.

tales, tales; this seems to be a case of what in Sz. (808ff.) is called 'emphatic gemination', determined by strong feelings. For *talis* in the sense of 'so excellent (as I see before me)' cf. V. *A.* 1.606 (10.597).

ducere suetus: for *suetus* with an infinitive see K/S 1.684. Virgilian instances are *A.* 3.451 and 5.402; cf. also *A.* 5.414 *his ego suetus* (in all cases the participle is the last word of the line).

atque sequi: Burman quotes some verbal parallels for the opposition *ducere—sequi*: Liv. 7.15.2, 23.45.10, Petr. 99.4, Plin. *Ep.* 8.14.5. Heinsius found an anticlimax in the sequence *ducere … sequi*, but in fact there is a climax: 'to lead them, aye, and to follow too (= even to follow, an honour in itself)'; K/S 2.16.3, Sz. 478b. For the thought cf. 5.489 *nec melior parere recuso* and Stat. *Theb.* 7.375 *reges quibus haud parere recusem / ductor* (where see Smolenaars' note).

nunc ille dies … quo: some kind of standard phrase; cf. Enn. *Ann.* 391 *nunc est ille dies quom …* and Pl. *Capt.* 518 *hic ille est dies cum …*.

det Iuppiter oro: the combination of *oro* with a subjunctive occurs in the *Aeneid*: 6.76 *ipsa canas oro* and 11.442 (at the end of the line, as here) *et vocet oro*. There is an echo in *Arg.* 6.733f. *dent tamen, oro, / unum illum mihi fata diem*.

super is used elliptically for *superest* (OLD *super*[2] 4): '(I have lived to see this day; now only that day) remains (to be wished for)'. Virgil used it that way in *A.* 8.251, and adjectivally in 3.489; other instances in the *Argonautica* are 2.596, 8.157 and 435.

Scythici regisque marisque: a hysteron proteron. For *Scythici … maris* see n. on 59 *Scythico … ponto*, and for *Scythici … regis* cf. 3.496 *reges Scythicos*.

victorem: in Hor. *Carm.* 3.24.40f. *horrida callidi / vincunt aequora navitae* the context is less flattering.

umeros … rapto: 'your shoulders aglow with the radiant Fleece you have captured'. The verb *ardere*, both in inflected forms and in the participle, denotes 'to gleam, to be brightly coloured' from Virgil on: six times, of which three with an ablative, as here (*G.* 4.91 *maculis auro squalentibus ardens*, ib. 99 *ardentes auro* and *A.* 4.262 *Tyrioque ardebat murice laena*). The second of these instances contains an accusative 'of respect' as well (*lita corpora*), comparable to *umeros* here. Cf. 6.150 *Phrixei velleris ardor*. The verb denotes the glow of metal again in 488 below, 5.139 (where see Wijsman's note) and 230, and of clothing in 3.340 and 6.526.

accipiam; 'to receive, welcome' (OLD 13). Cf. V. *A.* 6.692f. *quas ego te terras et quanta per aequora vectum / accipio!*.

cedant … iuventae: a compendious comparison, not unusual with this verb (OLD 9c) for 'mea facta cedant tuis iuvenis'. The meaning is of

course 'to be surpassed by'. With *gloria* as the subject the verb is thus used in Stat. *Silv.* 2.2.61 and 4.4.103, and Sil. 15.275.

tuae … iuventae stands implicitly for 'you in your youth'. Whereas OLD recognizes a 'quasi-concrete force implying a person, etc., in old age' in *senectus*, there is only a passing reference to '(meton.)' on *iuventa* (with regard to Sil. 2.275 and Tac. *Ann.* 13.2), and nothing of the kind on *iuventas / iuventus*. For the three nouns denoting 'youth' cf. note on 101, p. 76.

For *sic ait* see note on 194.

suo … pectore probably belongs to *conlapsam* in a local sense rather than to *sustinuit*; cf. Stat. *Ach.* 1.195 *saxo collabitur* and Dilke's note. *conlapsam*: Alcimede collapses (and in fact faints) like Euander after his farewell speech in V. *A.* 8.584 *famuli conlapsum in tecta ferebant.* There is also a verbal echo from V. *A.* 4.391f. *suscipiunt* (!) *famulae conlapsaque membra / marmoreo referunt thalamo.* Similar elements are present in 2.425 (the Argonauts taking leave of the Lemnian women) *sic ait* (!) *Haemonii labens in colla mariti*, after Hypsipyle's farewell words. Cf. also 2.253 *excipit artus* (see Poortvliet).

sustinuit: Jason supports his fainting mother (OLD 3).

magnaque … cervice: Jason's tall stature is not usually stressed (as is Hercules'), but here it accentuates his youthful strength compared to Aeson's old age. Cf. V. *A.* 2.721 *latos umeros* (of Aeneas carrying his father). In 658 *magnis … ulnis* shows the divine Nereus at work.

cervice recepit: the verb is used regularly with an ablative in the sense of 'to admit someone (to a place)': K/S 1.353 h. There seem to be no parallels for this ablative to denote a part of the body; cf. *excipit* in 2.253 (cited above). Of course Jason does not take his father upon his neck, as Aeneas carried Anchises; he 'embraces' him (Barich 45), and so there is a parallel with 259 *caraque diu cervice pependit.*

This scene of filial piety, completely absent from AR (Fränkel 62f.), finely ends in silence: there is neither need nor opportunity for Jason to respond with more than gestures. The next scene shows a marked increase in the speed of the story.

PART C

OUTWARD BOUND

350–699

After the emotional farewell scenes in Thessaly, the attention now shifts to the ship, her crew and the voyage.

In the first part (1:350–497) of this major division, three lines describe the boarding, after which follows the catalogue of the heroes. The departure proper (and the arrival of young Acastus) occupy the last 14 lines of this subdivision.

The second part (2:498–573) contains a discussion between the gods, which is closed by Jupiter announcing his decisions about the near and more distant future.

Finally, in 574–699 (= 3) the traditional storm at sea is the subject of the narration.

PART C,1

DEPARTURE AND CATALOGUE

350–497

The new paragraph starts with a marked increase of speed. While the farewell scenes took 35 lines, the sailors board ship in three. Then, however, the story itself is immediately suspended by the long catalogue. At the end the actual sailing is briefly told (including the last gaze of the people staying behind).

350–352

> et iam finis erat. Zephyrumque ratemque morantes
> solverat amplexus tristi tuba tertia signo.
> dant remo sua quisque viri, dant nomina transtris.

et iam finis erat: in V. *A.* 1.223 these words mark the end of the Trojans' meal after their (partial) rescue from the storm; the transition to the scene between Jupiter and Venus follows immediately (Eigler 21). Here the attention remains focused on the Argonauts; after Jason's sorrowful farewell (the other men, not being Thessalians, will have taken leave of their families long before) they hurry aboard and prepare for the sailing.

et iam: of the 26 instances in the *Argonautica* of this collocation, seven times the words begin a line, twice (738 and 767 below) a new sentence, and only once more (7.539) both line and sentence, as here. Virgil has twelve instances of *et iam* beginning a line, Lucan four, Silius eight.

morantes … amplexus: although non-animate subjects are not uncommon with *morari* 'to delay, keep waiting', they hardly ever denote a human action, as here (TLL 8.1499.49ff.). As for the objects, *ratemque* seems normal: the ship must wait (cf. Hor. *Epod.* 9.21f. *tu moraris aureos / currus*) till the sailors are ready. *Zephyrumque*, however, is strange: the winds do not have to wait and are not held back by the tarrying humans. The combination of nouns makes it probable that we have here a hendiadys coupled with brachylogy: 'delaying (the departure, with the help of the winds, of) the ship'. On the other hand there is a

verbal echo of V. *G.* 4.138 *Zephyrosque morantes*, where the verb is used intransitively.

solverat amplexus: Courtney could have mentioned (as Ehlers and Liberman do) that *amplexus* is the reading of one ms. only (M), the others having *amplexu*. This could be just possible: though it would be difficult to find parallels for *solvere (aliquem) amplexu*, Ovid has (*Her.* 13.12) *solvor ab amplexu*, whereas for *amplexus* (*-um*) *solvere* TLL (1.1998.40) quotes only our passage. (Even *amplexum iungere* is rare: Stat. *Theb.* 12.385f.) On the other hand, *amplexus rumpere* in 5.32 is also an isolated instance (Wijsman), and an ablative close to *tristi … signo* would be slightly awkward, so probably we had better stick to the now traditional reading. Cf. also *dissipat amplexus* (also at the departure of a ship!) in Stat. *Silv.* 3.2.57. The noun itself had been used in 238, 316 and 333.

tristi … signo: for the triple signal for departure Langen aptly compares Fron. *Str.* 4.1.33 *cum ter dato profectionis signo classem solvisset.*

tuba of course often stands for the signal given with the trumpet and therefore could well be the grammatical subject of *solverat*: 'the signal put an end to their embraces'. Here, however, *tristi … signo* is explicitly added, so that this seems to be a case of double enallage for *tuba tristis tertio signo* 'the saddening trumpet with its third signal' (or alternatively *tertium signum tristi tuba datum*). For the *tuba* itself, said to procure the effect of the signal, cf. Luc. 2.690 *neu tuba praemonitos perducat ad aequora nautas* and Sen. *Ag.* 428 *et clara lentum remigem monuit tuba* (both cases concerning a ship's departure). Note the strong alliteration of *t*, rivalling Ennius' *taratantara.*

dant … transtris: Courtney hesitates between taking either *dant* as *inscribunt* or *nomina* as *sese*. The second of these alternatives is rather unlikely: *nomina* may of course denote 'persons of renown', but hardly in a clause with *sua quisque viri* 'each man his own …'. As for the first possibility, it does not seem necessary to suppose actual writing or carving; the men 'give each their own name to their oar and (their place on) the thwarts' perhaps just by saying 'this will be my seat'; the result is *sua transtra* (461). If there is a connection with the military phrase *nomina dare* 'to have oneself enrolled', it is rather slight. For *sua quisque* see K/S 1.645, for *quisque* modifying a plural ib. 22ff. Whereas in AR the men have their places assigned by lot (1.358, 395), VF does not provide information about the process by which the men arrive at 'their' place. For the resulting order see below on the catalogue.

353–483 (The catalogue; place, structure, contents.)

After AR's example a catalogue of participating heroes imposed itself. But whereas the Greek poet presented his enumeration immediately after the prooemium and the briefly-told assignment (20–233), VF waits with his list until just before the departure. This change is an improvement. In the first place, a roll of names, causing the narration to come to a standstill, in general follows more naturally when some part of the story has been told. Moreover, in this particular case the enumeration of the Argonauts is more aptly placed immediately before the sailing, after the preparations have been completed and the men have taken their respective positions aboard (Adamietz (1976:20) and n. 48; Shelton 23f.). One could also add that the 131 lines serve to bridge the first part of the voyage, which is uneventful until the storm breaks loose in 574ff. This, however, is also achieved by the dialogue between Jupiter and Sol (498–573).

As for the structure, there seems to be no geographical order intended, in contradistinction to the list in AR (see Mooney on 1.22–228 and authors mentioned there). Langen refers to Burman's preface and to publications by Stender (1874) and Jessen (1889), which I have not been able to trace. The disregard VF demonstrates for a geographical distribution is illustrated by the fact that the Calydonian brothers Tydeus and Meleager are mentioned separately (387, resp. 435), as are the Pylians Nestor and Periclymenus (380 and 388), whereas Idas and Lynceus (461ff.) came from neighbouring Arene; Peleus (403ff.) and the sons of Hermes (436ff.) were all from Phthiotis, and so on.

Another difference between the catalogues consists in VF's allocation of the rowers to the left and right sides of the ship, the files being headed by Telamon and Hercules respectively (353f.); AR has nothing of the kind. This distribution in its turn has caused difficulties, because in the traditional view Asterion (355) is first in the Telamonian row, which however counts only 19 names, whereas the right-hand file, supposedly beginning in 387 (*Herculeo … ab ordine*), would consist of 23 rowers. Since this is clearly impossible, Kennerknecht in 1888 proposed a transposition of lines 403–410 to a place immediately after 382. Langen took over this proposal, but saw that now the words *quin etiam* could not be kept; since these words mean 'nay, also …', they must denote a continuation and conclusion of the (first part of the) list, not a change to the opposite row. Langen therefore gratuitously wrote *quis contra* (probably a misprint for *quos contra*) instead. Kramer in his 1913 edition effec-

tively refuted the whole idea and pointed out that the first line of rowers is the Herculean one, and that the opposite row begins in 391 (see *Mnem.* 1988:355 f.). This was silently approved by Courtney, who in his edition kept the traditional order, but Kennerknecht's transposition was revived by Ehlers, Liberman, Spaltenstein and Dräger, who however all kept *quin etiam* in 387 (for a more detailed discussion see the note on that line). In any case there remains a problem concerning lines 402 and 410 ff.; this will be discussed below.

A third point of difference between AR and VF lies in the fact that the Roman poet mentions separately at the end of his list (462–482) a group of seven heroes who are exempt from rowing because of their specific skills: the keen-sighted Lynceus; the sons of Boreas (Zetes and Calais), who can fly (4.501 ff.) and take care of the sails; Orpheus, whose music will stimulate and 'teach' (*docet* 472) the rowers; Iphiclus II, whose task it is to inspire the rest of the crew; the ship's carpenter Argus; and Tiphys the helmsman.

With regard to the contents of the catalogue the difference between the Homeric and Virgilian lists and the enumeration of the Argonauts, both in AR and in VF, must be noted. Whereas Homer in the second book of the *Iliad* presents two catalogues of contingents (see Kirk I 168 ff.), and Virgil in b.7 and 10 lists leaders and nations, the expedition of the Argo is carried out by individual heroes. Later VF also has catalogues of leaders, in b.5 of the Colchian forces and in b.6 of the Scythians.

In the number of participants VF varies from his predecessor, who counts 54 names in his catalogue, whereas the Roman poet only has 49, with Jason included in neither case (see for this and following paragraphs *Ratis*[1] 225–237). Hylas, acting as squire for Hercules, is not counted as a full crew member and is consequently not mentioned in VF's catalogue, whereas Acastus will join the Argonauts only afterwards (484–497). In the Roman version we have therefore a grand total of 52 people aboard, of whom 49 figure in the catalogue. VF has omitted nine names which AR had, six of whom were mentioned only in the catalogue (Coronus 57, Eurydamas 67, Areius 118, Asterius 176, Laocoon 191 and Palaemonius 202). The three others are Clytius (86; mentioned again in 1.1044, 2.117 and 1043), Augeas (172; again in 3.197, 363, 440) and a second Iphitus, son of Eurytus (86 and 2.115); his namesake, son of Naubolus, occurs both in AR (1.207) and in VF (1.362 f.). Because Acastus and Hylas figure in AR's 54 (not in VF's 49), there remain 43 names after subtraction of the nine mentioned

above. The number of 49 in VF's catalogue is reached by the addition of six names which do not occur in the Greek list. These include minor figures such as Deucalion and Clymenus, both mentioned only in the catalogue (366 and 369 respectively) and Iphis, whose name recurs in 7.423. The other three, however, are such famous heroes as Nestor (380), Tydeus (387) and Philoctetes (391). Their introduction establishes a strong link with the Trojan war and the *Iliad*, made explicit in the cases of Nestor and Philoctetes.

There are also differences in the treatment of the individual heroes. In the first place, AR's catalogue is more extensive: 54 names in 211 lines amount to 3.9 lines per person, the corresponding number in VF being 2.7 (49 names in 130 lines). There is a marked tendency in the Roman epic to increase the amount of information concerning the individual heroes in the course of the enumeration. Whereas the first 60 lines contain 29 names (2.07 lines for each), in the remaining 71 lines only 20 names appear (3.55). Divided into smaller units, we see 19 names in the first 30 lines (1.58), 10 in the next 30 (3.0), then 9 in the following 31 (3.44), and 11 in the last 40 (3.63). The longest items are those of Erginus (5.5), Castor and Pollux (13), Admetus (6), Canthus (7) and Lynceus (6). AR in his turn contributes 12 lines to Orpheus, 8 to the relatively unimportant Coronus (absent in the Valerian version, as noted above), 9 to Canthus, 11 to Herakles, 12 to the half-brothers Meleager and Laocoon, and 13 to the twin pair of Zetes and Calais. The shortest items in AR's poem consist of 2 lines each (Admetus, Menoetius, Mopsus and Eurydamas), but VF presses two names into two lines (Talaus and Leodocus, 358f.) or less (Clymenus and Iphiclus, 369f.). To Tydeus no more than one line is allotted (387).

It follows that the amount of information provided by AR surpasses that in the Latin catalogue. But, and this is the second difference, the nature of this information is not the same either. In practically every instance the Greek poet gives the name of the hero's father and/or mother and other family relations; exceptions are Admetus, Oileus, Herakles and perhaps Mopsus (depending on the meaning of Τιταρή-σιος). VF, on the other hand, more often than not omits the name of the parents etc. Moreover, AR as a rule mentions the birthplace of the heroes, this again being the exception in VF. Additional information in the Latin poem is about specific qualities, activities and functions: boxing (in the cases of Periclymenus and Pollux), prophecy (Mopsus), bee-keeping (Butes), seamanship (Erginus), marksmanship (Aethalides), sword-fighting (Eurytus) and diplomacy (Echion), apart from the seven

listed specially at the end of the catalogue. Clothing is mentioned in the cases of Mopsus and Castor/Pollux; other aspects of appearance concern hair-length (Eurytion, Phlias), size (Meleager) and weapons (the spear of Peleus, the decorated shields of Phalerus, Eribotes and Canthus/Abas). No less than seven times, future events are referred to, whether within the scope of the work (Idmon, Canthus, Iphis) or connected with the Trojan war and its aftermath (Nauplius, (the son of) Oileus, Nestor, Philoctetes). In some cases VF gives no particulars at all, merely stating the fact that so-and-so took part in the expedition (the actual rowing): Clymenus and Iphiclus, Amphidamas and Tydeus. All in all we can say that VF's catalogue is much more varied than its predecessor.

353–355a

> hinc laevum Telamon pelagus tenet, altior inde
> occupat Alcides aliud mare, cetera pubes
> dividitur.

In the following discussion of the catalogue the individual Argonauts will be designated (1), (2) and so on by their sequence in the enumeration.

(1) The first hero mentioned is Telamon, who leads the left line of rowers. In the catalogue nothing more is said of him, but the fact itself is significant enough: he is a worthy partner as well as a good friend of Hercules, who is the first in the right-hand row. This friendship is illustrated at the end of the third book, when Hercules and Hylas have not come back from their inland expedition. It is Telamon who vehemently protests against the decision of the majority to proceed with the voyage without Hercules (3.637–645). Meleager attacks this view in a lengthy speech (ib. 649–689) and is again supported by most of the Argonauts. A second intervention by Telamon, who even considers the possibity of leaving the expedition and going in search of Hercules (ib. 692–714), proves equally fruitless, and in the end the Argo sails on, to the grief of the men, but especially Telamon (722). In other respects too the role of Telamon in VF's epic is somewhat more important than in the work of AR (see *Ratis*[1] 232ff.): he accompanies his friend Hercules in his fight with the sea-monster (2.451–549) and is mentioned as a valiant warrior both in the battle against the people of Cyzicus (3.198) and in the war between the Colchians and the Scythians, when he protects the body of the fallen Canthus from being taken by the

enemy (6.345–364). He is also selected as an outstanding participant by Jason in the speech with which he persuades Acastus to join the expedition (1.166). Statius too singles him out together with Peleus and Hercules as the most redoubtable opponents (*Theb.* 5.379).

(2) The importance of Hercules on the other hand is from his first appearance (1.107ff.) on so clearly marked that there is no need of further details in the catalogue. It is only natural that he should lead one of the two files of rowers.

hinc … *inde*: this specific combination (TLL 6.3.2804.75ff.) occurs first in Silver Latin from Lucan on (Ov. *Her.* 6.111 is different). VF has it again in 5.188f. (where see Wijsman) and 7.398f.

laevum … *pelagus*: the adjective already denotes 'lying on the left-hand side (of the ship)' in V. *A.* 3.562 *laevas* … *ad undas*. Also *tenet* ('occupies a position on', OLD 7b) has a Virgilian ring: *A.* 5.825 *laeva tenent Thetis* … etc.

altior: of course Hercules is 'taller still' than Telamon; cf. V. *A.* 8.162 *cunctis altior ibat* (Anchises).

occupat: this passage is cited in TLL (9.2.383.80) as 'per synecdochen de sede in nave' (cf. OLD 6 'to take up a position at or on'). It is indeed unusual compared with *e.g.* 461 below *occupat* … *sua transtra* … *Idas* and similar instances. Probably the preceding *tenet*, for which a Virgilian model existed, invited the poet to this further step.

aliud mare: a clear example of *alius* being used in the sense of *alter*; see note on 140. Less usual is *mare* for *latus* (*mari appositum*). Note the echoes ***Te****lamon* … ***te****net* and ***al****tior* … ***Al****cides* ***al****iud*.

cetera pubes / dividitur: in view of the independence of the heroes we may assume that they choose their positions and were not ordered to them, so that the verb is used in the middle voice. As stated above, there is no indication in the text as it is transmitted as to which line of rowers is enumerated first. Neither is there an explicit statement later about the beginning of the second row. If we keep in mind that the numbers must be equal (21 on each side) and if we are not willing to sacrifice *quin etiam* in 387, the conclusion must be that after the mention of Hercules first the starboard side led by him is presented (schema ABba), ending with nr. 21 (Periclymenus) in 390. See further note on 387.

355b–357

celer Asterion, quem matre cadentem
Peresius gemino fovit pater amne Cometes,
segnior Apidani vires ubi sentit Enipeus.

(3) Asterion is the first to be mentioned after the leaders of the rows, as he is distinguished in AR by his place, namely second after Orpheus (1.35–39). The Greek poet mentions his father Cometes and his birthplace: the town of Peiresia(i) near Mt. Phylleion (RE XIX.1.102ff. and XX.1.1018 respectively), at the confluence of Apidanos and Enipeus (in central Thessaly). VF provides him with the special qualification *celer*, which epithet Statius was able to keep when he made Asterion a river (*Theb*. 4.121f.; cf. ib. 714).

matre cadentem: Barth's conjecture for *carentem* met with almost universal approval, only Morel (1938) trying to defend the mss.-reading. However, there are three convincing parallels with *cadentem* in Statius: *Theb*. 1.60f. *de matre cadentem / fovisti*, *Silv*. 1.2.109f. *tellure cadentem / excepi fovique sinu*, ib. 5.5.69f. *tellure cadentem / aspexi atque … fovi*.

Peresius: mss. *crestus*. After several attempts at emendation Parrhasius found *Piresius*, of course from AR (see above), still printed by Kramer (cf. also Πειρεσιήν in *Orph. Arg*. 164). Later the authority of Housman, who claimed (on Manil. 1.576) that Greek ει is often represented by Latin *e*, and that this applies here too, made Courtney, Ehlers, Liberman, Spaltenstein and Dräger change into *Peresius*. No other instances of this proper name, whether as an adjective or a noun, are attested in Latin (OLD does not mention it). Nor does the locality occur in Homer, though a town Ἀστέριον (*Il*. 2.735) was said by Stephanus to be identical with it. VF omits the name of the even more obscure Mt. Phylleion; he clearly found the idea of the river scene more appealing.

gemino fovit … amne: though *fovere* can be used to denote 'to bathe' even with cold water (OLD 3; Celsus 1.15.1 and 4.5), this use seems to be restricted to medical contexts. There is moreover no visible reason why Cometes should plunge his newborn son into the river(s). The verb therefore seems to mean simply 'to cherish, caress', in order to show the father's acceptance of the baby. This is in accordance with the Statius passages cited above, especially with *Silv*. 5.5.69f., where another father (albeit an adoptive one) is the subject. Consequently the ablative *gemino … amne* must be taken in a local sense: 'on (the bank of) the rivers'. For this extended use Hudson-Williams (1959) gives Propertian parallels: 1.3.6 *qualis in herboso concidit Apidano* (see Rothstein and Camps; it is hardly a coincidence that there too the Apidanos is mentioned) and 1.14.1 *tu licet abiectus Tiberina molliter unda*.

segnior Apidani vires … Enipeus: AR does not make this distinction, but Ovid has quite the opposite one: *Met*. 1.579f. *inrequietus Enipeus / Apidanusque senex*. Lucan (6.372f.) reverses the roles: *it gurgite rapto /*

Apidanus, numquamque celer, nisi mixtus, Enipeus, and VF took over the more powerful Apidanus vs. the sluggish Enipeus.

After the union of both rivers the resulting stream joins the Peneus. There was some discussion in antiquity about which of the two was the main stream and which the tributary (see Kl.P. s.v. Apidanos and RE V.2569f. versus ib. I.2802, DNP 1.845). It seems that for VF the Enipeus was the main stream.

vires: the noun is used in connection with rivers *e.g.* in Caes. *Gal.* 4.17.5 *contra vim atque impetum fluminis* and in the plural in Stat. *Theb.* 9.449f. *frater … Asopos … / conciliat vires.*

sentit: for the personifying use of this verb applied to (sea and) rivers cf. Hor. *Ep.* 1.1.84 *lacus et mare sentit amorem / festinantis eri*, Sen. *Dial.* 5 (= *De Ira* 3).21.1 (the river Gyndes) *cum sensit aestatem* (cf. the preceding *sensurae*), and especially Luc. 3.236 *Indus … mixtum non sentit Hydaspen.* VF's variation *vires … sentit* makes the image more vivid. Asterion is not mentioned again after the catalogue.

358–361

> nititur hinc Talaus fratrisque Leodocus urget
> remo terga sui, quos nobile contulit Argos.
> hinc quoque missus adest quamvis arcentibus Idmon
> alitibus; sed turpe viro timuisse futura.

There is a problem concerning the construction of the sentence. Punctuating after line 357 implies the absence of a predicate, which then has to be supplied from *dividitur.* This seems to be the opinion of Kramer, who puts a colon after this verb. Langen, who found this unacceptable and also missed an indication of the file of rowers to be enumerated first, assumed a lacuna after 357, and was followed in this by Mozley and Courtney. Ehlers, printing a comma after 357, thereby took *nititur* to be the predicate to the preceding lines. This is, however, impossible: Talaus and Leodocus are then both subjects of *urget*, and since they are brothers, they cannot both press the back of his brother with his oar. (A third brother, Areius, is mentioned in AR (1.118), but does not figure in VF). If *nititur* belongs to the preceding lines and is supposed to be the predicate of Talaus as well, but not of Leodocus, we would have to print another comma after *Talaus*, which would result in a very jarring construction. In itself, the enjambement of *nititur* presents no difficulties (cf. *purpura* 428). Yet there is also a problem in making *dividitur* from the preceding sentence the predicate belonging to *Asterion* as well, so

perhaps we do best to adopt Langen's proposal. Liberman reverts to Kramer's solution, accepting a 'rupture de construction'.

(4) Talaus and (5) Leodocus are also mentioned in AR (1.118ff.), together with a third brother Areius. The Greek poet mentioned their birthplace, their father Bias and their mother Pero, and the misery Melampus had to suffer to win her (either for himself or for his brother Bias: *Od.* 11.287–297, 15.225–240, Prop. 2.3.51–55). VF only gives the name of their native town, Argos. Whereas Leodocus is not mentioned afterwards, Talaus figures again in 3.471 and 478, 5.366 and 6.720, but not in connection with any major event.

nititur: the use of this verb to denote rowing is very unusual; there are no instances in Virgil, Ovid, Lucan or Seneca.

hinc: following on him, next in order (OLD 4).

urget /… terga: OLD s.v. *urgeo* 16 'to press as a result of crowding or of close proximity'. Leodocus obviously sits immediately behind his brother.

contulit: as Langen notes, this is probably a metaphor derived from *conferre* 'to contribute (in a financial sense)', OLD 9; cf. *dant* 444. There may also be a hint of *se conferre* 'to appply oneself (to a course of action, etc.)', OLD 4b.

nobile … Argos: the adjective denotes towns (Cic. *Ver.* 5.40 *nobilique municipio*) and places (V. *A.* 7.563f. *locus …/ nobilis)*; with proper names V. *A.* 8.341 *nobile Pallanteum*, Ov. *Met.* 6.416 *nobilis aere Corinthus*, Luc. 9.962f. *Graio nobile busto / Rhoetion.* When Lucan (6.355f.) refers to *nobile quondam /… Argos,* he means the 'Pelasgic' town of that name in Thessaly (*Il.* 2.681); VF transfers the epithet to the better-known locality.

Argos: for this sole occurrence in VF of the neuter singular form see note on 239.

(6) Idmon and his foreknowledge of his death had been mentioned in 228–239 (cf. AR 1.139ff.). Later he will take part in the battle with the people of Cyzicus (3.175) and assist his colleague Mopsus in the following *placatio* (3.440). In addition, his function as a seer is mentioned by Jason in his conversation with Phineus (4.546). His death, caused by illness, is narrated in 5.1–12 (27, 42); AR has him killed by a boar: 2.815–834.

hinc quoque: V. *A.* 10.204, also in a catalogue. Strictly speaking *quoque* does not belong to the adverb: Idmon did not come from Argos too, but Idmon too came from Argos; K/S 2.54, ANRW 2461, Fletcher LCM 1987.

missus: the verb is traditional in catalogues (V. *A*. 7.715, 727, 744, 762; Luc. 3.173; Sil. 3.258, 367; 8.359, 377) and similar contexts: V. *A*. 10.351, 12.516, Ov. *Met*. 8.308, Luc. 7.229f., Sil. 4.227. VF uses it again in 474 below.

quamvis: only in postclassical Latin construed with a participle (K/S 2.445).

arcentibus: clearly used in a conative sense, since Idmon went in spite of the warning omens. In the meaning 'to prevent or keep (from an action)', OLD 5, it is seldom used with a non-corporeal subject. TLL (2.446. 28) gives as the only other instance without an ablative Stat. *Silv*. 2.3.56 *aquarum spiritus arcet*, where however *spiritus* seems to combine two notions (see van Dam). With an ablative VF has it in 2.368 (*metus* being the subject there).

alitibus: since Idmon foresaw his destiny in the sacrificial flames (239), the noun must mean 'omen' in general (OLD 2). Cf. Hor. *Epod*. 10.1 *mala … alite*, ib. 16.23f. *secunda /… alite*, *Carm*. 3.3.61 *alite lugubri* and Stat. *Theb*. 3.64 *mala protinus ales* (with Snijder's note).

sed … futura: VF generalizes Idmon's more specific motivation in AR (1.141): 'that the people might not grudge him his good repute'.

turpe with an infinitive is of course classical, even with a dative: Cic. *Man*. 12 *sic vobis turpissimum sit id quod accepistis tueri et conservare non posse*. Cf. 7.387 *nec turpe viro servire precanti?*.

timuisse: for the 'aoristic' perfect infinitive not representing a past tense see K/S 1.134, Sz. 351f. (*timuisse* itself is so used in Tib. 1.2.28: *insidias non timuisse decet*).

futura: VF uses only two future participles substantively: this one (five times in all) and *moriturus* (twice; Romeo 285). Cf. 699 below *nec vana pavet trepidatque futuris*. Virgil has *futura* at the end of the line in *A*. 6.12 *aperitque futura*.

362–368

hic et Naubolides tortas consurgit in undas
Iphitus, hic patrium frangit Neptunius aequor
qui tenet undisonam Psamathen semperque patentem
Taenaron Euphemus, mollique a litore Pellae
Deucalion certus iaculis et comminus ense
nobilis Amphion, pariter quos edidit Hypso
nec potuit similes voluitve ediscere vultus.

The next group contains four names.

About (7) Iphitus, son of Naubolus, AR (1.207–210) adds the detail

that he came from Phocis and had received Jason in his house when he went to Delphi to consult the oracle; VF restricts himself to the mention of his father's name. Note that the Greek poet had another Iphitus, son of Eurytus (1.86ff.), who is absent from VF's catalogue. The son of Naubolus is mentioned again in 3.480 as one of the heroes who are tumbled down by the falling Hercules when his oar breaks. VF gives somewhat more information about (8) Euphemus: his father's name (Neptune himself) and details about his home on the southern coast of the Peloponnese. He is not mentioned again in the Latin epic. AR on the other hand provides (1.179–184) not only his birthplace and the names of both parents (the mother being Europe), but also the interesting particular that he was able (like Virgil's Camilla: *A.* 7.810f.) to run over the surface of the sea. Moreover, he has him take part in the action five times later in the work. It is clear that VF reduced his role considerably.

Things are different again in the case of the twins (9) Deucalion and (10) Amphion. First, AR had (1.176–178) Asterius (missing in VF) as the brother of Amphion instead of Deucalion, who in his turn is a new name in the Latin epic. Also, he had nothing to say about the respective special abilities accorded to them in VF: javelin-throwing (Deucalion) and sword-fighting (Amphion). In the third place, the Roman poet gives the name of their mother (Hypso), but not of their father (Hyperasios in AR), and makes them twins, hard to tell apart even for their mother. In this case therefore VF's presentation is fuller than that of his predecessor. Amphion (who in AR does not figure again after the catalogue) is, like Iphitus, knocked over by Hercules in the incident mentioned above (3.479). The name of the 'newcomer' Deucalion is absent in the rest of the work.

hic: again in 383 and 436 below.

Naubolides ... Iphitus: in the *Iliad* (2.517ff.) two sons of his are mentioned: Schedios and Epistrophos. He figures in yet another catalogue: Stat. *Theb.* 7.354f. *Iphitus ... genitor cui nuper ademptus / Naubolus Hippasides.*

tortas ... in undas: VF returns to Catullus' original expression (64.13) *tortaque remigio spumis incanuit unda*, which had been varied by Virgil (*torquent spumas*, *A.* 3.208 and 4.583) and Ovid (*torsit aquas*, *Fast.* 5.644). Later Silius wrote *torsere fretum* (14.360). In *Arg.* 2.28 *torquentemque anguibus undas* the meaning is somewhat different (see Poortvliet). VF also has the compound *intorquere* in the same sense 'to churn up': 3.476 *intortis ... undis*, 8.287 *intorquent ... undam.* The participle is of course used proleptically, the churning of the waters being the result of Iphitus' exertions.

consurgit in undas: this is a new collocation (TLL 4.620.63ff.). Two Virgilian phrases will have contributed to it: *consurgere in ensem* (*A.* 9.749 and 12.729; *consurgere in arma* (*A.* 10.90) is less graphic) and *consurgere tonsis* (*A.* 10.299, like *insurgere remis* ib. 3.207). Borrowing *in* with accusative from a different expression VF makes Iphitus 'rise against the waves' instead of the Virgilian 'rise on the oars'. *insurgit transtris* (1.450) is yet another variation: 'rises on the thwarts'. Cf. also *consurgit* (387).

patrium … aequor: 'the sea, his father's element'. Note the wide disjunction of *Neptunius … Euphemus*; the father is identified long before the son.

frangit … aequor: the sea can be 'broken' by storms (Hor. *Carm.* 2.14.14 *fractisque rauci fluctibus Hadriae*, Sil. 1.592f., 8.427f.), but here the waters are 'broken in, subdued', as in Luc. 1.371 (*haec manus*) *fregit … Rhenum*, 5.645f. *nescitque magister / quam frangat, cui cedat aquae* (see Barratt), 8.374 *nec franget nando violenti verticis amnem* and Sil. 8.553f. *undosum frangere nando /… vadum*, 11.490 *centeno fractus spumabat verbere pontus*. (Sen. *Oed.* 427f. and Luc. 5.439f. concern frozen rivers and are therefore different.)

tenet: 'inhabits' and 'rules', as in V. *A.* 1.139 *tenet ille* (= Aeolus) *immania saxa*.

undisonam Psamathen: the adjective is first attested in Propertius (3.21.18 *undisonos … deos*). VF has it again in 4.44 (*undisoni … saxi*; see Korn), and Statius twice (*Ach.* 1.198 *undisonis … in rupibus*, ib. 408 *undisonae … Maleae*). Cf. Poortvliet on 2.583.

Psamathe was properly the name of a spring in Laconia (Plin. *Nat.* 4.17; he mentions another one with the same name in Boeotia: 4.25). But Euphemus was not the ruler of a spring, which can moreover hardly be called 'full of the sound of waves'. Therefore the town of Psamathus (Plin. *Nat.* 4.16) must be meant here, which was situated on the coast (Paus. 3.25.4).

semperque patentem / Taenaron: a cave in the promontory of Taenarus was said to be an entrance to the underworld (V. *G.* 4.467; Eur. *Her.* 23f.), which of course is 'always open' (cf. V. *A.* 6.127 *noctes atque dies patet atri ianua Ditis* and Luc. 9.36 *apertam Taenaron umbris*). It is also mentioned in connection with Euphemus in Pindar (*P.* 4.44 and 174). Further references to it are in Horace (*Carm.* 1.34.10) and Seneca (*Tro.* 402, *Her.F.* 587 and 663). For the Greek accusative form, convenient if one wishes to avoid synaloepha, see K/H 467.

mollique a litore Pellae: the proper name cannot refer to the well-known capital of Macedonia and is usually taken as a collateral form of Pellene. This was the name of a town in Achaia (cf. Liv. 33.15.14), pre-

sented by AR (1.176ff.) as the home-town of Asterius and Amphion. However, it is situated on a mountain 10 miles from the sea (RE XIX 354ff. DNP 9.497), which is in accordance with AR's ἐπ' ὀφρύσιν Αἰγιαλοῖο, but certainly not with VF's description *molli ... a litore*. Therefore perhaps (see *Mnem.* 1988:359f.) the Roman poet had another locality in mind, viz. Πέλλανα, which Strabo (8.4.5; 8.7.5) registers as lying in Laconia (cf. also RE XIX 353). Its exact location is unknown, but according to Strabo it was identified with Enope, which is certainly situated on the coast (*Il.* 9.150, 153). Surely some parts of the Messenian coast fit VF's description much better than the inland town in Achaia. It looks as if the Roman poet, changing anyhow the name of the town, tacitly wanted to contest AR's statement about the home-town of the brothers. Liberman clings to the identification with the town in Achaia, assuming that VF misunderstood the text of AR; this does not seem a very convincing expedient. Dräger accepts the proposed identification. *molle litus* primarily seems to mean 'gently sloping' (OLD 6b), suggesting 'sandy' (as opposed to 'rocky'); cf. Ov. *Pont.* 1.2.60 *mollia naufragiis litora posse dari* and Mela 1.102 *non molli neque harenoso circumdatus litore*. Since there is no new predicate (*venit* or the like) after *frangit*, the words *molli ... Pellae* must be taken as an attribute going with *Deucalion* (K/S 1.214 c). This Deucalion of course has nothing to do, apart from his name, with either the son of Minos and Pasiphae, or the husband of Pyrrha, who was a son of Prometheus.

certus iaculis: for *certus* with an ablative see TLL 3.924.49–56. The adjective here denotes a 'sure, unerring' (OLD 13b) marksman, but the accompanying ablative is unusual in this sense. In Prop. 2.34.60 *quem tetigit iactu certus ad ossa deus* it is not clear whether *iactu* goes with *certus* or rather with *tetigit*. Statius (*Theb.* 9.289f.) has *gressuque manuque / certior*, but the nearest parallel is in Martial: *et certos iaculo levi Silaos* (4.55.20).

comminus ense / nobilis: while the combination of *nobilis* with an ablative 'expr. cause of fame' (OLD 2c) is quite normal, the addition of *comminus* is not, and constitutes a case of brachylogy: Amphion is *nobilis ense quo comminus pugnetur*. The idea is Virgil's: *A.* 7.732 *falcati comminus enses* (Fordyce: 'an elliptical phrase; the sense seems to be "falcati sunt enses comminus pugnantibus"'). TLL (3.1894.57ff., 62ff.) cites other instances of unusual combinations in which *comminus* figures, but they are not nearly as remarkable. In most of them the adverb simply means 'in cases of hand-to-hand fighting'; only in Tac. *Ann.* 2.20 is the use attributive (*sensit dux imparem comminus pugnam*), but with *pugna* this sounds much more 'normal' than with *ensis*. Note the reversed order *Deucalion certus*

iaculis ↔ *ense nobilis Amphion*. This Amphion again is to be distinguished from his namesake the brother of Zethos; they were sons of Jupiter and Antiope, whereas the twins here had Hyperasius (AR 1.176) and the otherwise unknown Hypso (who was probably invented by VF) for parents.

pariter quos edidit: although *pariter* often enough means 'at the same time, simultaneously', and references to twins are not lacking in Latin literature, there seem to be no other instances where the adverb is used in this connection.

nec … vultus: the topos that even a mother could not distinguish her twin sons is first expressed in Pl. *Men.* 19–21. Virgil's in itself charming description (*A.* 10.391f.) *simillima proles / indiscreta suis gratusque parentibus error* is immediately followed by the gruesome addition that their mortal but different wounds distinguished them at last in a horrible way. This idea was eagerly varied by Lucan: *discrevit mors saeva viros, unumque relictum / agnorunt miseri sublato errore parentes* (3.605f., where see Hunink). Statius in his turn has the killer of one of a pair of twins say to the surviving brother: *'vive superstes' ait 'diraeque ad moenia Thebes / solus abi, miseros non decepture parentes'* (*Theb.* 9.294f.; see Dewar). Finally, in Silius, a mother even addresses her dying twins with their wrong names (2.636–649). VF, not describing a battle, presents no such unpleasant aspects of similarity.

On the other hand, his variation that Hypso 'neither could nor wished to' tell them apart looks like a not very felicitous rhetorical conceit: a mother may have difficulty in distinguishing her sons' faces, and may make occasional mistakes, but surely wants to recognize her children's identities and personalities.

ediscere: 'to get to know (a subject) thoroughly' (OLD 1); once in Virgil: *Ecl.* 6.83, but cf. *A.* 6.755 *venientum discere vultus*.

369–373

> tum valida Clymenus percusso pectore tonsa
> frater et Iphiclus puppem trahit et face saeva
> in tua mox Danaos acturus saxa, Caphereu,
> Nauplius et tortum non a Iove fulmen Oileus
> qui gemet Euboicas nato stridente per undas

Although strictly speaking the rowers as presented by VF do not form groups, for practical reasons they will be discussed here in units of three and four, in this case (11) Clymenus, (12) Iphiclus I, (13) Nauplius and (14) Oileus. The first of these is one of the 'new' names in VF's

catalogue as compared with that of AR; the name as such appears in Greek authors cited by Langen (cf. Roscher II.1.1230). He is neither mentioned again nor characterized by any specific detail or ability. His father's name and that of his native town are equally absent, but he is introduced as a brother of Iphiclus. Iphiclus again must be the son of Thestius and uncle of Meleager (AR 1.199–201), to be distinguished from his namesake, Jason's uncle (AR 1.45–46, in VF 1.473–476). Both brothers therefore would have been Aetolians too. Whereas AR only stresses Iphiclus' skills in battle and never mentions him again, VF tells us nothing at all about him, either in this very short reference or later in his epic. Nauplius on the other hand is characterized by an event later in his life (see below). AR furnished him with a full genealogy (1.133–138); later (2.896) he is an unsuccessful candidate for the succession of Tiphys, also in VF (5.64f.).

Finally, the case of Oileus is different again. AR (1.71–76) couples him with Eurytion and Erybotes, whose respective fathers are mentioned, though Oileus' is not. He refers to his valour in war, and later (2.1030ff.) tells how he was wounded by one of the Stymphalian birds near the island of Aretias (VF did not take over this part of the story). The Roman poet, mentioning Oileus only here, does not combine his name with Erybotes (Eribotes in the Latin form: 1.402), nor directly with Eurytion, who nevertheless appears shortly after him (378), separated by the names of Cepheus, Amphidamas and Ancaeus. As in the case of Nauplius, the only detail about him that VF gives concerns his future: his reaction to the fate of his son Ajax.

valida … tonsa: a variation on *validis … remis* (V. *A.* 5.15, 10.294, *Arg.* 2.311, 4.689). The use of the adjective ('wielded with force or vigour', OLD 1b) is another instance of a quality of a human being transferred to the instrument he employs (see note on *docta … bipenni* 122). The noun is traditional in poetry for 'oar' from Ennius (see below); cf. Fordyce on V. *A.* 7.28 and Harrison on ib. 10.299.

percusso pectore: the idea that the rower's effort makes him strike his breast with the oar is first attested in Ennius (*Ann.* 230) *vestraque pectora pellite tonsis*. Virgil used the expression *pectus percutere* in a different way, viz. to denote a sign of sorrow (*A.* 4.589, 11.877, 12.155), and Lucan (3.543) intensified the expression of Ennius, writing (*remis*) *pectora pulsant*. This line-ending in its turn had occurred previously in different circumstances: Ov. *Met.* 12.234; cf. Luc. 4.182, 7.128, 608 and see Hunink on 3.543, quoted above. VF's turn of phrase seems to have been the direct example (Häussler 1978 II:157 calls it the 'Hyparchetypus') for

Silius (11.489: *et simul adductis percussa ad pectora tonsis*). The same idea is expressed less forcefully by *remos* (*tonsas*) *ad pectus* (*-ora*) *referre* (Enn. *Ann.* 231),—*reducere* (Ov. *Met.* 11.461f.),—*revocare* (Sil. 13.241).

frater et: another inversion of the conjunction, as in 95, 119 and 320.

trahit: the singular after two subjects, though less common than the plural, is not unusual (K/S 1.44f.), but (*puppem*) *trahere* denoting the act of rowing certainly is. Courtney's reference to 2.295 is not much of a help, because a chariot is more naturally 'drawn' than a ship. The only parallel, noted as such in OLD, seems to be Plin. *Nat.* 12.87 *ratibus quas neque gubernacula regant neque remi trahant vel impellant* (Fletcher LCM 1987). The myth of Nauplius, who lit false beacons on the Euboean coast and thus caused the shipwreck of Greeks returning from Troy, as an act of revenge for their killing his son Palamedes, is already told or hinted at in Greek literature (Eur. *Hel.* 767; cf. also ib. 1126ff., Strabo 8.6.2, Apollod. *epit.* 6.7ff.). In Latin authors it is mostly referred to without Nauplius' name (Pacuv. *trag.* 136; Prop. 3.7.39; Ov. *Met.* 14.472 (481), *Tr.* 1.1.83 and 5.7.35f., *Rem.* 735; *Culex* 354). His role is mentioned in Prop. 4.1.115 *Nauplius ultores sub noctem porrigit ignes* and Sen. *Med.* 658f. *igne fallaci nociturus Argis / Nauplius praeceps cadit (cadet) in profundum*, but the only full narrative extant in ancient literature is in Sen. *Ag.* 557–578 (see Tarrant for further references). Virgil alludes to the story in *A.* 11.260 *ultorque Caphereus*.

face saeva: the collocation is first attested in V. *A.* 4.566f. *saevasque videbis / conlucere faces*, later in Ov. *Met.* 10.350 *facibus saevis* and [Sen.] *Oct.* 559 *saeva face*. Here again the *saevitia* is properly that of Nauplius himself. The epithet in itself could also be used to qualify *saxa* (V. *A.* 5.270 *saevo e scopulo*).

in tua … saxa: an apostrophe to one of the Argonauts is quite frequent in the catalogue (*Nestor* 380, *Poeantie* (= Philoctetes) 391, *Phalere* 398, *Aeacide* (= Peleus) 405, *Meleagre* 435, *Euryte* 439, *Iphi* 441, *Admete* 445, *Polypheme* 457, *Arge* 477). It is, however, very unusual to address not the hero himself but a locality that is connected with him. Maybe VF wished thus to combine the names of Nauplius and Oileus, both involved in the Greek disasters after the Trojan war, at the beginning and the end of one line (372). This wish might also have caused the strained word order of that line (the relative pronoun far postponed).

Danaos: VF uses this accepted poetical equivalent for 'the Greeks' very sparingly: only here, in 1.555 and 6.173. On the other hand, forms of *Grai* used as a noun are found 17 times.

acturus: OLD 16 'to cause, induce or compel to go'; cf. Ov. *Met.* 13.933f. (*pisces*) *quos aut in retia casus / aut sua credulitas in aduncos egerat hamos*.

The name of the promontory, situated on the south-east coast of Euboea, is spelled either *Caphareus* or *Caphereus*. The most recent editors all print *Caphereu*, the reading of V, other mss. (MP according to Thilo; LX: Ehlers) having the form with *-a-*. In many parallel places the mss. are divided, as here; only in Prop. 3.7.39 does there seem to be unanimity on *Capharea*, whereas Virgil (*A.* 11.260), Ovid (*Met.* 14.481) and Seneca (*Ag.* 560, *Her.O.* 777) uniformly present forms with *-e-*. It seems best therefore to prefer V and print *Caphereu* here as well.

Oileus is said to be mourning later in history the fate of his son Ajax, also called 'the Lesser' to distinguish him from the son of Telamon. According to the myth he had outraged Cassandra after the fall of Troy, for which he was punished by Athena or Poseidon. The earliest version of this story is found in Hom. *Od.* 4.499–511. There, it is Poseidon who first rescues Aias in spite of Athena's wrath, but then in anger splits the rock on which Aias was temporarily saved, unwisely boasting of having escaped against the will of the gods; Aias then drowns in the sea. Virgil tells a different story (*A.* 1.39–45; see Austin, also on *A.* 2.403): he makes Pallas wield Jupiter's thunderbolt, hurling Ajax onto a rock. Seneca again expands the story (*Ag.* 528–556, where both Pallas and Neptune perform part of the punishment; see Tarrant for further references). VF in his turn seems to have combined Homer's and Virgil's versions in another way: he has Virgil's thunderbolt ('not hurled by Jupiter', but by Pallas, who is not mentioned), though not to smash Ajax onto a rock: he comes down in the sea, as in Homer.

tortum non a Iove fulmen: VF's readers from their knowledge of Virgil are supposed to understand immediately who was hurling the bolt in this case: *A.* 1.42 *ipsa Iovis rapidum iaculata e nubibus ignem*. Liberman makes *non* the negation not just of *a Iove*, but of the phrase as such: Oileus complaining that Jupiter did not hurl his thunderbolt. But how would that have bettered his son's fate? The verb denotes the whirling of thunderbolts from Virgil on (*A.* 4.208 *genitor, cum fulmina torques*), and also in Ovid (*Her.* 4.158 *fulmina torta manu*, *Pont.* 3.6.27 *Iuppiter … fulmina torquet*), Seneca (*Ag.* 802 *pater qui saeva torques fulmina*) and Statius (*Theb.* 5.394f. *Iove tortus ab alto / ignis*).

qui: an unusual word order arises from the fact that the words *tortum … fulmen* are placed before *Oileus qui*, whereas their natural position would be after the relative. For a possible explanation see note on *in tua*

… *saxa* 371. Langen (on 773) gives other instances of *traiectio* involving the relative pronoun.

gemet again takes an object (*tortum … fulmen*), as in 47 and 530.

Euboicas … per undas: in the *Odyssey* the location of Aias' punishment is described as 'the Gyraean rocks' (4.500, 507), wherever they might have been (perhaps on Myconos or on Tenos). Virgil's Juno (*A.* 1.39ff.) does not mention a place-name, neither is Seneca more specific (see Tarrant on *Ag.* 544). Euboea is mentioned by Euripides (*Tro.* 84; cf. Caphereus ib. 90), but in a general war programme, not explicitly connected with Aias. It was probably the combination with Nauplius' action at Caphereus that made VF locate the other event on the Euboean coast as well.

nato stridente: the hissing sound (OLD 1b) is caused by the crash of Ajax' burning body into the sea (so Pius' second interpretation, Weichert 1813, and Cazzaniga; see *Mnem.* 1988:360f.). Langen takes the verb as denoting the sound of the flames emitted from Ajax' transpierced breast, on the strength of *A.* 1.44, but in that version Ajax was hurled upon a crag, not into the sea, as here.

374–379

quique Erymanthei sudantem pondere monstri
Amphitryoniaden Tegeaeo limine Cepheus
iuvit et Amphidamas (at frater plenior annis
maluit Ancaeo vellus contingere Phrixi)
tectus et Eurytion servato colla capillo,
quem pater Aonias reducem tondebit ad aras.

These six lines contain the names of four Argonauts: (15) Cepheus, (16) Amphidamas, (17) Ancaeus and (18) Eurytion.

The first three of these were in AR also (1.161–171) presented as a family group: Cepheus and Amphidamas were both sons of Aleos. A third brother, not named in VF but simply indicated with *frater* (376), was Lycurgus, who stayed at home to look after their father and sent his son Ancaeus instead (note that there was another Ancaeus, son of Neptune: 413). This last detail is in the Latin version hardly understandable without knowledge of the Greek original. The family relations are also mentioned in Paus. 8.4.8. AR furthermore gives their home town (Tegea) and a description of the outfit of Ancaeus, improvised because his own armour had been hidden by his grandfather, who thus hoped to restrain him from taking part in the expedition. VF indicates the birthplace of the three and adds a detail about Cepheus

(see below). Eurytion was coupled by AR (1.71–77) with Erybotes and Oileus. The Greek poet further mentions only his father's name (Irus, son of Actor). VF is silent about the name of the father, though referring to him, and has a particular about Eurytion himself (see below).

Cepheus is not mentioned again in either work. Instead of his role in assisting Hercules in his battle against Hippocoön, in which he perished (Apollod. 2.7.3), VF tells of an obviously earlier event, in which Cepheus acted as host to Hercules after the latter's capture of the Erymanthian boar. This detail is not mentioned elsewhere in extant literature (which does not prove that it was invented by VF, though that is not improbable in itself). The wording cannot be called 'plain': the subject is placed in, and not before, the relative clause, and three impressive Greek proper names add much weight to the words.

Erymanthei: the adjective, with long *-e-*, occurs only here in Latin. *Ĕrymanthĭus* is the form used by Statius (*Theb.* 12.805) and Silius (3.38). For *monstri* ('a monstrous or horrible creature', OLD 3) cf. Stat. *Theb.* 4.298 *monstriferumque Erymanthon.*

sudantem pondere: the ablative with *sudare* usually denotes the moisture exuded. Here, however, the noun refers to the cause of the exertion, which is very uncommon; somewhat comparable is Juv. 1.167 *tacita sudant praecordia culpa.*

Amphitryoniaden: again in 635 below and 3.733. In all three instances, and wherever this patronymic of Hercules occurs in Virgil, Ovid, Propertius, Lucan, Statius and Silius (18 cases in all), it takes first place in the hexameter (but in Cat. 68.112 and Rutil. Namat. 1.628 it closes the pentameter).

Tegeaeo limine: the adjective is found in Virgil, Ovid and Statius. The synecdoche of *limen* for 'house, home' is not new (OLD 2c). For the ablative dependent on *iuvare* cf. Ov. *Met.* 11.281f. *petit urbe vel agro / se iuvet*, *Her.* 2.55 *te iuvi portuque locoque*, Juv. 3.211 *nemo hospitio tectoque iuvabit*; in every case therefore it is a locality that 'helps'.

About Amphidamas AR later (2.1046) tells us that he addressed his shipmates on the occasion of their encounter with the Stymphalian birds, an episode left out by VF, who does not mention Amphidamas again.

frater: Lycurgus, as appears from AR (see above).

plenior actis or *annis*? The mss. tradition undoubtedly points to the first, *annis* being read only in N and a marginal correction in X according to Kramer and Liberman (who also gives Reg), and as a later correction in M according to Ehlers. The Latin, however, is rather in

favour of the second alternative: *plenus annis* is attested in Plin. *Ep.* 2.1.7 and could well be an echo of AR's προγενέστερος. It is true that *plenior actis* can be said to present an explanation for Lycurgus' staying home and sending his son instead: he has already had his record of exploits completed. The same, however, holds good for *annis*: Lycurgus may have considered himself less fit than his son for this adventure because of his age. In either case the explanation given by AR is silently discarded. Anyhow *plenus actis* sounds rather odd. Moreover there seems to be no parallel, and Delz' suggestion (in his review of Courtney's edition, *MusAfr.* 1976:99) of reading *annis* and supposing the loss of a following line ending with *actis* only complicates matters. All in all *annis* looks preferable in spite of the mss., but all recent editions have *actis*. Here too Liberman suggests that our kowledge of Greek is better than VF's, who supposedly misunderstood the text of AR again.

maluit: another pointer that Lycurgus wanted it that way and was not, as in AR's version, obliged to abstain from the expedition by his task of taking care of his father.

Ancaeo: in the Greek poem he is mentioned again as a special partner of Hercules in 1.398, 425ff. and 531, and as vigorously taking part in the battle against the Bebrycians (2.118ff.). Since he is said to assist Hercules in making sacrifice (AR 1.425ff.), he was probably the same as the Ancaeus who in VF (1.190f.; see note) performed this ritual. We cannot determine with certainty which Ancaeus is meant in VF 3.138, but his action there in battle against the Cyzicans suggests a parallel with AR's story of Ancaeus fighting the Bebrycians (which scene does not occur in VF), so probably in 3.138 also the reference is to the son of Lycurgus.

For *vellus* … *Phrixi* cf. 272f. and 328 (where see note). Here the expression constitutes a notable brachylogy: because of course Ancaeus will not obtain the Fleece itself, and the words must mean something like 'a part in the acquisition of the Fleece'.

Eurytion is not mentioned for a second time either in AR (1.95) or in VF. The detail of his keeping his hair unshorn until his return home is absent in the Greek writer, who gives no particulars about this hero. For the custom itself the oldest testimony is in Homer: in *Il.* 23.140ff. Achilles cuts off his hair (kept long as a promised offering to the river god Spercheus on his return home) and places it in the dead hands of Patroclus (152). Statius has an analogous passage in *Theb.* 6.607–610. Cf. also Diod. 1.18.3, and see Wachsmuth 302f. and 351a.

tectus … *colla*: for the retained accusative see K/S 1.289b. *servato* … *collo*: the verb occurs with *comam* as the object in Stat. *Theb.* 6.178.

pater: Irus (AR 1.74).

Aonias ... ad aras: the adjective is a poetic equivalent of 'Boeotian'. Since in AR Eurytion and Erybotes were coupled (1.70ff.) with Oileus, who came from Opuntian Locris (as did Menoetius: ib. 69f.), the epithet is used here rather loosely.

tondebit: in contradistinction to Achilles in Homer and Parthenopaeus in Statius, Eurytion is destined eventually to return safe and sound, and his father will fulfil his promises. Langen's proposal to move lines 378 and 379 to a position following 373 was based on the assumption that otherwise a predicate would be missing. In the traditional order, however, which is kept in the three Teubner editions and by Mozley and Liberman, *trahit* governs the whole sentence, with all subjects (Clymenus, Iphiclus, Nauplius, Oileus, Cepheus, Amphidamas and Eurytion).

380–382

> te quoque Thessalicae, Nestor, rapit in freta puppis
> fama, Mycenaeis olim qui candida velis
> aequora nec stantes mirabere mille magistros.

(19) Nestor is one of the more famous heroes who were absent from AR's story, but introduced by VF. He has already been mentioned as pictured on the Argo (1.145); later he will urge the Argonauts in the battle of Cyzicus not to care for the spoils of war, but to carry on fighting (3.143); he also appears as actively participating in the battle against the Scythians (6.569f.). His part in the adventure is therefore rather limited, compared with his function in the *Iliad*, to which VF explicitly refers here.

te quoque: the first instance of one of the heroes being apostrophized in the catalogue (see note on 371). The same words occur eight more times at the beginning of the line, three times in a later position (the proportions of *quoque* in this respect after other monosyllabic personal pronouns being 12:4). In Virgil the combination takes first position in the line four times, and a later one also four times. Cf. also *hinc quoque* (360) and *tu quoque* (391).

Thessalicae ... puppis: the adjective (which does not occur in Virgil) qualifies the Argo again in 5.530, 622f. and 7.220 (cf. *Thessala puppis* 2.445 and Sen. *Med.* 336 *Thessala pinus*). The ship is also called *Haemonius* (five times in the *Argonautica*; cf. Ov. *Ars* 1.6 *in Haemonia puppe*).

rapit in freta … fama: OLD s.v. *rapio* 11b '(of abst. things) to carry away, sweep along (into a state of mind, course of action, etc.)'. In this instance it is a locality to which the hero is driven, but the difference from *e.g.* Liv. 10.41.1 *in proelium rapit* is small. For *fama* cf. 96–102.

In the dependent relative sentence there is an as yet unresolved problem affecting text and interpretation. The mss. reading in 382 *nec stantes* has been felt to be unsatisfying, and this gave rise to a number of conjectures, namely: *et instantes* (= spurring on) Eyssenhardt 1862 (taken over by most later editors, including Langen); *et exstantes* van Lennep (ap. Schenkl 1883); *nec tantos* Sandstroem; *nec tantum* Samuelsson; *nec nantes* Courtney. The difficulty, which includes the presence or absence of a negation, chiefly centres around the meaning of *mirabere*: 'to marvel at' or 'to be amazed or surprised'? It is obvious that only in the second case would a negation be in place. The most likely interpretation had already been given by Maserius: Nestor will not be amazed by the scale of the Trojan expedition, because it will not be new to him, *i.e.* after witnessing the first naval exploit in world history, even the fleet which sails for Troy is not such an overwhelming novelty for him. For the wording Delz (1976:97) pointed to the useful parallel Stat. *Theb.* 8.269 *solus stat puppe magister*, and thus Ehlers, Liberman, Spaltenstein and Dräger are probably right in returning to the mss. reading. For the use of *nec* to negate both parts of the sentence cf. Löfstedt *Synt.* 1.(342-)344. Thus the meaning will be: 'you, who will later not be amazed (when you see) the seas white with Mycenaean sails and the thousand helmsmen standing (at the helm)'.

Mycenaeis … velis: the adjective (only here in the *Argonautica*) is more than once associated with the Trojan war: Prop. 2.22.32 *Mycenaeae … rates*. Cf. also 552 below *quot ad Troiae flentes hiberna Mycenas*.

candida … aequora: the adjective was used by Catullus (64.235) to qualify the sails and is here for the first time transferred to the sea, which is 'white with sails'. For the ablative denoting the source of the whiteness cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.9.1f. *alta … nive candidum / Soracte*.

stantes … magistros: the helmsmen, as in Ov. *Ars* 1.6 and Stat. *Theb.* 8.269 (both quoted above); cf. also 465 below. For Langen, who adopted *et instantes*, they were the captains of the vessels. The *mille magistros* remind us of V. *A.* 2.198 *non anni domuere decem, non mille carinae*. Note the strong alliteration *mirabere mille magistros*.

383–390

hic vates Phoebique fides non vana parentis
Mopsus, puniceo cui circumfusa cothurno
palla imos ferit alba pedes vittataque frontem
cassis et in summo laurus Peneia cono.
quin etiam Herculeo consurgit ab ordine Tydeus
Nelidesque Periclymenus, quem parva Methone
*felevis Elis equis et fluctibus obvius Aulon
caestibus adversos viderunt frangere vultus.

Liberman argues that lines 387–390 should be transposed (as was proposed by Kennerknecht, see n. on 353–483), objecting to the discussion in *Mnem.* 1988:355ff. that the 'Herculean' side of rowers cannot begin in 391 because nothing indicates that change. However, the same goes for line 387, and this is the very point at issue: if such a transition were recorded anywhere in the transmitted text, there would be no discussion at all. The proposed transposition can only be upheld if a parallel were adduced for *quin etiam* denoting a new item (series, enumeration) after the preceding one has been closed. Contrary to what Liberman suggests in his note, there is nothing whatever in the wording of line 387 to indicate a 'commencement' or a 'change(ment)'.

(20) Mopsus, (21) Tydeus and (22) Periclymenus close the list of the 'Herculean' row. The seer Mopsus, whom we have met already in 207–226, figures in AR five times after the catalogue, but only one of these occurrences has a counterpart in VF: his reaction to the appearance of Sthenelus' shade (AR 2.922ff.; VF 5.95ff.). The other occasions on which he is mentioned by the Greek poet, including his death caused by a snake-bite (4.1502–1536), do not occur in VF. In the Latin epic the seer's name is found after the catalogue in another eight places, listed on 205ff. (p. 131). Mopsus himself takes action in six of them (3.98, 372–460; 5.95ff. (see above); 8.248, 398).

Tydeus is another addition of VF to AR's crew. His part in the action is very modest indeed: he is mentioned only once again, in the battle of Cyzicus (3.103). *Oenides* in 6.343 probably denotes Meleager as in 3.690 and 4.33, whereas the *Calydonis alumni* of 4.223 and 5.573 refer to Tydeus and his half-brother Meleager (who is more important in VF's work). Periclymenus figures in AR's catalogue (1.156–160) and only there; he is described as the oldest son of Neleus and is aided in battle by Poseidon. VF adds the detail that he was a famous boxer, but never mentions him again directly, though in 4.224 *Nelides* probably refers to

him: he volunteers for the fight with Amycus, which task eventually falls to Pollux.

hic: the missing predicate must have been *sedet* or similar, as in 436 (Langen).

Phoebi ... parentis: this has been taken to mean 'who did not disappoint his father's hopes' (J.A. Wagner), but it surely stands for 'as a seer, (he was) unmistakable proof that Phoebus was his father' (thus Langen a.o.). Two passages show similarities to this phrase and may have been the model for it: Prop. 4.6.60 *sum deus, est nostri sanguinis ista* (= the victory at Actium) *fides* and V. *A.* 4.12 *credo equidem, nec vana fides, genus esse deorum* (where however the meaning of *fides* is slightly different: 'my belief (*credo*!) is not unfounded'). For *fides* denoting the person himself who 'proves' something cf. Ov. *Pont.* 1.5.32 *sumque fides huius maxima vocis ego.*

This descent of Mopsus seems to have been VF's own idea (Roscher II.2.3207ff.); in older literature his father is Ampyx. Several passages to this effect, including AR 1.1083 and 1106, are listed by Langen, who thought that VF confused this Mopsus with a namesake, a son of Manto (daughter of Tiresias) and either a certain Rhakios or, in another version, Apollo himself. It seems better not to speak of confusion but of conflation: VF transferred the alleged divine descent of this second Mopsus to the Argonaut, whom he calls *Ampycides* (3.420, 460, 5.366). This idea, which makes Ampyx so to speak another Amphitryon, is not very surprising in view of Apollo's already recognized role as the teacher of Mopsus (AR 1.65f.).

puniceo ... circumfusa cothurno: *cui* governed by *ferit*, as *puniceo ... cothurno* by *circumfusa*. For *circumfundere* with (accusative and) dative see K/S 1.335. According to TLL (3.1147.69) this is the only instance where the verb denotes clothing 'folding, draped, around' something, here the seer's buskin. This footwear is here called 'purple' after the clear example of Virgil: *Ecl.* 7.32 *puniceo stabis suras evincta cothurno*; cf. *A.* 1.337 *purpureoque alte suras vincire cothurno.* VF transferred the colour (which was not assigned to any particular function) from a huntress to a seer.

palla ... alba: the colour white often characterizes garments worn on special occasions and ceremonies, and also by priests and seers. Cf. 3.432 *Delius hic longe candenti veste sacerdos* (Mopsus again!). In these contexts *candidus* etc. is more usual than *albus*; see also Bakker on Ov. *Tr.* 5.5.8. The *palla*, for the Romans properly a feminine garment, was associated with Apollo and therefore also with poets: Ov. *Am.* 1.8.59 *ipse*

deus vatum palla spectabilis aurea (where see McKeown) and *Met.* 11.165f. *ille* (= Phoebus) …/ *verrit humum Tyrio saturata murice palla* (and Bömer ad l.). An echo of the sentence as a whole is to be found in Stat. *Theb.* 4.216–218 (*vatem; cassis; albaque puniceas* etc.).

imos … pedes: not 'the soles of his feet' (Mozley), which would make walking awkward, but just 'his feet below', as in Prop. 2.10.21f. *ut (at), caput in magnis ubi non est tangere signis, / ponitur haec imos ante corona pedes.* There too the opposition to the other extreme is explicitly mentioned: *caput* ~ *in summo cono.*

ferit cannot mean much more than 'touches' (TLL 6.1.514.51), for which there seems to be only one parallel, but a close one: again in Propertius (3.17.32 *et feries nudos veste fluente pedes*).

vittataque frontem / cassis: the adjective is not frequent: no instances in Virgil and Silius, one in Lucan. It mostly qualifies persons, hair in the two Ovidian cases (*Am.* 1.7.17, where see McKeown, and *Ib.* 79); only one of Statius' 8 instances is similar, to wit *Theb.* 8.175 *et galeae vittatus apex.* The fillets of course quite often characterize the seer (see note on 208). *cassis* however is rather strange, since it seems to denote exclusively a military helmet (TLL 3.517.42ff. 'armatura capitis'). Possibly VF wanted to depict Mopsus as both a soldier and sacred to (in this case) Apollo; cf. Stat. *Theb.* 1.351 *omnibus inmixtas cono super aspice laurus.* This passage strongly resembles the line under discussion by the combination of *laurus* and *conus*, which word is not often used to describe the upper part of a helmet. For another picture of a warrior-priest cf. 6.294ff. (Aquites).

frontem: Barth's conjecture *fronte* was accepted by several editors, amongst whom were Kramer, Mozley, Courtney and Spaltenstein. The construction then would be '(et cui) vittata cassis (in) fronte (est)', just as we have to supply *est* with the last clause *in … cono.* However, Ehlers was probably right in returning to the mss. reading: the accusative is still governed by *ferit* 'as the *palla* touches his feet, so the helmet his head'. This seems better than taking *frontem* as an accusative 'of respect' with *vittata*, as Liberman prefers. Martial writes (9.72.1) *Liber, Amyclaea frontem vittate corona*, but whereas a person may be called *vittatus* 'with regard to his head', the same hardly goes for a helmet. There is no need to assume with Langen a zeugma ⟨*tegit*⟩ from *ferit*: in both constructions the verb simply means 'touches'.

in … cono: as stated above, the Greek loan word *conus* (Lat. *apex*) is rarely used in the sense of 'the upper part of a helmet'. The noun occurs once in Virgil (*A.* 3.468), once in Ovid (*Met.* 3.108), not in

Lucan, and once again in the *Argonautica* (6.604, where see Wijsman). Statius and Silius apparently took a fancy to it, with 9 and 8 instances respectively. *summo* with *cono* is as redundant as *imos* with *pedes*. The laurel as Apollo's emblem is traditional in Latin poetry: see for instance V. *Ecl.* 3.63, *A.* 7.59, Ov. *Met.* 1.559.

The adjective *Peneius* in V. *G.* 4.317, Ov. *Met.* 1.452, 525 (substantively), 12.209, Luc. 8.33 and Stat. *Theb.* 4.143 always refers to the well-known river in Thessalia and/or the nymph Daphne, who is hinted at here too (*laurus* = δάφνη); cf. Bömer on Ov. *Met.* 1.452–567 (p.143ff.). Probably therefore VF simply took over these references. However, there is another tradition, which made Daphne the daughter of the river god Ladon (Kl. P. 1.1382; Roscher I.955, RE IV. 2138, DNP 3.312f.), which was a tributary of that other Peneus, the main river of Elis. This leaves room for some doubt as to the correctness of the original interpretation. Of course, once the more famous of the two rivers had been established (by Ovid? see Bömer) as belonging to the myth of Daphne, later authors would have found no reason to raise doubts on the issue.

quin etiam and its poetic / postclassical equivalent *quin et* may denote either an item more remarkable than the preceding ones: 'what is more; even', as *e.g.* in V. *A.* 2.768, 4.309 and 7.385; 'I (you, she) went even so far as to …', or another element in an enumeration: 'also; yes, and furthermore', as in V. *A.* 7.750. The first use occurs in *Arg.* 1.709, 2.416, 3.444, 4.381, 5.98 and 524; the second later in the catalogue (1.468) and in 5.433 and 6.79. In either case, by virtue of the basic meaning(s) of *etiam*, it never starts a new listing; if anything, it may denote here not just a continuation of an enumeration, but its conclusion. This was no doubt the reason why Langen, who knew his Latin, declared the words incomprehensible if one accepts (as he did himself) Kennerknecht's transposition (see note on 353–483, p. 203f. and 354f., p. 207) 'quid sibi velint [particulae] hoc loco [!] nemo opinor dicere poterit'. He therefore substituted *quis* (a misprint for *quos*?) *contra*. In the traditional, and almost certainly correct, order *quin etiam* continues the enumeration, as Kramer (XXIV) cogently argued: 'nay, also in Hercules' row …'. VF does not indicate that these two heroes were not only the next, but also the last mentioned on that board; but since the number of 21 rowers (including Hercules himself) has now been reached, it follows that from 391 on the Telamonian row is to be enumerated. No doubt VF would have made it easier for us if he had been more explicit about the transition from starboard to port (353f.), but perhaps he wanted to

avoid prosaic pedantry and preferred the reader to find out for himself, should he so wish.

Herculeo … ab ordine: cf. Ov. *Met.* 11.461f. *reducunt / ordinibus geminis ad fortia pectora remos* and Bömer ad l. ('in two rows'); different in Luc. 3.534 *ordine … gemino* (where see Hunink) and 4.422 *ordinibus geminis*. Also comparable is Ov. *Fast.* 4.289f. *sinistris /… a remis*. The preposition *ab* is used in an uncommon way; while the combinations *in / ex ordine* and *in / per ordinem* are quite usual, *ab ordine* certainly is not. This is probably an instance of OLD 16: '(expr. the physical position from which an action is performed)': Tydeus does not 'rise from his line', but 'from his position in that line'.

For the adjective *Herculeus* see note on 263.

consurgit: as in 362 'to stretch upwards (to make an effort)', OLD 6.

Nelidesque Periclymenus: the name occurs once in Homer (*Od.* 11.286), without any particulars. However, there was a story, told at some length by Ovid (*Met.* 12.556–572; see Bömer for further references), that he could change himself into every possible form, but was killed by Hercules. Seneca refers to this story in *Med.* 635f., making Neptune the father of Periclymenus instead of his grandfather (see Costa). It is remarkable that AR chose to ignore this peculiar ability when mentioning Periclymenus, and that he was followed in this by VF. Possibly the Roman poet thought AR's version too bald and therefore added instead the hero's prowess in boxing. However, in this sport Pollux was the undisputed champion, who beat Amycus in their famous combat (4.222–343), so that Periclymenus' expert skill is not really needed in the course of events. This was also the case with Deucalion and Amphion (366f.).

parva Methone: a town in south-west Messenia (Strabo 8.4.3, Paus. 4.35.1, Mela 2.41, Plin. *Nat.* 4.15). Homer has a Μηθώνη (*Il.* 2.716) under the sway of Philoctetes; there is no obvious reason for VF calling it 'small'.

**felevis Elis equis*: V and (the apographa of) S. The reading of L, *et levis*, was printed in all editions until Bährens', who introduced *felixque* and was followed by Langen, Bury, Mozley, Delz (1976:99), Liberman and Dräger. They were probably correct in this (cf. *Mnem.* 1988:361ff.). Ehlers defended (*Unters.* 70ff.) *et levis*, as does Spaltenstein, but a country can hardly be called *levis* for whatever reason, in this case because it has (or sees) swift horses. Poortvliet (1994:489f.) cites as a parallel Luc. 8.478 *Memphis vana sacris*, but a town, *i.e.* its inhabitants, being called *vana* 'unreliable, foolish' (*sacris*, in its rites) is not the same thing

as a country being called *levis* 'light'. (*et*) *levis* is an easy correction for a scribe finding *felevis*, whereas it is not obvious why such simple words as *et levis* could have become the meaningless *felevis*. The case of 6.196 (Poortvliet l.c.) is essentially different: the name of *Idasmenus* could well be bewildering to a scribe. For *felix* with an ablative qualifying a region or city cf. V. *A*. 7.725f. *felicia Baccho / Massica* and ib. 6.784 *(Roma) felix prole virum*. If the adjective primarily conveys the notion of 'fruitful, productive', then it refers to some passages in Homer where Elis is mentioned as 'grazed by horses' (*Il*. 11.680f., *Od*. 4.635f., 21.347). In Latin literature the accent is rather on the victories won in Elis at the Olympics: V. *G*. 1.59, Stat. *Theb*. 10.234, so there is probably at least a suggestion of *felix* meaning 'succesful' (cf. Austin on V. *A*. 6.784, cited above: '*felix* combines the ideas of good fortune and fertility').

fluctibus obvius Aulon: 'exposed to the waves'. Virgil's simile in *A*. 10.693–696, with *obvia ventorum furiis*, was the model for Statius in *Theb*. 9.91–94 (Dewar), where we have *fluctibus obvia* (91) again; the combination is not attested elsewhere (TLL 9.2.319.84ff.).

Aulon: to be distinguished from its namesake in Calabria (Hor. *Carm*. 2.6.18); this was a valley between Triphylia (the southern part of Elis) and Messenia (Xen. *Hell*. 3.2.25, Strabo 8.3.25, Paus. 4.36.7; RE II.2413.59ff.), and according to Pliny (*Nat*. 4.14) also a town in that region. Liberman's translation 'traversé par les ondes d'un fleuve' is contrary to the meaning of both *fluct(ib)us* and *obvius*. Periclymenus' boxing exploits seem to have covered the whole western part of the Peloponnese.

adversos … vultus: both 'directly facing (him)', OLD 5, and 'of his adversary' (cf. V. *A*. 9.588 and 12.307 *adversi* and Stat. *Theb*. 6.916 *sanguinis adversi*).

caestibus adversos recurs in the 'Latin Iliad' 1011.

videre: already used by Cicero with localities as subject (OLD 11b).

frangere: ancient boxing was even less delicate than modern. Cf. Sen. *Her.F*. 481f. *caestibus fractus suis / Eryx* (where see Fitch on *suis*) and Mart. 7.32.5 *fracta … aure magister* (a boxing instructor).

391–393

tu quoque Phrixeos remo, Poeantie, Colchos
bis Lemnon visure petis, nunc cuspide patris
inclitus, Herculeas olim *moture sagittas.

The next hero is (23) Philoctetes, son of Poeas; his own name is mentioned neither here nor in 3.722, the only other occasion on which he is referred to (*Poeantia corda*). He is another of the six Argonauts added by VF to the number in AR, and also figures in Hyginus (14.22). Apollodorus (1.9.16) mentions Poeas as taking part in the expedition, which would be more in keeping with the fact that in other cases as well the father of the Homeric hero appears as an Argonaut (Tydeus, Peleus). VF, however, is very explicit in referring to Philoctetes later crossing the sea again on his way to Troy, like Nestor (*mirabere—visure*). There is also a formal echo of the paragraph on Nestor: *te quoque* 380—*tu quoque* 391, the second instance of apostrophe in the catalogue.

Phrixeos … Colchos: the adjective is rather unexpected in qualifying the Colchians; the other instances in VF are much more 'normal'. An intermediate meaning can be detected in 2.585f. (where see Poortvliet) *Phrixea … aequora* 'the sea sailed by Phrixus'; but 'the Colchians reached by Phrixus' is surely rather bold.

Poeantie: used as a noun it occurs earlier in Ov. *Tr.* 5.1.61 and 5.2.13. For the adjectival use (as in 3.722, cited above) cf. Ov. *Rem.* 111, *Met.* 13.45, *Pont.* 1.3.5.

remo … petis: cf. Tib. 1.4.46 *remo per freta tolle ratem* and V. *A.* 2.25 *vento petisse Mycenas.*

bis Lemnon visure: the substitution of the vocative for the nominative is a well-known poetic device; see Austin on V. *A.* 2.283 *exspectate venis* and Bednara ALL XIV.568ff. As in 4.468 there is a variation with a nominative, in fact the same one: *inclitus* (- *dilecte*). Here the diction veers back to another vocative. In *visure* we catch an echo from Ov. *Met.* 9.232 *regnaque visuras iterum Troiana sagittas*, from the same situation.

Lemnon: the Greek accusative is normal (K/H 466 ß).

nunc cuspide patris / inclitus: there seems to be no evidence about Poeas himself having been a famous javelin-thrower. The ablative with *inclitus* is not remarkable (OLD b), though absent from VF's five other instances.

**moture*: for *morture* (V) the two simplest corrections are *moture* (L and most editors, including Ehlers, Liberman, Spaltenstein and Dräger) and *torture* (Heinsius; preferred by Courtney). For *movere* with weapons as object Langen gives several parallels, to which could be added Ov. *Tr.* 4.1.72. None of these passages, however, has an object meaning 'arrows' (*arcus* and *pharetras* coming closest), whereas OLD gives three instances of *torquere* with such an object: V. *Ecl.* 10.59 and Stat. *Theb.*

4.325 *spicula*, V. *A.* 5.497 *telum* (of Pandarus). Heinsius' idea, therefore, could very well be the right one.

Herculeas … sagittas: according to tradition (see Bömer on Ov. *Met.* 9.231 ff.) Philoctetes (or his father Poeas) lighted Hercules' pyre on Mt. Oeta and thereby received his famous arrows as a reward. These arrows in their turn were necessary for the capture of Troy and so became crucial when Philoctetes was left behind on Lemnos, the scene of Sophocles' tragedy.

394–397

> proximus hinc Butes Actaeis dives ab oris;
> innumeras nam claudit apes longaque superbus
> fuscat nube diem dum plenas nectare cellas
> pandit et in dulcem reges dimittit Hymetton.

With regard to (24) Butes VF adds a detail, namely his success in beekeeping, to AR's bald mention (1.95 f.) of his father's name (Teleon; absent from the Latin epic) and that of his native city. In the Greek epic he occurs once more (4.912 ff.), whereas in VF he does not play any further part. In Virgil Butes is the name of a Bebrycian vanquished by Hercules (*A.* 5.371 ff.).

For *proximus hinc* cf. Pl. *Most.* 977 *aedis … hinc proximas*.

Actaeis dives ab oris: in Greek the adjective, originally meaning 'coastal', was already widely applied to Attica. In Latin it is just a poetical synonym of *Atticus*, from V. *Ecl.* 2.24 on. VF has it further in 2.68, 4.465 and 6.217.

Although *dives ab* occurs in the meaning 'rich from' (Ov. *Her.* 9.96) and Mozley translates it thus, it seems better to take *Actaeis … ab oris* as an attribute with *Butes* denoting origin, as for instance in Liv. 1.50.3 *Turnus Herdonius ab Aricia* (K/S 1.214 c). Lines ending in *ab oris* occur in V. *A.* 7.647 (where see Fordyce), 10.164 and 198, 11.281.

innumeras … apes: the adjective opens the line, as in V. *A.* 11.204 *innumeras struxere pyras* (and Ov. *Tr.* 4.7.21).

claudit: the verb denotes the 'confining' of bees in Ov. *Fast.* 3.743 (*apes*) *colligit errantes et in arbore claudit inani* (*Liber*). Here it stands for the beekeeper's activity in general. With other animals too the word is not uncommon (OLD 5).

superbus: 'proud' in its positive sense ('gladly looking at'), as opposed to 'haughty, arrogant', which the word may also mean. The distinction is made in L/S, but not in OLD. The ablative *longa … nube* probably

belongs both to *superbus* and to *fuscat … diem*. Virgil used *nubes* to denote a swarm of bees in *G.* 4.60 *obscuramque trahi vento mirabere nubem* and 557 *immensasque trahi nubes*; VF divided the notion contained in *immensas* into *innumeras* (*apes*) and *longa* (*nube*), as *fuscat* hints at *obscuram*. Later both Statius (*Theb.* 10.575) and Silius (8.635) have the noun in this meaning.

fuscare is a rarely-used and poetic word 'to make dark'. It describes the 'darkening of the sky' in Ov. *Tr.* 1.11.15 *fuscabatque diem custos Atlantidos Ursae* (sc. Boötes), whence Lucan thought of *caeli fuscator Eoi* (4.66), meaning Corus. Comparable is Manil. 4.532 (the Crab's fire) *multa fuscat caligine sidus*, referring to *obscura … nube* (530).

dum … pandit: he 'opens' (OLD 4b) the hives in order to collect the honey. It is true that the line ending with *nectare cellas* recalls V. *G.* 4.164 (= *A.* 1.433) *liquido distendunt nectare cellas*, but *pandere* does not mean 'to fill to bursting, distend', as *distendere* does (OLD 3). Whereas Virgil stresses the activity of the bees, VF just describes the work of the bee-master, thereby changing the function of *nectare* from complementing the action (*distendunt*) to qualifying the adjective (*plenas*).

reges dimittit: throughout Latin literature, notably in V. *G.* 4, the queen-bee is described as 'king'. The verb means not so much 'to send off, dispatch', as OLD has it (sub 5), but rather 'to let go' (ib. 1), 'to let roam freely over the countryside'; bees are hardly 'sent'.

in dulcem … Hymetton: Mt. Hymettos in Attica was famous for its honey (*e.g.* Cic. *Fin.* 2.112). Virgil in *G.* 4 does not mention the mountain, but alludes to it in *Cecropias* (= Attic) … *apes* (177) and *Cecropiumque thymum* (270). Places may be called *dulcis* as 'beloved, sweet, pleasant' (to the eye, the memory, etc.), as in Hor. *Ep.* 1.16.15 *hae latebrae dulces*, V. *A.* 10.782 *dulcis moriens reminiscitur Argos*, etc. Here, however, the notion of 'sweetness' refers specifically to the taste of honey, as in Sen. *Phaed.* 23 *rupem dulcis Hymetti* and Juv. 13.185 *dulcique senex vicinus Hymetti* (= Socrates).

The Greek accusative *-on* is again common in poetry (K/H 467 ε).

398–401

> insequeris casusque tuos expressa, Phalere,
> arma geris; vacua nam lapsus ab arbore parvum
> ter quater ardenti tergo circumvenit anguis,
> stat procul intendens dubium pater anxius arcum.

The next hero to be apostrophized is (25) Phalerus. In the catalogue of

AR he is the son of Alkon coupled (1.96ff.) with Butes, as another Athenian. According to the scholia this Alkon was the son of Erechtheus. The Greek poet adds the detail that Phalerus, although his father's only son, was sent by him to join the expedition; afterwards he makes no more mention of Phalerus. VF does not give the name of his native town, which is suggested by his place in the catalogue immediately after Butes, and by the fact that Phalerum was the name of the old harbour of Athens. The name of his father is not mentioned in the Latin poem (*pater* 401), but instead VF adds a description of his armour. In 4.654 Phalerus is singled out as one of the Argonauts panicking at the approach of the Symplegades, whereas in 6.217 he is succesful in the battle against the Scythians.

insequeris: OLD 6 'to come next in order, to follow' (not implying movement), as in V. *A.* 7.793 (also in a catalogue).

For the bold construction *casus tuos expressa … arma* 'an armour (shield) on which your former adventures are stamped' see Poortvliet on 2.654 *pocula bellorum casus expressa recentum*. The accusative is neither 'retained', the verb not being in the middle voice, nor 'of respect'; K/S 1.290. Tacitus has the same expression in *Hist.* 3.74 *aram … casus suos in marmore expressam*. The cases of *caelare* are comparable: 402 below *caelata metus alios … arma* and 6.53 *caelata …/ tegmina … ignes*. The *casus* are here made explicit in the following lines.

vacua: many editors and commentators have declared themselves unable to find a satisfying interpretation of the adjective (Langen for instance: 'sana sententia caret'). Several conjectures were made, of which Heinsius' *patula* won the approval of (i.a.) Thilo, Langen and Kramer. However, Delz (1975:157f.) proposed *laeva*, to go of course with *geris*, and Ehlers and Dräger took this over into their editions. The mss. reading in its turn was forcefully championed by Hudson-Williams (*Mnem.* 1986:134ff., where also (n.3) other conjectures are listed; add Bury's *saeva*). The author makes a strong case for the meaning 'hollow' (which was suggested, albeit hesitantly, earlier by Jortin in 1733: 'excavatam'), pointing to Statius' *vacuum in montem* (*Theb.* 10. 86f.; Williams: 'hollow'). This seems to be, as Hudson-Williams remarks, a variation on Ov. *Met.* 11.593 *mons cavus*; Bömer ad l. gives some other instances of this combination. The proposed interpretation can still be strengthened if we observe the following fact: Ov. *Fast.* 3.743 *arbore … inani* (which Hudson-Williams adduces as an example of a somewhat synonymous adjective) has a feature in common with VF's immediately preceding mention of Butes, to wit *claudit*, not otherwise attested in connection

with bees (see above). Hirschwälder's *vidua*, printed by Liberman and Spaltenstein, seems less appropriate in this context.

For *lapsus ab* see note on 290 and cf. V. *A.* 5.86 (*anguis*) … *lapsus per aras* and ib. 7.349.

ter quater: this humanistic conjecture (from *Marc*) is, as Delz (1975:158) remarks, decidedly more poetic than the simple *quater*, and moreover almost formular (Delz gives (n.7) five parallels from Ovid alone). It is rightly printed by Ehlers and Liberman. For *ardenti tergo* cf. note on 346 above and 488 below. Because the snake will not encircle the boy 'with his gleaming back', we will have to take the ablative as qualifying the animal; after all, what one sees in the picture is the snake's back.

circumvenire is mostly used in a military context 'to surround'. For the meaning 'to enlace, entwine', the action being performed by a serpent, there is according to TLL 3.1179.55 only one parallel, in Mart. Cap. (4.328). Note the double alliteration ***ter*** … ***ter****go* and ***a****rdenti* … ***a****nguis*.

Intendens … arcum: since *intendere* is the normal word to denote the stringing of a bow (OLD 2a), Mozley's translation 'looking at (his uncertain bow)' is clearly wrong.

dubium … arcum: the hesitation is transferred from the man to the instrument. For *dubius* 'uncertain' said of inanimate objects Langen gives several parallels, the nearest being Sil. 4.188 *dubia meditatus* (*meditantem*?) *cuspide vulnus*.

pater (anxius): Alcon (see above). A mother is called *anxia* in Cat. 64.379 and Prop. 2.22.42. For the combination *dubium … anxius* cf. Sal. *Cat.* 46.2 *anxius erat, dubitans* …

402

tum caelata metus alios gerit arma Eribotes

This line presents us with some problems connected to Kennerknecht's suggestion of a transposition of lines 403–410 (see introductory note on 353–483, p. 203f, and n. on *quin etiam* 387, p. 327). The first, and the least important, is the absence of an explanation for the 'frightening images' on Eribotes' shield. Langen, Kramer and Courtney supposed that something has dropped out or that VF never finished what he intended to write. The second point is the fact that the line as it is transmitted in the mss., to be followed by 403 *nec Peleus* …, would be the only one in the catalogue in which a statement fills one line, preceded and ended by a full stop.

Of course, if the line is placed immediately after 401, the sentence goes on with *et quem* etc., and *gerit* has as its subject both Eribotes and Phlias (thus Liberman; this seems better than Ehlers' suggestion '*scil.* adest'). As for the first problem, an exact description of the *metus* is not really needed, and *alios* of course refers to the preceding image of a snake encircling a boy. But if one does not accept Kennerknecht's transposition, the line stands isolated (as in Courtney's text), which makes one somewhat uneasy. Therefore perhaps we should consider (cf. *Mnem.* 1988:357f.) another transposition, which would solve the problem. If we assume that lines 411–412 (*et quem … crines*) originally indeed followed 402, but in their turn were continued by 403–410 (or 409; see below), then line 402 no longer stands isolated, because now the lines numbered 402, 411 and 412 constitute a sentence. At the same time we still have, without Kennerknecht's transposition, 21 rowers on both sides. Possibly the scribe continued after 412 with (present) 413 instead of 403 (both lines beginning with *nec*); afterwards the now-missing lines 403ff. were inserted in the wrong place, after 402 instead of after (present) 412. The order would then be: Eribotes; Phlias; Peleus; Ancaeus. Admittedly this proposal does not solve the problems concerning line 410, on which see below, but the same goes for all other ideas put forward on line 402.

The name of (26) Eribotes was spelt Erybotes in AR (1.71, 73; 2.1039), and, according to Thilo and Courtney, also in V, both here and in 3.478. I have not been able to find out who first changed it to the form now commonly printed and what were the reasons for doing so. The Greek poet mentions in the catalogue only the name of Erybotes' father (Teleon) and couples him with Eurytion and Oileus. Later (2.1039), Erybotes heals the wound of Oileus which was caused by an arrow-like feather from a bird on the island of Ares. In the Latin *Argonautica* he appears again (3.478) when Hercules' oar breaks and the giant tumbles backwards, thereby hitting several comrades, among whom 'brave Eribotes'.

tum: the almost unanimous mss.-reading *tunc* was declared 'excluded by the sense' by Housman in his Juvenal edition (XXI, n.1); he claims that *tum* is the normal form before a guttural. Courtney in his apparatus followed suit and printed *tum*, as did Langen (but not Kramer) before and Ehlers, Liberman, Spaltenstein and Dräger later. But is there really a difference in meaning between *tum* and *tunc*? OLD gives both for *tum* (8c) and for *tunc* (8c) the required sense: 'next in an enumeration'. The most we can say is that in the case of *tum* a wider range of authors is

cited (i.a. Plautus and Cicero) than with *tunc* (Seneca, Suetonius), but on the other hand, in poetry *tunc* gradually prevailed (Sz. 519f.). Aside from Housman's sometimes oppressive authority there seems to be no good reason for preferring the one form to the other.

For *caelata* with an accusative see note on *expressa* 398. Other instances are 6.53 (see above), Stat. *Ach.* 1.853 *caelatum pugnas* (but in *Theb.* 1.543 *operum ... figuras* goes with *tenet*, not with *caelata*) and Plin. *Nat.* 33.155 *centauros Bacchasque caelati scyphi* (K/S 1.290). Here too the accusative is not 'retained', *caelata* not being in the middle voice, neither 'of respect', because *metus alios* denotes the pictures themselves, not that 'concerning which' they portray. Maurach's paraphrase (1983:115) 'Waffen geschmückt bezüglich der Furcht' is not too felicitous.

metus (= *res formidulosas*) is not uncommon (OLD 5b 'an object of dread'), as in 23 above (where see note), 2.16 and 4.181 (perhaps also in 3.404f.). Cf. TLL 8.910.77ff.

arma Eribotes: as Garson (1968:379) notes, the combination of elision and a polysyllable in the last two feet is exceptional. In VF it occurs again in the second mention of Eribotes (3.478 *fortemque Eriboten*). Quadrisyllables ending a line mostly appear in Greek words: 468 below *Orithyiae* (in a spondaic line), 2.495 *Erymanthi*, 5.147 *Tibarenum* for proper names; 7.405 *cyparissis*, 8.149 *hymenaei* (8.259 *-os*). Purely Latin are 4.393 *ululatu* (after hiatus, as in V. *A.* 4.667) and 6.402 *legiones*. Note 6.637 *Gessithoumque*.

As explained above, after 402 the lines about Phlias (411 and 412 in the mss.) should possibly follow, namely:

> et quem fama genus non est decepta Lyaei
> Phlias inmissus patrios de vertice crines.

(27) Phlias is mentioned by AR only in the catalogue (1.115ff.), where his home town and his father are stated. VF adds the detail about his long hair, which accentuates his likeness to his father (for which Langen refers to Pind. *I.* 7.4f. and Roscher I.1098ff.). He mentions Phlias again in 3.149, where he takes part in the fighting against the Cyzicans.

The construction of the sentence is quite uncommon. In itself, *decipere* may be construed with an accusative and infinitive: Sen. *Tro.* 371f. *verum est an timidos fabula decipit / umbras corporibus vivere conditis?*, and *fama* is the subject of *fallere* (which may be considered an equivalent of *decipere*) in 5.316 *fama fefellit.* Here, however, it is the passive voice which makes the phrase unparalleled. The meaning must be: 'Fame is not misled (in

believing, and therefore correct in telling) that he is a son of Bacchus'. This kind of brachylogy, not really impairing the understanding, is typical of VF.

genus in the sense of 'offspring', even of single individuals, is normal poetic practice (OLD 2). The combination *fama* and *genus* occurs again in 2.560.

Lyaei: after Greek models, Latin poets took over this name ('the Loosener') of Bacchus; Virgil has it in *G.* 2.229, *A.* 1.686 (as an adjective) and 4.58. See further Poortvliet on 2.265.

inmittere 'to allow … to grow long' (OLD 8a), as for instance in V. *A.* 3.593 *inmissaque barba*, is not earlier attested in the middle voice with a retained accusative, but it is a small step from *e.g.* V. *A.* 4.509 *crinis effusa* and Ov. *Met.* 7.183 *nudos umeris infusa capillos*.

patrios (*crines*) is again short for *patris de more* (as in 4.138).

403–406

nec Peleus fretus soceris et coniuge diva
defuit ac prora splendet tua cuspis ab alta,
Aeacide; tantum haec aliis excelsior hastis
quantum Peliacas in vertice vicerat ornos.

(28) Peleus: as noted on 254, he receives a great deal of attention before the actual sailing (1.130ff., 255ff., and here with four lines), but hardly any afterwards (3.138, and possibly 2.427). His role in AR in the continuation of the story is much greater, with eight later occurrences (see *Ratis*[1] 228), which probably went against VF's intention of making Jason the hero par excellence, although he avoided undue neglect of such a famous name as Peleus. In AR's catalogue he is mentioned together with Telamon (1.93f.).

nec … defuit: V. *A.* 7.678 (also in a catalogue).

fretus soceris: for the pl. of *socer* denoting 'a father-in-law and his wife' (OLD b) cf. V. *A.* 2.457 *ad soceros* (but ib. 10.79 *soceros legere* is different: 'to choose each his own father-in-law') and Ov. *Met.* 3.132 *soceri tibi Marsque Venusque*. VF has the Virgilian *ad soceros* in 6.274. Note that Livy characterizes the speech in which *apud soceros tuos parentisque suos* occurs (26.50.6) as an *accuratior sermo* (ib. 3). Thetis, the *coniunx diva*, was a daughter of Nereus and Doris. For the ending *coniuge diva* cf. 138 above *cum coniuge divos* (also in a context involving Peleus). The combination *coniuge … diva* is first attested in Ov. *Met.* 11.217f. (ib. 220 *coniunx dea*); TLL 4.343.26f.

ac: following a correction in M all modern editors print this conjunction instead of *at* (*ad*) of the other mss.; there is no opposition between *nec … defuit* and *splendet … cuspis*.

For *prora … ab alta* see note on 314.

tua cuspis: cf. 143f. *optimus hasta / hic Peleus* and 270 *nostram festinet ad hastam* (Peleus speaking).

Aeacide: the next apostrophe (see note on 371), with a patronymic as in *Poeantie* (391). It also occurs in 139 and in 2.427; VF does not use *Peleu* (as did Horace: *Ars* 104).

tantum: Heinsius' suggestion *tanto* was probably prompted by the preponderance of the ablative qualifying the difference with a comparative. However, K/S 1.402 A. 19 notes that the accusative is not uncommon in combination with verbs denoting 'to surpass' (here: *excelsior* (*est*); *vicerat*). Both *tantum* and *aliis* (for which earlier editors printed *altis* with practically all mss.) are secured by V. *Ecl.* 1.24f. *verum haec tantum alias inter caput extulit urbes / quantum lenta solent inter viburna cypressi.*

excelsior occurs already in Cicero. This is hardly a simile, as Shelton (25) calls it, though admitting that it 'involves a somewhat different technique from that employed in most other similes'. Probably Sturt (11) was wise not to include this in his list of similes.

Peliacas … ornos: cf. 95 *Peliacas … umbras* (the same metrical position). The adjective occurs again in 3.353 (*Peliacis … montibus arbor*), 8.417 and 451, but only here is it placed in close connection with *Peleus*; it is quite probable that this association was made on purpose. The manna-ash (*ornus*) grew particularly on mountainsides, as is expressly stated by Virgil (*G.* 2.111); the connection is also clear in *Ecl.* 6.71, *A.* 2.626 (where see Austin), 4.491, 6.182 and 10.766. See further Bömer on Ov. *Met.* 10.101. The tree is again associated with the mountain in 2.6. Its Greek name (μελία) also denotes a spear made of its wood: cf. especially Hom. *Il.* 16.143 (= 19.390) Πηλιάδα μελίην; this is not the case with *ornus* in classical Latin, although its trunks or branches in literature were used as missiles (OLD b). Ausonius however took over this metonymy: *Ep.* 24.6 Prete (27.108 Evelyn White, 25.108 Pastorino).

With *in vertice* one expects a geographical name, which is here contained in *Peliacas*.

vicerat: the verb is used by Seneca to indicate a tree surpassing its neighbours in height (*Thy.* 656 *quercus … vincit nemus*).

407–409

> linquit et Actorides natum Chironis in antro,
> ut socius caro pariter meditetur Achilli
> fila lyrae pariterque leves puer incitet hastas.

Whereas AR in his catalogue coupled Peleus with his brother Telamon, VF combines his mention with that of (29) Menoetius, obviously and explicitly because of the connection between their sons, Achilles and Patroclus. In AR Menoetius does not appear after the catalogue (1.69), where only the names of his father and home-town figure. VF mentions him once more, in the battle against the Scythians (6.343).

linquit … in: for *linquere* with an adjunct of place cf. V. *A.* 2.596f. *ubi … / liqueris.*

natum … in antro: although Langen calls the story that Achilles and Patroclus were raised together and taught by Chiron a 'nota fabula', it is not so easy to find it documented in ancient literature. Chiron acting as tutor for the young Achilles appeared already in 255–270 above and appears furthermore *e.g.* in Pind. *P.* 4.102, *N.* 3.53f., AR 1.557f., 4.811ff.; Ov. *Ars* 1.11ff., *Fast.* 5.379ff. (where see Bömer), Stat. *Silv.* 2.1.88f., 5.3.193f. and of course in the *Achilleid.* There seems to be only one instance in which both Achilles and Patroclus are involved, to wit Hom. *Il.* 11.831, where Achilles is said to have learned the craft of healing from Chiron and to have passed it on to Patroclus. Our passage therefore seems to be the only one where a common apprenticeship of both young heroes is mentioned (cf. Roscher I.890ff.).

For *Chironis in antro* cf. Ov. *Met.* 2.630 *Chironis in antrum.* Chiron's cave was proverbial (already ἄντρον in Pind. *P.* 3.63, 9.30, *I.* 8.45f.).

socius, caro: their friendship is here as it were antedated by our author.

caro … Achilli: the dative can be construed with *socius* and with *pariter*, for which construction Prop. 3.23.2 is not a clear parallel, because *quibus* could go with *scripta*; but Lucr. 6.171 (*pariter) … igni* and Liv. 38.16.10 (*pariter ultimae) propinquis* are almost certainly datives. There is little to choose, and the possibilities are not mutuallly exclusive.

meditetur … fila: in TLL 8.579.81 no other instances are cited for this verb with an accusative denoting 'to practise (rehearse on) a musical instrument'.

fila lyrae … hastas: both music and hunting (as a preparation for warfare) were standard in the curriculum: 268 above; Ov. *Ars* 1.11, *Fast.* 5.386, Stat. *Ach.* 1.115, 118. *fila* for 'the strings of a musical instrument' (OLD 2e) looks Ovidian in origin: *Met.* 5.118 (also opening the

line; cf. ib. 10.89 *fila sonantia*), *Fast.* 5.106, *Am.* 1.8.60, *Ars* 2.494 (the last two ending in *fila lyrae*). Statius seems to have taken a fancy to it: *Theb.* 10.310, *Ach.* 1.187 (Chiron playing), 573 (again opening the line), 2.157, *Silv.* 5.1.27. Martial too opens a line with *fila lyrae*: 12.94.5.

leves hastas: in this case explained by *puer*; cf. 269 above *puerilia tela*. The combination is again Ovidian: *Met.* 6.593 and recurs once in VF (5.462).

incitare hastas: although the meaning of the verb 'to set in rapid motion, impel, drive' is quite normal (OLD 2), it seems to be used hardly at all with regard to a missile, TLL (7.1.929.17) only citing as a parallel *saxa … incitabantur* from Sal. *Hist.* 3.36.

(410)

*discat eques placidi conscendere terga magistri

This line as it stands presents an unacceptable asyndeton, both in the order transmitted by the mss. and after Kennerknecht's transposition, and for that matter also if the suggestion proposed at 402 were accepted. This could very well be an indication that VF did not complete his work, as Kramer and Courtney thought, and recently Poortvliet (*Ratis*[1] 35–43) argued in general. If one wishes to retain the line here, Hartel's proposal (1873:137) *placidique escendere* (taken over by Langen) is just possible, but not very attractive. The suggestion made in *Mnem.* 1988:358f. *discat et in* (comparing 397 *pandit et in* and 417 *norit et e*) is mentioned (in apparatus and note) by Liberman, who claims it for himself. Poortvliet (1994:490) contributed *discatque in*, referring to Lucr. 5.1297 and Ov. *Met.* 6.222 (both with *equi / equos*) as parallels for *conscendere in* and to *Arg.* 2.634 for the distance between preposition and noun. However, it would be a pity to lose *eques*, which adds a playful touch, the boy not just climbing his father's back, but a Centaur's, which puts him even more 'on horseback' (cf. note on 147 above *nigro Nessus equo*). These details, and the fact that the line neither fits into the syntax nor adds required information, go a long way to disprove Ehlers' assumption of an interpolation (XVI). All in all, we had probably better leave the line as it is: written by the author, who never got so far as inserting it in a satisfying way and place. *placidus* was used by Ovid (*Ars* 1.12) to qualify Chiron's musical instruction, but not his pedagogic behaviour: ib. 15f. *poscente magistro / verberibus iussas praebuit ille manus*. In Statius (*Silv.* 2.1.88) Chiron is again *blandus*.

413–419

nec timet Ancaeum genetrix committere ponto,
plena tulit quem rege maris. securus in aequor
haud minus Erginus proles Neptunia fertur,
qui maris insidias, clarae qui sidera noctis
norit et e clausis quem destinet Aeolus antris,
non metuat cui regna ratis, cui tradere caelum
adsidua Tiphys vultum lassatus ab Arcto.

(30) The second Ancaeus, son of Neptune (for the former see note on 377), was by AR (1.185ff.) introduced, as here, together with his brother (31) Erginus. They are both described there as brave warriors as well as experienced sailors; the second detail was of course impossible for VF, who presents the voyage of the Argonauts as the first instance of seafaring. The Greek poet has Ancaeus appointed as successor to the deceased Tiphys (2.864–898), a role which was transferred by VF to Erginus (5.63–66), Ancaeus being an unsuccesful candidate. Ancaeus figures in the Greek epic again in 4.210, 1260ff., and (probably) 2.1276ff.; Erginus is only mentioned when he fails to obtain the now vacant role of helmsman (2.896). VF has this Ancaeus again in 5.64 (cited above), Erginus in the same passage and in 8.177ff., where he advises Jason to take a different route home. Erginus is the first in the catalogue to be presented in more than five lines.

nec timet: note the echo *non metuat* immediately following in 418. The mother of course trusts in Neptune's protection of their son.

genetrix: her name was Astypalaea (AR 2.866f., Hyg. 157, Paus. 7.4.1).

committere ponto: the verb seems to combine the notions of 'to entrust' (OLD 12b) and 'to expose' (ib. 10); by 'not fearing to expose' she in fact 'entrusts'.

plena … rege maris: *plenus* in the sense of *gravidus* is not uncommon (OLD 2b), but the mention of the father is. In Ov. *Met.* 10.469 *plena patris thalamis excedit* the genitive is purposely ambiguous (see Bömer). Langen gives a parallel with an ablative: Pl. *Am.* 878f. *quod gravida est viro / et me quod gravida est* (see Sedgwick).

securus: probably to be connected with *haud minus*, which does not belong to *fertur* and hardly to *proles Neptunia*, as Delz (1976:99) would have it; *haud minus* surely construes much more easily with an adjective than with a noun, and Erginus is 'just as free of fear' as Astypalaea.

in aequor: the line-ending, used again in 2.380, 4.588 and 5.179, stems from Virgil: *A.* 10.451 and 693. Lucan has it four times: 2.213, 4.225,

8.34, 9.1011, Ovid nine times in all. It is absent from Statius and occurs four times in Silius.

proles Neptunia: cf. V. *A.* 7.691, 9.523, 10.353 (where see Harrison) and 12.128, all ending with *Neptunia proles* and referring to Messapus. For *proles* cf. also Korn on 4.141 *Nonacria proles.*

maris insidias: first in Lucr. 2.557 *infidi maris insidias*. Cf. also Sen. *Nat.* 5.18.7 *insidias vadosi maris* and Ov. *Tr.* 1.11.27 *insidias hominum pelagique.*

For the word order *clarae qui* cf. the exact parallel in V. *A.* 1.1 *Troiae qui* and Austin ad l. (and Maurach 1983:93).

clarae ... noctis: the oxymoron (the night is 'bright' because of the stars, *sidera*) is new (ANRW 2476) and repeated in 4.82 *clarae per sidera noctis*, where see Korn. VF experiments further with *candida ... nox* (5.70f.) and even *nox aurea* (5.566; cf. Wijsman). Tacitus has the combination in *Ag.* 12.3 *nox clara et extrema Britanniae parte brevis.*

norit: after two objects in the accusative (*maris insidias* and *clarae ... sidera noctis*) there follows an indirect question (cf. note on 51f., 123ff.). The subjunctive may be of the defining / consecutive type, or causal after *securus ... fertur.*

e ... antris: this clause contains two brachylogies. The first, consisting in the omission of *ventum*, led Vossius (ap. Burman) and Bährens to propose *auris* and *austris* respectively. However, the caves of Aeolus are well known, and the name of the god suggests 'wind' easily enough. Secondly, *destinet* ('to designate, destine'; OLD 6) is short for '*destinet ut erumpet*' (Langen) or similar: TLL 5.l. 758.63 'ventum erupturum'.

For the place of the interrogative pronoun cf. Sz. 399, Maurach 1983:93. Langen gives several other instances.

clausis ... antris echoes V. *A.* 1.52 *vasto ... antro* and ib. 56 *claustra*, 141 *clauso ... carcere.*

non metuat: see note on *nec timet* (413). Lucan has (6.650f.) *quo non metuant emittere manes / Tartarei reges*. The subjunctive could be either consecutive / defining or potential (if those two possibilities were distinct in the writer's mind). Maybe Tiphys did delegate his task occasionally to Erginus, who in any case was to be his successor (5.63ff.). The place of the relative pronoun (for which Langen here gives some parallels, referring to Schmitz 25) is here partly determined by the metre.

regna ratis: like *imperium carinae* (5.14), this seems to be a novel expression in Latin, though not in Greek: Aesch. *Pers.* 383 ναῶν ἄνακτες. In Cic. *Ver.* 5.137 and *B. Alex.* 15.2 *imperium navium / classis* the meaning is different: 'the command of the war fleet', whereas in Luc. 5.515 *rec-*

torem dominumque navis the second noun seems to combine the notions of 'master' and 'owner' (see Barratt). Note that in *Arg.* 7.326 *pro rege carinae* Jason is meant as the overall commander. For *regnum* (in its literal sense) *tradere* Pl. *Men.* 411 is a parallel: *qui in morte regnum Hieroni tradidit.* Cf. also Caes. *Gal.* 6.8.9 *Cingetorigi … principatus atque imperium est traditum.*

tradere caelum is again a remarkable brachylogy (ANRW 2473), comparable with 466 below *dabit astra rati* and 5.47 *cui sidera tradis?*. The suppletion of 'observandum' (Langen) however is not too difficult, because *tradere* is very often construed with a gerundive.

vultum lassatus: for the middle voice *lassari* with a retained accusative there seem to be no parallels. Sil. 4.40 (*agmina*) *fessa gradum* comes closest. In spite of Gebbing (1888:7), who took *vultum* in its primary sense and *adsidua … ab Arcto* as 'vom anhaltenden Nordwind', we have here a case of *vultus* denoting 'the gazing eye' (OLD 3): *Arctos* does not denote a wind. This implies that we must supply 'contemplanda' (Langen), so that *Arctos* comes close to meaning 'the observation of the Bear', and *adsidua* contributes the notion of 'continual'. The expression is thus equivalent to 'lassatus adsidue observando' (ANRW 2473), and is more audacious than the preceding *tradere caelum*, the more so because *lassari ab* seems to have no precedent. This use of *adsiduus* is an extension of that which makes it denote tools handled continuously: V. *G.* 1.155 *adsiduis … rastris*, Tib. 2.1.51 and Ov. *Tr.* 5.12.23 *adsiduo … aratro*, Sen. *Oed.* 168f. *adsiduo … conto*, and, even more remarkable because the relation between the instrument and the object of the action is reversed, Ov. *Ars* 1.474 *interit adsidua vomer aduncus humo*. In none of these passages, all listed in TLL 2.886.79ff., do commentators seem to have noticed anything worth mentioning. *Arctos* is the Greek form, not unusual in poetry for L. *Ursa Maior* or *Minor*, the traditional guiding star for seafarers (see on 17ff.). VF has it in ten more places, and the adjective *Arctous* four times, often to refer to the North in general.

420–426

taurea vulnifico portat celer aspera plumbo
terga Lacon, saltem in vacuos ut bracchia ventos
spargat et Oebalium Pagaseia puppis alumnum
spectet securo celebrantem litora ludo,
oraque Thessalico melior contundere freno
vectorem pavidae Castor dum quaereret Helles
passus Amyclaea pinguescere Cyllaron herba.

Next in the enumeration come the twins (32) Castor and (33) Pollux, who receive ample attention (13 lines, by far the longest item in the catalogue) in a high-flown style (note the accumulation of names: Lacon, Oebalius, Pagaseius, Amyclaeus, Cyllaros, Taenarius, Taygetos, Eurotas, and see further below). AR introduces them (1.146ff.) with the name of their mother Leda and their home town Sparta. Later he mentions Castor in 2.62 (preparing his brother's fight with Amycus), ib. 102 (fighting the Bebrycians after the boxing match) and 4.589ff. (praying for a safe return together with his brother).

Pollux (Polydeukes) appears in the Greek epic again in 2.20ff. (the fight with Amycus), ib. 756 and 798 (especially welcomed at the court of Lycus) and 4.588 (see above). As 'sons of Tyndareus', moreover, they figure in 1.1045 (the battle against the Doliones), 2.806 (in the speech of Lycus) and 3.1315 (assisting Jason in yoking the fire-breathing bulls). VF too sets great store by the (semi-)divine twins: Castor is present in 2.427 (taking leave of his temporary wife in Lemnos), 4.226 and 333 (before and after his brother's boxing bout with Amycus), 5.546ff. (bringing the message from Jason to his men on the coast) and 6.204 (in the battle against the Scythians). Pollux appears in 3.149 (the battle around Cyzicus), extensively when boxing against Amycus (4.190ff.), 4.757 (pointed out by Jason to Lycus) and 8.245 (assisting in the wedding ceremony on the island of Peuce). The twins are coupled in 1.570f. (the favourable omen sent by Jupiter), 3.187ff. (again the battle around Cyzicus), ib. 330 (mourning after that battle), ib. 667f. (mentioned by Meleager as important participants after Hercules' disappearance), ib. 723 (both sad after the decision to sail on without Hercules) and 5.367 (as in beauty still surpassed by Jason after Juno's action in this respect).

taurea … terga: VF here combines the use of *tergum* denoting the boxing gauntlets as *caestus* (OLD 7b) as in V. *A.* 5.403 *duroque intendere bracchia tergo*, ib. 405 *terga boum* and 419 *Erycis tibi terga remitto* with the expression *taurea terga* of V. *A.* 9.706, which describes a shield, and Ov. *Fast.* 4.342 (a drum; cf. Cat. 63.10 *terga tauri … cava*). For the first use compare Stat. *Theb.* 6.732f. *nigrantia plumbo / tegmina cruda boum.*
vulnifico … plumbo: the use of lead to intensify the force of the blows in boxing is mentioned in V. *A.* 5.405 (quoted above) *terga boum plumbo insuto ferroque rigebant* and Stat. *Theb.* 6.732 (v.s.). The adjective *vulnificus* qualifies *chalybs* in V. *A.* 8.446 (see Fordyce and Gransden). It occurs also in Ov. *Met.* 2.504 (with *telum*) and 8.359 (with *sus*), Sen. *Phaed.* 345f. (*dentes*, also of a boar) and Stat. *Theb.* 4.87 (with *ensis*). VF stays close to Virgil in applying it to a metal.

celer: since Pollux traditionally specializes in boxing and Castor in riding (from Homer on: *Il.* 3.237), the epithet means rather 'agile, quick' (OLD 2) than simply 'fast'. It can also be considered as transferred from the blow itself; cf. 4.291 *celeri … sinistra* 'with a fast left'.

portat: 'carries with him', not: 'wears' (Mozley), which would be *gerit*.

For mss. *celera* twelve conjectures have been made, some of them necessitating further changes. We can safely leave aside *insita* (the earliest editions), *aerea* (Junt.), *praesutaque*, *velataque*, *vallataque* (all Heinsius), (*fert*) *alternantia* (Ellis), *crepitantia* (Köstlin 1881), *circumdata* (Lafaye), *nigrantia* (Clairin), *vulnificum … celantia plumbum* (Schrader, ap. Clausen). Two proposals remain which have to be taken seriously: Carrio's *caelataque*, which was very succesful, and *aspera* (first contributed by Withof in 1800; Chauvin (1894) seems not to have been aware of that). Nowadays *aspera* has won the field (Kramer, Courtney, Ehlers, Liberman, Spaltenstein, Dräger), and rightly so. While *caelata* from the sense of 'embossed, engraved' (even 'embroidered': 5.6), could in itself, with what Langen calls a 'facilis translatio', come to mean 'studded', the combination *taurea … caelataque* would be very awkward. *asper*, on the other hand, also denotes 'embossed, encrusted': apart from the passages mentioned in OLD (2), we have in addition Ov. *Met.* 13.701, Sen. *Phaedr.* 899, Stat. *Silv.* 3.1.38, Sil. 2.432 and 11.277, and in VF 3.141. Moreover, Statius in *Theb.* 4.169f. has both *aspera* and *caelata*, and in the same book (4.87) he combines *aspera* with the not so frequent *vulnifico* (see above).

Courtney's explanation of the mss. fault is convincing: after *celer a* the scribe's eye wandered to (*asp*)*era*, which resulted in the loss of the second element.

Lacon: the pl. *Lacones* denotes Castor and Pollux in Mart. 1.36.2 (*Ledaei … Lacones*), 9.3.11 (*piosque Laconas*) and *Sp.* 26.5 (*gratum … sidus … Laconum*), and the sg. is used as the name of (breeds of) hounds (Ov. *Met.* 3.219 (see Bömer), Hor. *Epod.* 6.5, Sil. 3.295) or individual Spartans. Sil. 14.207 *geminoque Lacone* comes closest to a singular in connection with one of the Dioscuri. VF repeats this use in 4.254 (see Korn), and 340, in both cases Pollux being meant, and 6.255 (Castor). He does not have the name for another man (or animal).

saltem: in training at least. He will show his skills in the famous fight against Amycus (4.261–314).

in vacuos … ventos: the idea of 'thrusts, strokes' into the air is in Latin first attested in Cat. 64.111 *nequiquam vanis iactantem cornua ventis* (of the vanquished Minotaur). Virgil describes a bull preparing for a fight in

G. 3.233f. (where see Thomas) and *A.* 12.105f. *ventosque lacessit / ictibus*, and the idea of 'shadow-boxing' is present in *A.* 5.377 *verberat ictibus auras*. VF added the adjective *vacuus* (which in other contexts regularly qualifies *aura* and *aer*) and replaced *lacessit / verberat ictibus* by the more artificial *bracchia … spargat*. In describing the fight with Amycus he writes (4.302f.) *vacuas agit … per auras / bracchia*. Note the position of *ut* as fourth word in the clause (K/S 2.614f.). *spargere* with various objects is a favourite verb in VF: see ANRW 2471ff. The combination with *bracchia* is an extension of *tela spargere* (V. *A.* 12.50f., Ennius (*Ann.* 284) already having *spargunt hastas*). Statius changed it into *spargere caestus* (*Ach.* 2.155), and *spargere vulnera* occurs both in VF (6.193) and in Statius (*Theb.* 10.744). *Oebalium … alumnum*: the adjective, sometimes meaning no more than 'Spartan' (OLD b; for instance V. *G.* 4.125) is here particularly appropriate since Oebalus was the father of Tyndareus and therefore officially the grandfather of Castor and Pollux. The same goes for 4.228 and 272, and 6.220, while Pollux is called *Oebalides* in 4.294 (*Tyndarides* ib.290). Korn (p.158 and 195) takes the words to mean simply 'Spartan', but in Statius they are also frequently connected with Pollux and his brother: *Theb.* 5.438, 6.822, 7.21, *Silv.* 3.2.10.

alumnus is often coupled with an adjective or genitive denoting the birthplace, as in 3.160 *Bistoniae … alumnum*, 4.223 *Calydonis alumni*, but sometimes it refers to the parent's name: V. *A.* 6.595 *Terrae omniparentis alumnum* (cf. Austin ad l.). Of course the element of the birthplace is present there as well, but not in Stat. *Silv.* 1.5.22 *Herculei … alumni* (= Hylas), where a kind of foster-father is indicated.

Pagaseia puppis: the adjective is natural, because Pagasa(e) was the port from which the Argo sailed. This form seems to be unique, *Pagasaeus* being the normal one: 5.435, 7.556 and 8.378 (here again with *puppis*). The combination with *puppis* occurs already in Ovid (*Met.* 7.1), who has the adjective in several other places, and later in Stat. *Ach.* 1.65. *Pagasaea ratis* is found in Luc. 2.715 and Sil. 11.469 and *Pagasaea carina* in Ov. *Met.* 13.24.

puppis … spectet contains a double metonymy: first the established poetical use of *puppis* to denote a ship, and here a new one for her crew. Statius took it over, even using the same verb, in *Theb.* 2.194f. *prospectat amicam / puppis humum* (where see Mulder). We have an example of personified *puppis* in Ov. *Met.* 6.519f. *fessis … puppibus*. Cf. 441ff. below *Argo …/ … relinquet …/… lugebit*.

securo … ludo: 'in peaceful and carefree play'. *secura quies* (Lucr. 3.211, 939, V. *G.* 2.467) comes closest to this new combination.

celebrantem litora ludo: Liberman, followed by Spaltenstein and Dräger, takes this to mean 'to fill the beach (with rapid movements)', but the expression is rather a fine example of 'aemulatio'. VF takes over a Virgilian combination (*A.* 3.280 *Actiaque Iliacis celebramus litora ludis*) while subtly changing the meaning. In Virgil the verb denotes, as often (OLD 1), 'to fill, throng'; here however Pollux causes the beach to be crowded with spectators. The double alliteration *s-—s-—l-—l-* is another aspect of the refined style of this passage.

After four lines devoted to Pollux, his brother now fills three of his own in a rather complicated sentence, which in prosaic word order would look like: *et Castor, melior ora (equi) contundere Thessalico freno, passus Cyllaron Amyclaea herba pinguescere dum (ipse) quaereret vectorem pavidae Helles*.

ora contundere: this harsh expression (for more usual *compescere*, OLD 4b) is first attested in Ov. *Am.* 1.2.15 *asper equus duris contunditur ora lupatis*. For *-que* connecting sentences instead of words see K/S 2.13.

Thessalico … freno: the mss. reading is *Thessalio*, but this form of the adjective is not attested elsewhere, and since VF has 14 instances of the usual *Thessalicus*, editors have not hesitated to correct.

The bridle is called 'Thessalian' because it was said to have been invented there, by a certain Pelethronius (Hyg. 274.2, Plin. *Nat.* 7.202) or near Pelethronium (see Thomas on V. *G.* 3.115). Cf. also Luc. 6.396–399 (with *Thessalicus sonipes*) and *Arg.* 7.604–606. Varro mentions *Thessalici equi* (*R.* 2.7.6).

melior: by Langen (and already by Pius) taken as 'better than his brother', but it seems more natural to assume that Castor is called 'better as a horseman (than as a boxer)'.

bonus with an infinitive is poetical (K/S 1.684): V. *Ecl.* 5.1f. (and 438 below). *melior* is used thus in Persius (4.16), Lucan (8.381 and 482), Statius (*Theb.* 10.234) and Silius (1.681 and 16.359), whereas only Statius has *optimus* with an infinitive (*Silv.* 2.3.70).

vectorem: the only other instance of this noun in the *Argonautica* is 282 above, which line bears a close resemblance to this one, both beginning and ending with (forms of) *vector* and *Helle*. Of course Castor can only go in search of what is left of the ram itself, the Golden Fleece, but the noun creates a nice surprise: after line 424 a reader finding *vectorem* would instinctively in the first place think of Castor's own *vector*, Cyllaros. This horse in its turn appears in 426, also in the accusative. With *pavidae … Helles* too VF refers back to the story as it is told in 277–293.

dum is placed after two elements (*vectorem*, *pavidae*) of the clause it governs. The subjunctive *quaereret* can be explained either as resulting

from analogy with *cum*-clauses (K/S 2.377) or as final / prospective, mirroring Castor's intention (K/S 2.380). Again, these labels may not have been separate in the poet's mind.

Amyclaea … herba: Amyclae was a small town near Sparta, and the adjective could therefore mean 'Spartan'. The connection with the Dioscuri was first made in V. *G.* 3.89, where the horse Cyllaros is attributed to Pollux instead of his brother; see Thomas and Mynors, who asserts that Amyclae was the birthplace of the twins. This seems never to have been stated explicitly in Latin texts. If Ov. *Her.* 8.71f. are spurious, *Amyclaeus* was not used to qualify Castor and Pollux until Flavian poetry: Stat. *Theb.* 6.329 (where the adjective appears near the mention of Cyllaros), 7.413, *Silv.* 4.8.29 (where see Coleman). The name of the horse also occurs, apart from the passages cited above, in Sen. *Phaed.* 811 (with Castor's name), Stat. *Silv.* 1.1.54, *Theb.* 4.215 (again with the name of Castor), Mart. 4.25.6, 8.21.5 and 28.8; the accusative form is everywhere *Cyllaron* (K/H 467). Ovid has a story about two young Centaurs, one of whom is called Cyllarus, in *Met.* 12.393–428 (see Bömer).

pinguescere: not a recommendation for a riding-horse, hence *passus*. The verb first appears in Lucr. (5.899), then in Virgil (*G.* 1.492) and Ovid (*Met.* 15.89); Statius has it twice (*Theb.* 1.604, 6.209) and Silius once (7.354). It is also used in prose.

427–432

> illis Taenario pariter tremit ignea fuco
> purpura, quod gemina mater spectabile tela
> duxit opus; bis Taygeton silvasque comantes
> struxerat, Eurotan molli bis fuderat auro.
> quemque suus sonipes niveo de stamine portat
> et volat amborum patrius de pectore cycnus.

After the heroes themselves have been introduced, there follows a rather elaborate description of their clothing, again in a lofty style with some instances of remarkable diction. Descriptions of clothes, especially embroidered ones, are a traditional feature of epic: see Poortvliet on 2.410ff. (Jason's cloak, a farewell gift from Hypsipyle). This one owes much to V. *A.* 4.262ff.: *ardebat—ignea*; *murice—fuco*; *ex umeris—de pectore*; *fecerat / discreverat—struxerat / fuderat*; *telas—tela*; *auro*. VF replaced *Tyrio* by *Taenario* and *tenui* by *molli*.

Taenario … fuco: the dye *fucus* was of vegetable origin, whereas *murex* was produced from the shellfish. *purpura* too originally implies animal

origin, and is therefore in the next line used in the general sense of '(purple) dye'. The noun first denotes the dye-stuff in Cat. 64.49 *tincta … roseo conchyli purpura fuco* (see Fordyce).

The usual spelling of the adjective referring to Taenarus is with -*i*- (as in Greek, *e.g.* AR 1.102). Therefore *Taenareo* (all mss. except B) was easily changed into *Taenario*. Since there seems to have been no special connection between Cape Taenarus and the purple dye, the adjective is probably just another equivalent, here and in 5.512 (where see Wijsman), for 'Spartan' (OLD d). Sparta was in fact famous for its production (Hor. *Carm.* 2.18.7f. *Laconicas …/… purpuras* and the parallels provided there by Nisbet-Hubbard). Note that Ovid refers to this type of purple with *Amyclaeus* (426 above): *Rem.* 707 *Amyclaeis medicatum vellus aënis*. The ablative is probably modelled on constructions like *nitere*, *fulgere* etc. with an ablative. It is therefore interesting to compare our passage to Luc. 10.123ff., which was presumably also in VF's mind (or subconscious): *Tyrio cuius pars maxima* ***fuco*** */ cocta diu virus non uno* ***duxit*** *aëno / pars* ***auro*** *plumata nitet, pars* ***ignea*** *cocco*. Of course, *tremit* is the more adventurous verb in connection with coloured surfaces; perhaps Propertius used it to describe the effects of light on water (4.6.26 *radiis picta tremebat aqua*), though the sea itself may also be said to 'tremble'. The adjective *tremulus* however qualifies 'light' from Ennius on (*scen.* 292; cf. V. *A.* 7.9 *splendet tremulo sub lumine pontus*), and this will surely have contributed to VF's diction here. He has it again in 5.108 *magnae pelago tremit umbra* (reflection) *Sinopes*, and possibly in 2.412f. *viridi circum horrida tela / silva tremit* it is not only the (pictured) wood which 'trembles' (because the embroidery was so like to nature), but also the colouring of the web which 'shimmers'. Very probably *vibrare* played a role as well: when Lucan wrote (5.446) (*pontus*) *non horrore tremit, non solis imagine vibrat*, he meant *tremit* as a movement of the water, but it may have helped VF to form his expression; the latter used *vibrare* again in a closely similar passage 2.342 *Tyrio vibrat torus igneus* (!) *ostro*, and experimented further in 8.57 with *saeva vibrantes luce tenebras* (cf. *clarae … noctis* 416 above). Silius finally peacefully fitted both elements into one sentence: *in tremulo vibrant incendia ponto* (2.664).

ignea is VF's counterpart of Virgil's *ardebat* and denotes a 'fiery' colour from V. *G.* 1.453 on: *caeruleus* (sc. *color*) *pluviam denuntiat, igneus Euros*. Cf. also Luc. 10.125 (quoted above) *pars ignea*. The elder Pliny has (8.137) *in gemmas … igneo colore fulgentes* and (12.110) *in colore rufo vel igneo*. Statius too uses the adjective in the same way: *Theb.* 4.265 *igneus ante omnes auro* (!) *micat, igneus ostro* and ib. 12.527f. *ignea gemmis / cingula*; VF has it in 2.342

(see above) and 6.708 *chlamys ignea*. 5.360f. *flammea murice … / tegmina* can also be compared, as can *ardenti tergo* 400 above.

gemina … tela: Burman took this to mean 'with double cloth', to wit purple and gold, referring to Stat. *Theb*. 11.402 *stamina purpureae sociaverat aurea telae*. In that case the ablative depends on *spectabile*, as in Ov. *Am*. 1.8.59 *palla spectabilis aurea* and *Her*. 6.49 *aries villo spectabilis aureo*. But, while it is true that golden threads can be woven in (Plin. *Nat*. 8.196 *aurum intexere*), *spectabilis* 'outstanding in appearance' (OLD 2) does not need an ablative, and where Castor and Pollux are concerned, *gemina* first and foremost suggests the famous twins. We should therefore rather side with Langen and translate 'on a double loom' (cf. OLD s.v. *tela* 4), on two looms, and the ablative is instrumental with *duxit*. Cf. Ov. *Met*. 6.54 *geminas intendunt stamine telas*.

mater: Leda, mentioned in 562 below: *Ledaeque … genus* (the Dioscuri). The position of *opus* in the relative clause is normal, the noun being an apposition to (*ignea*) *purpura* (K/S 2.313.4).

duxit: according to TLL (5.1.2148.64f.) this is the only instance of *ducere* where the object of art is manufactured in textiles, other cases concerning mostly metal or wax-work. However, the verb is not uncommon in the meaning 'to spin (thread, yarn)' (OLD 23c), with *stamina* or *fila* for the object (Tib. 1.6.79f.; Ov. *Met*. 14.265), and the combination is therefore less bold than *struxerat* and *fuderat* below.

Taygeton: this accusative form of the name (denoting the mountain range west of Sparta) seems to be unique; it does not figure in K/H 467 ε, and in extant literature (Virgil, Lucan, Statius, Silius) only other inflected forms are found (*Taygeti*, (pl.) *Taygeta*, *Taygeto*). There seems to be no instance of **Taygetum* either. The nominative *Taygetus* occurs in Plin. *Nat*. 4.16 and Mela 2.41.

silvasque comantes: the adjective qualifies plants and trees from Virgil on: *G*. 4.122f. *sera comantem / narcissum*, *A*. 12.413f. (*dictamnum*) *puberibus caulem foliis et flore comantem / purpureo*. In *Ep*. 114.5 Seneca condemns the style of some phrases of Maecenas, among which '*amne silvisque ripa comantibus*', as *involutam et errantem et licentiae plenam*; the only word smacking here of '(poetic) licence' can be *comantibus*.

struxerat: a novel expression; she had 'constructed, built' mountains and woods (by embroidering their pictures on her sons' cloaks). This idea, which suggests the height of mountains and trees, was apparently not taken over by later authors. Bolder still is *fuderat*, because from this verb the notion of manufacturing is absent: she 'pours out' the river by embroidering an image of a flowing river. The use of *fundere* to

describe the casting of metal objects does not seem relevant here. Langen rightly qualifies this with ‘audaci translatione’, and was followed in this by TLL (6.1.1565.27ff.), which mentions one imitative passage: Claud. *Rapt. Pros.* 1.255; Proserpina (also embroidering) *ostro* (‘with purple’) *fundit aquas*. This is interesting as one of the few instances where VF’s diction seems to have found favour in later times. It is not mentioned by Manitius 1889.

Eurotan: the famous river of Laconia. The accusative form on *-an*, as in Ov. *Met.* 10.169 (Bömer: ‘nur hier in der klassischen Dichtung’), is the only one VF uses in Greek nouns of the first declension (Romeo 12).

molli ... auro: ‘pliant gold’, as in V. *A.* 10.138 *molli subnectens circulus auro*.

quemque suus: for the use of *quisque* denoting ‘each of two’ instead of *uterque* Langen gives several parallels, referring also to K/H 1.648 A. 10. It seems to be restricted to phrases containing forms of *suus*, as here (or *vestras* in Ov. *Pont.* 1.10.44), so in all probability the regular combination of *suus* and *quisque* was the main cause for this variation from the standard rule. The word order is not the usual one (K/S 1.645b), but not unparalleled either, *e.g.* Ov. *Met.* 4.80 *oscula quisque suae non pervenientia contra*.

sonipes: already attested in Lucilius and Accius, this word developed into a poetic equivalent for ‘horse’ from Catullus (63.41) and Virgil (*A.* 4.135; 11.600, 638) on. In later epic it remained successful (12 instances in Lucan, 6 in VF, 12 in Statius, 29 in Silius), but it is remarkably absent from Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*.

niveo de stamine: the noun denotes properly the warp, but in fact came to mean in general the threads forming clothes etc., as in Prop. 4.9.52 *puniceo canas stamine vincta comas*. Cf. also Sil. 15.31 *niveae fulgebat stamine pallae*. VF has *niveus* in five places, three of which are in book I (also in l. 90 and 219). Langen argues that *niveo de stamine* qualifies *sonipes*, ‘a horse made of white threads’ (cf. K/S 1.499 ß), and he is right in pointing out the traditional white colour of the steeds of Castor and Pollux: Pind. *P.* 1.66 λευκοπώλων Τυνδαριδᾶν; Ov. *Met.* 8.373f. *nive candidioribus ambo / vectabantur equis* (see Bömer). On the other hand, the idea of the embroidery being so true to life that the horses seem to jump from the cloak is admittedly ‘paulo artificiosior’ (Langen), but it is in keeping with the figure in *struxerat / fuderat* and is followed up in the image of the next line, the swans flying from the twins’ clothes. Possibly the poet realized that his expression in 431 could be taken both ways and developed one of those in 432.

For *volat* see note above.

amborum, patrius: VF here follows the tradition that both were sons of Jupiter in the guise of the swan. They are called 'sons of Zeus' and 'Tyndaridae' at the same time *e.g.* in *h. Hom.* 33.1–2 and Eur. *Or.* 1689. The different version made only Pollux the son of Zeus, Castor being begotten by Tyndareus: Apollod. 3.10.7, *schol. Pind. N.* 10.80.

cycnus: the Greek loan word is associated with Leda's adventure in Ov. *Her.* 8.67. VF has the noun only here; *olorum* occurs in 6.102.

Note the fine chiasmus in *sonipes / niveo de stamine / portat* and *volat / amborum de pectore / cycnus*, concluding a piece of both polished and lively writing (see n. on 420–426).

The elevated style is also characterized by the high frequency of lines containing an adjective in the first half and the corresponding noun at the end, all with homoeoteleuton: 422 *Oebalium … alumnum*, 423 *securo … ludo*, 424 *Thessalico … freno*, 426 *Amyclaea … herba*, 427 *Taenario … fuco*, 428 *gemina … tela.*

433–435

> at tibi collectas solvit iam fibula vestes
> ostenditque umeros fortes spatiumque superbi
> pectoris Herculeis aequum, Meleagre, lacertis.

The next hero introduced to the reader is (34) Meleager, again in an apostrophe (see n. on 371). In AR (1.190f.) his home town (Calydon) and his father (Oineus) are mentioned. Afterwards he figures only twice more in the Greek epic: he kills two adversaries in the battle against the Doliones (1.1046f.), and declares himself willing to take over Jason's assignment in Colchis (3.518ff.; he is there characterized as a very young man). Neither is his role in VF important, with one exception: the vehement discussion with Telamon after Hercules has been noticed missing (3.637ff.; see note on 353–355 above). Together with his half-brother Tydeus he is mentioned in 4.223 (as *Calydonis alumni*) and in 5.573 (*Calydonis alumnos*), whereas *Oenides* (6.343) could designate either of the two (not in AR, who did not count Tydeus among the Argonauts).

at: like *sed* in 441, with hardly any adversative force left, simply introducing a new item in the catalogue. Virgil has the same usage in *A.* 7.691 *at Messapus* (cf. *ast* ib. 10.173).

collectas … vestes: the verb, meaning 'to gird up, to hitch up (one's clothing, etc.)', OLD 16 (TLL 3.1615. 82ff.), is not attested earlier in

connection with *vestes*. Cf. however Pl. *Capt.* 789 *collecto ... pallio*, V. *A.* 1.320 *nodoque sinus collecta fluentis*, Ov. *Am.* 3.2.26 and *Ars* 1.154 *collige* (sc. *pallia*), *Fast.* 1.407 *tunicam collecta*, and passages in Petronius, Statius and Martial.

solvit fibula: clothes are 'untied' (OLD 6) in Ov. *Am.* 3.1.51 and 3.7.81 *tunica ... soluta*, *Eleg. Maec.* 59 *tunicae ... solutae*. Here with a remarkable personification the brooch itself is said to perform the action (ANRW 2477). In fact the expression is stranger still, because a clasp does the very opposite to *solvere*, to wit *colligere*, so it is properly 'loosened' itself, instead of the garment. In Sil. 7.624f. *fibula morsus / ... laxata resolverat* the wording, although not usual, is less striking because of *laxata*. The clasp is probably loosened to facilitate rowing (Wagner). For the line-ending *fibula vestes* cf. V. *A.* 4.139 and Ov. *Met.* 8.318 *fibula vestem*.

ostenditque umeros fortes: for (*fibula*) *ostendit* the same goes as for *solvit*. The expression varies from Virgil's *ostenditque umeros latos* (*A.* 5.376) in that the element of strength is added (*fortes*), the reference to size being contained in the following *spatium* etc. The 'strong shoulders' are equally Virgilian: *A.* 9.364 *umeris nequiquam fortibus armat*.

spatiumque superbi / pectoris: periphrastic *spatium* with a genitive (instead of *spatiosum pectus*) seems to be new, because in Ov. *Met.* 2.671f. *crescit et oris / et colli spatium* the noun is functional in the description of a metamorphosis. When Juvenal writes *spatium admirabile rhombi* (4.39), he is clearly parodying elevated style (see Courtney). *superbus* qualifying parts of the body usually means 'haughty, arrogant' (often with *vultus*), with the probable exception of Stat. *Silv.* 1.2.167 *vultusque superbos* (Vollmer: 'im guten Sinne "prächtig"'). Here too it is used mainly in this positive sense of 'splendid, magnificent, superb' (see n. on 395). In 2.544f. VF has *aptatque superbis / arma umeris* (Hercules), where the element of pride is more marked because Hercules has vanquished the sea-monster. It is not likely (in spite of Shelton 27) that the epithet contains an allusion to Meleager's future conduct in the third book (see above). Cf. also the *lata ... pectora* of Hercules in 2.490f.

Herculeis ... lacertis: strictly speaking the size of Meleager's chest is equalled to Hercules' upper arms, which may be called a compliment to both heroes (Langen). On the other hand, restricting the meaning of *lacertis* to the arms would imply a 'stranezza iperbolica' (Cazzaniga), and *lacertus* appears more than once 'usu plus minus dilatato in significandis viribus' (TLL 7.2.830.30ff.). For a parallel cf. Stat. *Theb.* 8.683f. *telum ingens avide et quanto non ante lacerto / impulit.* Therefore we should not press the anatomical detail too hard and rather take *lacerti* as

'muscles'. *Herculeis … lacertis* occurs again in Stat. *Theb.* 6.893 and Claud. 26.438; cf. also Ov. *Met.* 15.229ff. *fletque Milon senior, cum spectat inanes / illos, qui fuerant solidorum mole tororum / Herculeis similes, fluidos pendere lacertos.*

The vocative form *Meleagre* is already attested in Ov. *Met.* 9.149 and *Her.* 9.151, and Sen. *Med.* 644; K/H 444f. A. 3.

436–440

> hic numerosa phalanx, proles Cyllenia: certus
> Aethalides subitas nervo redeunte sagittas
> cogere; tu medios gladio bonus ire per hostes,
> Euryte; nec patrio Minyis ignobilis usu
> nuntia verba ducis populis qui reddit Echion.

Next come three sons of Mercury: (35) Aethalides, (36) Eurytus and (37) Echion. AR too introduces them (1.51–56) as a threesome, noting that they had different mothers: Antianeira of Erytus and Echion, Eupolemeia of Aethalides. The latter is in the Greek version a herald like his father (1.640ff.), a role which VF transferred to his (half-) brother Echion. Later in AR (3.1175) he goes with Telamon to Aeetes in order to receive the dragon's teeth that Jason will have to sow. The Greek poet relates wondrous things about him in 1.644–649, which are treated by Fraenkel (93–96) with much scepticism and doubts concerning the correctness of the text. VF has no further mention of Aethalides after the catalogue.

Eurytus was in the Greek version named Erytus (also in Pind. *P.* 4.179), but AR, who has nothing more to say about him, mentions (1.87f., 2.114) an Eurytus as father of Clytius and Iphitus, who do not figure in VF. Apparently the Roman poet took over the name and applied it to another person (for the forms of the name cf. Bömer on Ov. *Met.* 8.308). In the Latin epic Eurytus is mentioned again in 3.99 and 471 (during and after the battle with the Doliones) and in 6.569 (in the war against the Scythians). Echion, whose name does not recur in AR, performs his function as a herald on three occasions in VF: first in 4.133–144, meeting and accompanying the unfortunate Dymas, then in 4.734ff., announcing the arrival of the Argonauts to the friendly people of the Mariandyni, and in 7.543ff., where he brings the message to Aeetes that Jason is prepared for his imposed task. Whereas AR has nothing special to say about Erytus and Echion, apart from their both being 'cunning', VF attributes specific skills to all three brothers, Aethalides being an expert with the bow and Eurytus with the sword.

This may be occasioned by the preceding distribution of specializations among Castor and Pollux: Erytus and Echion too are called 'twins' in Pind. *P.* 4.178.

hic: as in 362, 383.

numerosa phalanx: in itself, three is not a large number. Three brothers however in a total of 52 Argonauts could be called 'many' (cf. *agmina* 2.227 and Poortvliet). They form a *phalanx* not in its primary sense of 'battle array', but after the example of V. *A.* 12.277 *at fratres, animosa phalanx* (however, there a battle is going on). *proles Cyllenia*: in V. *A.* 4.258 it is Mercury who is thus denoted. Ovid (*Ars* 3.725) uses the combination for Cephalus. For *proles* with adjectives indicating parents or home-town see Korn on 4.141.

certus … cogere: for *certus* construed with an infinitive see on 191. Cf. also *certus iaculis* 366.

subitas … sagittas: Burman, followed by Langen, took the epithet to mean 'discharged after a short time of aiming'. It is perhaps better to assume a predicative force in combination with *nervo redeunte*: 'flying immediately when the string recoils'. For *subitus* as 'suddenly appearing' cf. 4.712 *ad subitam stupuere ratem.*

nervo redeunte describes the movement of the string when loosened after shooting. Comparable is Luc. 1.391 *redeuntis in aethera silvae*: the trees return to their previous upright position after having been bent by a gale.

sagittas / cogere: according to TLL 3.1527.50ff. 'singulariter dictum' as 'to compel', as in 2.465 (*ebur*) and 8.88 (*caput*). But cf. ib. 1524.80ff. ('res quae in alium locum coguntur'); some instances are given, mostly with objects denoting water (Sil. 8.382 *cogit aquas Ufens*). In Cic. *Inv.* 2.98 *vis ventorum invitis nautis in Rhodiorum portum navem coegit* both shades of meaning seem to be present. Less unusual is *sagittas impellere* (V. *A.* 12.856; Ov. *Met.* 11.324f., with *nervo*).

tu … Euryte: the apostrophes are heaped high now: *tibi* (433) = Meleager, *tu* (438) = Eurytus, *tuis* (441) = Iphis, *te* (444) = Admetus.

medios … per hostes: repeated in 6.237, after Virgil's *medios … in hostes* (*A.* 2.377). Maurach (1983:145) on *ire*: 'gehen im Kampfe; sich durchkämpfen', referring to Luc. 7.277 *ite per ignavas gentes.*

gladio bonus ire: a combination of *bonus* with an infinitive (see note on 424) and with an ablative (see note on 143). Moreover, the ablative *gladio* modifies the infinitive *ire* as well, denoting the weapon used during the battle: *ire pugnans gladio*. This is therefore a condensed expression, more remarkable than Ov. *Am.* 1.7.64 *in vultus unguibus ire meos*, because

there in fact it is the nails which 'go for the face'. The other passage mentioned in OLD (s.v. *eo*[1] 7) for this use of the ablative, Stat. *Silv.* 3.5.4, in all probability has nothing to do with it: in *nullis in te datur ire sagittis*, surely *nullis* … *sagittis* is a dative going with *datur*.

nec patrio Minyis ignobilis usu: according to TLL (7.1.299.3; cf. ib. 300.83) *Minyis* is the only instance of a dative with *ignobilis*. The construction then would be: 'not unimportant for the Minyans because of the experience imparted by his father' (OLD s.v. *usus* 7). At the same time *usus* may mean 'usefulness' (OLD 11), the dative *Minyis* being governed by *usu*: 'not unimportant because of the usefulness, (based on a quality) inherited from his father, to the Minyans'. Probably the poet himself would not have distinguished between these two possibilities or felt obliged to prefer either of them.

nuntia … *Echion*: note the strong *traiectio* of the relative pronoun, put in fifth position.

The *nuntia verba* are Ovidian: *Her.* 16.10. Cf. also *Pont.* 4.11.9 *nuntia* … *epistula*, and Stat. *Silv.* 4.8.36f. *nuntia* … / *littera*.

reddere verba (chiefly in Ovid) has several shades of meaning: 'to utter or pronounce words (in a given way)'; 'to answer'; 'to repeat' (Echo, or a parrot). Here exceptionally it must mean 'to convey a message' (Poortvliet on 2.600 *mea reddite dicta*), probably on the analogy of *reddere litteras* etc. (OLD 12).

441–443

sed non, Iphi, tuis Argo reditura lacertis
heu cinerem Scythica te maesta relinquet harena
cessantemque tuo lugebit in ordine remum.

(38) Iphis is one of the six Argonauts who appears in VF but not in AR (see note on 352ff.). His name is mentioned in the scholia on AR 4.223–230, where it is stated that he was killed in Colchis. VF took over this item, not reporting in book 6 Iphis' demise in the battle against the Scythians, but referring to it here and in 7.423.

Iphi, tuis: apostrophe again (see note on 438 above). *Non*, of course, only negates the pronoun *tuis* (*reditura lacertis*).

(*tuis*) *lacertis*: not because the Argo was reported by AR to be carried overland on the home voyage (Cazzaniga): *lacerti* are used in rowing (V. *A.* 5.141 *adductis* … *lacertis*, Luc. 3.525 *paribusque lacertis*, Sil. 14.358 *tonsis aptare lacertos*).

reditura: in OLD s.v. *eo*[1] 1c some instances are given of *ire* with ships

as subjects. Other cases of the same usage with *redire* are hard to find; somewhat comparable are Ov. *Tr.* 2.18 *et redit in tumidas naufraga puppis aquas* and *Met.* 7.664 *redituraque* (!) *vela*; Luc. 3.545 *in puppem rediere rates* is different.

Thilo corrected the mss. reading *celerem* into *cinerem* (XXXXVI) and was followed by almost all subsequent editors, only Schenkl and Kramer keeping *celerem*. The context (*heu; maesta; lugebit*) clearly shows that the poet is thinking of the deceased and buried Iphis, not of his swiftness during life. For *cinis* denoting a person after his death and burial cf. Calv. *carm. fr.* 15 *cum iam fulva cinis fuero*, Ov. *Met.* 8.496 *vos cinis exiguus gelidaeque iacebitis umbrae* (see Bömer), ib. 12.615 *iam cinis est*, *Am.* 2.6.42, Prop. 2.11.6 '*cinis hic docta puella fuit*'.

Argo … maesta: the opposite of *laeta … ratis* 170f. above. The adjective is used in poetry to qualify non-animate things from Virgil on: *G.* 1.480 *maestum inlacrimat templis ebur*. In most later instances a metamorphosis or a picture of a human being is implied (Sen. *Her.F.* 391, *Her.O.* 187f.; Stat. *Theb.* 7.418), or a specific locality is described (Stat. *Theb.* 4.447; in VF 664 below, 2.360 (if *maesti* is correct) and 493f.). Exceptions are: this line; Stat. *Theb.* 8.545 (*maestior ulmus*); Sen. *Thy.* 106f. *tuum maestae pedem / terrae gravantur*. Another emotion is ascribed to the Argo in 622f. below *pavidam …/… ratem*. For this type of personification cf. also *dubium* 401 above; ANRW 2478.

Scythica … harena: the noun probably denotes the shore, the coastal area (TLL 5.3.2530.22). It is true that it can also mean 'the dust on the battlefield where a warrior falls', as in V. *A.* 4.620 *cadat ante diem mediaque inhumatus arena*, in spite of Austin's 'on the open shore'; rightly Bömer on Ov. *Met.* 12.239 *madida resupinus harena* 'gehört zur Terminologie des Kampfes' (cf. also V. *A.* 5.374, 9.589, 12.276 and 382; Stat. *Theb.* 3.334 (where the warrior is a bull), *Arg.* 6.620). Here, however, the Argonauts, having won the day, will probably not leave Iphis *inhumatus* on the battlefield, so *arena* presumably denotes the coastland.

relinquet, lugebit: again the actions and emotions of the crew are attributed to the ship; see note on 422. For *lugere* with a non-animate subject cf. Lucr. 5.1138f. *praeclarum insigne …/… magnum lugebat honorem* and Ov. *Met.* 11.46f. *arbor …/… luxit*; but also in prose: Cic. *Ver.* 3.47 *ut ager ipse … lugere dominum videbatur* (TLL 7.2.1800.30ff.).

cessantem … remum: the participle seems to combine the notions distinguished in OLD 4a 'to do nothing, be inactive, idle, etc.', 4b 'to be neglected, remain unused' and 5 'to be at rest, be motionless'. Under

the first of these headings a good parallel is given: Sen. *Ben.* 5.25.6 *instrumenta cessant, nisi illa in opus suum artifex movit.* TLL (3.961.17) paraphrases 'deficere, quiescere, deesse'.

Between the mss. reading *tuo* and Bährens' *tuom* (*tuum*), taken over by i.a. Langen and Courtney, there is little to choose: 'your oar in the file' is almost equivalent to 'the oar in your place in the file'. Langen wrongly denies that *ordo* could mean 'a specific position in a row'; TLL 9.2.964.64ff. gives as instances for this use Pl. *Amph.* 241 *quisque ut steterat iacet optinetque ordinem*, V. *A.* 3.447 *neque ab ordine cedunt*, Pers. 3.67f. *ordo / quis datus*, Stat. *Theb.* 6.390 *iamque locus cuique est et liminis ordo*; in the last two cases the position in the starting-line is meant. With *tuo* we have an almost perfect Golden Line, and it seems best to keep it with Ehlers, Liberman, Spaltenstein and Dräger.

444–449

te quoque dant campi tanto pastore Pheraei
felices, Admete; tuis nam pendit in arvis
Delius ingrato Steropen quod fuderat arcu.
a quotiens famulo notis soror obvia silvis
flevit ubi Ossaeae captaret frigora quercus
perderet et pingui miseros Boebeide crines!

(39) Admetus receives a relatively lengthy introduction (6 lines), although he does not appear after the catalogue, either in VF or in AR (1.49f.). The Roman poet dwells on a well-known situation in the life of Admetus, adding a picturesque vignette of Diana which is charming in itself but not very original (see below) nor in any way relevant to the expedition.

te quoque: see note on 380.

dant: for a country 'giving' (one of) its inhabitants to an expedition see V. *A.* 10.172 *sescentos illi dederat Populonia mater* (in general Virgil prefers *mittere*: see note on 360). VF has *dare* in this sense again in 478 below. Cf. also *contulit* 359 above.

Pheraei … campi: the plains around Pherae, a town in Thessaly. The adjective occurs already in classical prose: Cic. *N.D.* 3.70 *Pheraeo Iasoni* (not our hero! see Pease ad l.). It is associated with the story of Apollo tending the cattle of Admetus from Ovid on: *Ars* 2.239f. *Cynthius Admeti vaccas pavisse Pheraei / fertur*, *Her.* 5.151f. *ipse repertor opis vaccas pavisse Pheraeas / fertur*; also in Sen. *Her.F.* 451 *pastor Pheraeos Delius pavit greges.*

tanto pastore: Apollo (see below). The ablative is causal, qualifying

felices: 'happy with such a herdsman'. Since the adjective often retains (something of) its original meaning 'fertile, productive', there may well be a hint at the story that the cattle bore twins during Apollo's presence there (Apollod. 3.10.4).

tuis … in arvis: see note on *Pheraei … campi* above.

pendit or *pendet*? Courtney and Liberman prefer the present tense form, Ehlers the future, all ignoring the alternative in their apparatus. Ehlers later (*MH* 1985:346 n.44) added '*pendit* LV', thereby implicitly ascribing *pendet* to S, which is in accordance with Thilo's attribution to P. The future form would be the more natural one, because Apollo will not be serving as a herdsman for Admetus at the same time as the expedition of the Argo. On the other hand, future events can be presented as happening now, in this case the more easily because of *felices*, with which *futuri* must be understood. Therefore it seems best to keep *pendit*, for which there is more mss. authority.

pendere in the sense of 'to pay (a penalty)' usually takes *poenas* as object, but there are exceptions. In the wake of Virgil's most curious *scelus expendisse* ('to pay the crime'; *A.* 2.229) we have other objects referring not to the punishment, but to the alleged crime: *Arg.* 4.477f. *culpam … crimina*; Stat. *Ach.* 1.659 *conubia*. Closer still is Luc. 2.312f. *hac caede luatur / quidquid Romani meruerunt pendere mores* 'let by this (= my) blood be expiated everything (*i.e.* "every sin") for which Roman behaviour deserved punishment'. Fantham (ad l.) and Liberman take *quidquid* as denoting the penalty itself, but that has already been expressed by *hac caede*. Here the object denoting the cause of the punishment is contained in the *quod*-sentence, as Thilo (LXXXVIf.) noted: he is punished for having killed Steropes (one of the Cyclopes). His reason for this act was, according to Eur. *Alc.* 1–7, the fact that Zeus had killed Asklepios, Apollo's son, using the thunderbolts made by the Cyclopes. Van Broekhuizen (on Tib. 2.3.17; followed by Burman and Langen) presented the killing of Phaethon by Jupiter as an alternative explanation of Apollo's wrath, based on the identification of Helios / Sol, the father of Phaethon, with Apollo. There is nothing on it in Bömer on Ov. *Met.* 1.747ff. (p. 220f.). The killing of Python has also been adduced as an explanation of the punishment: cf. K.F. Smith on Tib. 2.3.11–32 and Bömer on Ov. *Met.* 2.679.

There is also a completely different version of Apollo's bondage to Admetus: the god fell in love with the king and served him voluntarily. This story is recorded in Callim. *H.* 2.49 and in Latin literature by Ovid (*Ars* 2.239f., *Her.* 5.151f. (if genuine), also cited on *Pheraei* 444 above),

Tib. 2.3.11ff., [Tib.] 3.4.67ff. and Sen. *Phaed.* 296ff. The form of myth adopted by VF is further attested in Serv. on *A.* 6.398 and 7.761, Probus on *G.* 3.2, and *Orph. Argon.* 176ff.

Delius for Apollo occurs earlier in [Tib.] 3.4.79 and 6.8; Ovid has it only in the *Metamorphoses* (see Bömer on 1.454). Later it occurs in Petr. 89.4, Stat. *Theb.* 1.628, 7.753, *Silv.* 4.3.152, *Ach.* 1.487 (TLL Onom. 3.89.75ff.).

Steropes is named as one of the Cyclopes from Hesiod on (*Th.* 140; taken over by Virgil in *A.* 8.425 *Brontesque Steropesque*). Cf. also Callim. *H.* 3.68, Ov. *Fast.* 4.288, Stat. *Silv.* 1.1.4, 3.1.131. In all these places he is coupled with one of his fellow-smiths (mostly Brontes), not singled out as here for all of them.

fuderat: the verb is used in the sense of 'to kill' from Virgil on. Often the addition of *corpus* / *corpora* and *humi* / *humo* or similar stress the original meaning 'to lay low' (*A.* 1.193, 9.722, 11.102 and 665), but not in *A.* 9.592 *fortemque manu fudisse Numanum.* There are, moreover, four instances in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, two in Lucan and five in the Senecan tragedies. Cf. in VF 4.746 (but in 2.107 and 6.582 it rather means 'to overcome').

ingrato … arcu: according to TLL (7.1.1563.8) this is the only passage in classical Latin where the adjective is 'fere i.q. *infestus*'. Probably it is an extended use of the meaning 'unwelcome, displeasing' (OLD 3), in that the bow (*i.e.* the action performed with it) is said to arouse Jupiter's displeasure. Somewhat comparable is V. *A.* 12.144 *Iovis … ingratum cubile*: the bed is not thankless, but the women will earn little gratitude for sharing it. Liberman, followed by Spaltenstein, prints van Broekhuizen's *irato*, which is possible but less striking.

Lines 447–449, in which the distress of Diana on seeing her brother roaming unkempt as a servant through Thessaly is described, are an obvious variation of Tib. 2.3.17ff. The common verbal elements are (Tibullus first): *o quotiens* (2x)—*a quotiens*; *occurrens … soror*—*soror obvia*; *capillos, crines*—*crines*. VF eliminated Latona, the calf carried by the god and the mooing cattle disturbing his music, and the reference to the oracle not functioning. He accentuated the servitude of Apollo (*famulo*); changed *per agros* and *valle sub alta* into *notis … silvis*; combined *erubuisse* and *doluit* into *flevit*; added some geographical detail (*Ossaeae*; *Boebeide*), the references to cool shade sought by the god, and the detrimental effect of Lake Boebeis' waters on Apollo's hair (*horrere*, *inornatum* and *solutos* are made worse: *perderet*; *miseros*). In three lines (Tibullus using ten) he gives a succinct impression of a degrading situation,

leaving out the more pastoral aspects, which in the text of Tibullus figure also before line 17.

a quotiens: also in Luc. 5.615; *o quotiens* V. *Ecl.* 3.72.

famulo: the noun does not seem to be used elsewhere to characterize Apollo's condition, but cf. Stat. *Theb.* 6.375 *Peliacis hic cum famularer in arvis* (Apollo speaking).

notis ... silvis: 'well-known (to her)'. As a huntress Diana was familiar with the forest. The moment of encounter is not placed during Apollo's pastoral activities as in Tibullus, where the meeting takes place 'in the fields'; here the god is seeking some rest in the shadow of the woods.

Ossaeae ... quercus: the noun is of course to be taken in a collective sense. Ossa is a mountain on the north side of Thessaly; the adjective derived from its name is attested in Ov. *Met.* 12.319 (*ursae*), *Ciris* 33 (*saxis*); Luc. 6.334 (*rupes*) and 7.176 (*Ossaeam ... Boebeida*; hardly a coincidence).

captaret ... frigora: a clear echo of Virgil (*Ecl.* 1.52 *frigus captabis opacum*, ib. 2.8 *pecudes umbras et frigora captant*). Later Statius has (*Silv.* 4.4.17) *Anienaque frigora captant.* The subjunctive is iterative (*quotiens*); cf. K/S 2.206f., Sz. 624.

perderet ... crines: this correction in V (for *penderet*) is probably right, although it is not easy to find a good parallel (and several other emendations have been proposed: *panderet*; *spargeret*; *pecteret*; *tergeret*; *funderet*; *tingeret*). The meaning must be 'to spoil the beauty of ..., to ruin' (cf. OLD 2). Luc. 6.224 comes quite close: *perdiderat vultum rabies.*

miseros is a case of prolepsis. For postponed *et* see 95, 119, 320, 370.

pingui ... Boebeide: Lake Boebeis is already located near Pherae (⟩ *Pheraei* 444) in Hom. *Il.* 2.711, where Admetus is also mentioned. Cf. further Strabo 9.5.2, 15. In the *Orph. Argon.* 166 it is associated with Eurydamas. Town (Boebe) and lake are situated near Mt. Pelion rather than Mt. Ossa, but this combination is clearly taken over from Luc. 7.176 (cited on *Ossaeae* 448). In Latin the name *Boebeis* is first attested in Prop. 2.2.11 (*Boebeidos undis*); Ovid calls the lake *Boebe*: *Met.* 7.231 *iuncosaque litora Boebes* (cf. Bömer ad l.). With regard to *pingui* the notion of 'muddy, turbid' almost imposes itself: how otherwise could the water of the lake 'spoil' Apollo's hair? But in fact the adjective is hardly ever used in this sense. Sen. (*Nat.* 3.2.2) distinguishes *aquae tenues* and *pingues* (also short before *purae* and *turbidae*, differences in colour). *tenuis* in its turn sometimes means 'free from impurities, fine, pure, clear' (OLD 3c, referring to Vitr. 8.4.2 *aqua tenuis et summa salubritate* and Ov. *Met.* 3.161 *fons ... tenui perlucidus unda*). Maybe Ovid's *iuncosa* 'rushy' (see above) also suggests a shallow and somewhat miry lake.

450–456

insurgit transtris et remo Nerea versat
Canthus, in Aeaeo volvet quem barbara cuspis
pulvere; at interea clari decus adiacet orbis
quem genitor gestabat Abas—secat aurea fluctu
tegmina Chalcidicas fugiens Euripus harenas
celsaque *semiferum contorquens frena luporum
surgis ab ostrifero medius, Neptune, Geraesto.

(40) Canthus too, like Admetus, is introduced at some length. AR mentions him in the catalogue (1.77ff.), adding that he was not to return home. In 4.1486–1497 the Greek poet relates how he was killed in Libya by a shepherd defending his flock. VF has him fall in the battle against the Scythians, foretold here and narrated in 6.317ff.; afterwards a fight arises about his corpse and armour. He was already mentioned in 166 above and later appears in 3.192 (the battle of Cyzicus) and 7.422 (together with Iphis), where Jason reproaches Aeetes for not appreciating the effort of the Argonauts in the battle on his behalf, in which the two were killed.

insurgit transtris: in Virgil's *remis insurgimus* (*A.* 3.207; cf. ib. 560 and 5.189) the case of the noun is certainly dative, as in *Arg.* 2.13 *remis insurgitur*. But the thwarts are essentially different from the oars and therefore *transtris* here is best taken as an ablative: 'on' or 'from which' (Romeo 85). For *transtris* cf. V. *A.* 4.573 *considite transtris*, where the case is not clear.

remo … versat: cf. Ov. *Her.* 13.98 (*ratis*) *fatigatas ultima verset aquas*; further Stat. *Theb.* 2.107 *versantisque aequora clavi* and *Arg.* 4.687 *verset aquas* (but not in rowing there!). Virgil has *vertere* in this sense ('to churn the waters') in *A.* 3.668 and 10.208, as also Stat. (*Theb.* 5.309 *aequora vertunt*) and VF 3.473f. *versum … mare.*

Nerea: this metonymy for 'the sea' is recorded previously in Ov. *Met.* 1.187, *Her.* 9.14, [Tib.] 4.1 (= *Paneg. Mess.*).58, Prop. 4.6.25, Luc. 2.713, Sen. *Oed.* 507, Stat. *Silv.* 2.2.75 (and other instances noted by van Dam). In Greek the first attested instance is Callim. *H.* 1.40. Persius ridicules 'modern' diction in 1.94 '*qui caeruleum dirimebat Nerea delphin*'. In fact, *dirimere Nerea* is hardly more remarkable than *versare Nerea.*

in Aeaeo … pulvere: Aea was the name of a region in Colchis (cf. 742 below) and so *Aeaeus* is used by VF to denote 'Colchian' here and in seven other passages. The adjective was used earlier in connection with Aeaea, the mythical island of Circe or Calypso: V. *A.* 3.386 *Aeaeae … insulae Circae*, Ov. *Am.* 1.8.5 and *Met.* 4.205; cf. Prop. 3.12.31 *thalamum*

Aeaeae flentis fugisse puellae (= Calypso) and Stat. *Theb.* 4.551. There was, however, a tradition that Circe had lived in the East (see Williams on *A.* 3.386, cited above), so VF's innovation is not as great as it would seem at first sight.

in … pulvere means 'on the battlefield' (see n. on *harena* in 442). OLD (2b) refers to Stat. *Theb.* 4.261 *pulvere belli* and Juv. 11.200 *Cannarum in pulvere*, and VF has *Getico … de pulvere* in 7.645. Cicero uses *pulvis* several times as a metonymy for 'real life' (with oratorical battles, as against the relaxed exercises *in umbra*), *e.g.* in *de Or.* 1.157. In other passages the reference is to a race-course (OLD 2a).

volvet: in the active form this is a rather unusual verb to express 'to lay low, to kill' (cf. note on *fuderat* 446). It looks like an extension of V. *A.* 12.329 *semineces volvit multos*; in the middle voice it is not uncommon. For postponed *quem* see on 440.

barbara cuspis: again the instrument itself is said to perform the action; cf. 433 above *solvit … fibula.* In 7.422 Canthus is fallen *externa … cuspide.*

There follows a purely picturesque description of a shield; neither shield nor owner will play a significant part later in the story.

clari … decus orbis: Virgil has *orbis* with the defining genitive *clipei* in *A.* 2.227, 10.546, 12.925 (and VF in 6.367). The noun denotes a shield on its own in V. *A.* 10.783 and in Petr. 89.61 (*commovent orbes manu*) and in all three Flavian epicists: *Arg.* 6.345 *ingentem Telamon … extulit orbem* (to protect the body of fallen Canthus), Stat. *Theb.* 2.258 and 581, 3.226 and *Ach.* 1.852, Sil. 2.450 (in some places *clipei* appears close by).

clari 'gleaming'; cf. Pl. *Mil.* 1 *splendor meo … clupeo clarior.*

orbis itself is now a defining genitive governed by *decus*. For the use of this noun 'metonymice: res ornans, ornamentum' cf. TLL 5.1. 241.33ff. The earliest noted instance is Hor. *Epod.* 5.7 *purpurae decus*. The piece of armour usually described in this way is the helmet: Stat. *Theb.* 11.324 (*d. galeae*), Sil. 1.525 (*d. iubarum*), 4.14 (*coni d.*), 10.399 (*cristarum d.*).

adiacere is mostly used in a topographical sense. Here it is first attested with a general meaning 'to lie near' without a dative (not recorded in OLD, where only instances from Tacitus are given).

quem … Abas: an echo of V. *A.* 3.286 *magni gestamen Abantis* (a different Abas). See also Ov. *Met.* 15.163f. *cognovi* (Euphorbus) *clipeum laevae gestamina nostrae / nuper Abanteis templo Iunonis in Argis*, where the adjective refers to Acrisius, son of Abas (cf. *Met.* 4.607f.). For AR, Abas was Canthus' grandfather, his father's name being Canethus (1.77f.). The verb *gestare* has an object denoting 'shield' from Plautus on (*Trin.* 596 *clupeus*); cf. also Ov. *Met.* 13.347 *taurorum tergora septem*, Mela 1.26 *parmam*, Tac.

Ger. 46[2] *scuta. secat*: Langen takes this verb to refer to a ship crossing the water. The Euripus, however, is not a ship but a strait with a strong current, and rivers are regularly said to traverse an area; instances are V. *A.* 7.717, 8.63, Ov. *Fast.* 2.704, Luc. 3.210 and 271 (cf. *Mnem.* 1988:363f.). *fluctu* 'with its stream' also clearly points in that direction. On the other hand, the description reminds us of the dolphins on the shield of Aeneas in *A.* 8.671ff., especially in view of *aurea … fluctu* 672 (here *aurea fluctu*), *clari* 673 (here in 452), *orbem* 673 (here *orbis* 452), *secabant* 674 (here *secat*). Probably therefore VF wished to combine the image of a stream running across an area with the suggestion of animals (different ones; see below) cleaving the water.

aurea … tegmina: although *tegmen* may occasionally mean 'the cover of a shield' (Sil. 2.474), it usually denotes the (protecting) shield itself from Lucr. 3.649 on; cf. V. *A.* 9.577 and 10.887, *Arg.* 3.99 and 6.54. *aurea* therefore is not 'golden', but 'gilded' (OLD 2; TLL 2.1490.69ff. 'auro ornatus').

Chalcidicas … harenas: the Euripus was notorious for its strong and often shifting currents. When VF describes it as 'fleeing the beach of Chalcis' (and therefore carrying ships in the opposite direction), he gives only an instantaneous picture; Lucan, who also presents the direction of the current as away from the island (5.235ff.), dutifully adds *cursum mutantibus undis* (see van Amerongen ad l.). Cf. also Mela 2.7.108 *fluctibus in vicem versis*. For *harena* as 'coast' see note on 181; *Chalcidicus* is already combined with the mention of Euripus in Cic. *N.D.* 3.24, where see Pease for further references.

For the next (golden) line, 455, the interpretation presented in *Mnem.* 1988:364–368 is based on two assumptions: first, the animals described are almost certainly sea-horses (cf. V. *G.* 4.388f. and Serv. ad l., *Ciris* 394f., *Arg.* 2.508, Stat. *Theb.* 2.45f., *Ach.* 1.59f.). These beings were associated with Neptune and other deities of the sea, but nowhere are they called *lupi*, which would indeed be a strange way to describe them. For TLL's interpretation of this isolated passage with the help of an 'animal fabulosum hippocampi simile' (7.2.1858.74) there is no support whatsoever. In the second place, these animals cannot be called *semifer*. Liberman supposes 1) that the Romans (or at least VF) assumed the existence of an animal half-fish, half-wolf; 2) that they (or he) called it *lupus*; 3) that it couid be called *semifer* because a wolf is 'wild' but a fish is not. This is asking far too much. The adjective *semifer* is used to describe (see the careful discussion by K. Neiss, *Semifer capricornus*, in *Hermes* 1961:498–502) either a creature half-beast (and therefore half-

human) or an animal half-wild (and therefore half-domesticated). It is clear that neither of these meanings applies to sea-horses, which are half-fish, half-horse, or to the supposed 'sea-wolves'. It is therefore almost impossible that the *lupi* could denote the animals (which are taken for granted in a context referring to Neptune and are therefore not to be specified). We should rather think of the bit with jagged teeth with which they are guided: Ov. *Tr.* 4.6.4 (*equus*) *et placido duros accipit ore lupos*, Stat. *Ach.* 1.280f. *non aspera praebet / ora lupis*. *frena luporum* is then equivalent to Horace's *frena lupata* (*Carm.* 1.8.6f.).

With regard to the unexplained and inexplicable adjective two more facts are worth noticing. First, in another passage showing this use of *lupi*, Man. 5.73f. *stare levi cursu moderantem quattuor ora / spumigeris frenata lupis*, the noun is qualified with a form of *spumiger*, whereas in Stat. *Ach.* 1.59 (quoted above) we read *spumiferos … cursus*. Second, two mss. of VF, Mal (= A in Courtney) and Q, have *fumiferum* (Ehlers, *Unters.* 30). So we must consider the possibility that what VF wrote was *spumiferum*, which could through **sumiferum* result in both *fumiferum* and *semiferum*. The adjective does not occur elsewhere in VF, but that is no objection: he has several epithets only once (six alone, for instance, beginning with *a*-). The meaning then would be: 'controlling the rearing bit (= the bit of the rearing sea-horses) with its foaming teeth'. For *sp*- preceded by a short vowel cf. for instance V. *A.* 11.309.

Apart from the 'half-wild' (swimming) 'wolves' there are two more items in the line that call for comment. *celsus* 'upright' denotes an animal holding its head high (Sen. *Tro.* 539, of a bull) and, more often, a part of its body: *collum* (Ov. *Met.* 11.358, Sen. *Med.* 59f.), *pectus*, *cervix*, *nares*, *caput* (TLL 3.773.61ff.), but never of a bridle, as is here the case in any interpretation. Furthermore, *contorquere* is used with objects such as horses (Enn. *Ann.* 486), a chariot (Cic. *Arat.* 61), a prow (V. *A.* 3.562), but not previously with a bit (TLL 4.736.55). Lucr. 4.904 comes closest: (*ventus*) *gubernaclum contorquet.*

surgis: 'to emerge, rise to the surface', as in Luc. 3.703 (*per vacuos … fluctus*), *Arg.* 2.321, Stat. *Silv.* 3.2.16 (*Nereides*) *surgite de vitreis spumosae Doridos antris*, and possibly also *Ach.* 1.121f. *visa … de litore surgens / Nereis* (if *surgens* is correct and if *de litore* depends on *visa*). In V. *A.* 4.129 (= 11.1) *Oceanum interea surgens Aurora reliquit*, the verb primarily seems to mean 'to rise (from bed)', though the suggestion of coming up to the surface also presents itself.

medius: Langen saw a problem in the fact that Geraestus is the southernmost promontory of Euboea and therefore ill suits *medius*. Damsté

1921 suggested that the epithet means '(rising) up to the middle', but the parallel Prop. 2.31.9 *tum medium claro surgebat marmore templum* speaks strongly against this. Probably Neptune is pictured in the middle of the shield, rising from Euripus at its southern point.

ab ostrifero ... Geraesto: a brachylogy for 'from the waters near ... Geraestus'. The name of the promontory is spelled either as Gerastus or as Geraestus (RE 7.1233). It is first attested in Homer (*Od.* 3.177) and occurs in AR 3.1244, in both cases as Geraistos. This is clearly the predominant form and should probably be preferred here too, with Ehlers, Liberman, Spaltenstein and Dräger; however the mss. have *Gerasto*, kept by Courtney. OLD does not mention it; for some Latin instances see L/S.

ostrifero: 'oyster-producing'. In Virgil this is a qualification of Abydus (*G.* 1.207, where see Thomas), and Lucan has (9.959) *ostriferam ... Calchedona*. Later the adjective is used by Avienus and Ausonius.

457–461

et tibi Palladia pinu, Polypheme, revecto
ante urbem ardentis restat deprendere patris
reliquias, multum famulis pia iusta moratis
si venias. breviore petit iam caerula remo
occupat et longe sua transtra novissimus Idas.

The remaining rowers are (41) Polyphemus and (42) Idas. Both receive less attention than in AR. In the Greek epic Polyphemus, introduced in the catalogue 1.40 ff., stays behind in Mysia after Hercules' disappearance, looking for his comrade without finding him. Later he will found a city there and die in the country of the Chalybians (1.1240 ff., 1321 ff., 1345 ff., 4.1470 ff.). In VF's version he does not appear again. At least here in the catalogue more than three lines are devoted to him, but in the case of Idas (less than two lines here) the difference in treatment later in the poem is still more striking (Ratis[1] 231 f.). Idas (mentioned 166 above together with Telamon, Canthus and *Tyndareus puer*) reappears in the story several times, but again (with one exception) combined with other Argonauts. In 3.471 he is mentioned with Eurytus and Talaus, rowing after the purification ceremony in the country of Cyzicus; in 4.224 together with Peleus and Telamon (*Aeacidae*), Meleager and Tydeus (*Calydonis alumni*), *Nelides* (probably Periclymenus) and Pollux, all volunteering for the boxing fight with Amycus. In 6.342 he takes part with *Oenides* (= Meleager?), Menoetius and Pollux in the struggle for the body of the fallen Canthus (ib. 382 his name occurs again). In AR, on

the other hand, Idas is a marked, though not very pleasant, personality. This is not so apparent in instances such as 1.1044 (in the battle against the Doliones) and 2.830f. (where he kills the boar that had mortally wounded Idmon); but slightly more so in 3.516, where he volunteers with Peleus, Telamon and the sons of Tyndareus to take over Jason's task when there is a general despondency after Aeetes' conditions have been heard. However, the differences between VF and his predecessor are most clearly illustrated on two other occasions.

First, AR has a description of the situation on the beach the night before departure. Jason is at a loss, brooding over the impending risks (1.460f.), whereupon Idas takes him to task in a brutal way (ib. 463–471). This is not received well by the other Argonauts, and Idmon rebukes him forcefully (476–484), but does not succeed in calming Idas (485–491). The quarrel would have gone further, had it not been quelled by the other Argonauts, in particular Jason and Orpheus (492–495). Of all this there is nothing in VF, for whom Jason is the undisputed leader from the beginning (not in AR: see n. on *Alcides* 35). Quite probably he found the Thersites-like action of Idas not in accordance with the standards of epic dignity set by Virgil.

A second occasion where Idas figures prominently in AR is in his third book, after Argus' proposal to seek help from Medea. This idea is unacceptable to Idas and he protests against it vigorously (3.556ff.), without receiving support from his shipmates. In 1169f. he is still sulking on his own, and in 1252f. his resentment is not abated. VF has kept one hint of this oppositional attitude: in 7.574f. he tells us that Idas had wept at (not protested against!) the help of Medea's sorcery and *invito prospexit Colchida vultu*. But he is not the only Argonaut who had his doubts about the foreign princess: in 8.211 general *murmura* are mentioned and ib. 385–396 the men seem only too willing to avoid battle with the pursuing Colchians by giving up Medea (after all, in VF's version they had not been consulted about her cooperation). In the Greek epic, on the other hand, the collective body of Argonauts was very much in favour of Medea and the magical aid provided by her: 3.555 (564), 1170f., 1254ff., everywhere in pointed contrast to Idas. Even more remarkable is their declared willingness to defend Medea if it should prove necessary (4.1053–1057). VF therefore clearly and deliberately chooses a very different approach to the character of Idas, effectively diminishing his individual importance. This is the more striking because it runs counter to his general tendency to increase the role of individual Argonauts against the group as a whole (*Ratis*[1]

235f.). By omitting both Idas' abusive attack on Jason and his personal opposition to the involvement of Medea, he strengthens the position of Jason as unchallenged leader.

et: Burman's *at* (taken over by Kramer, Courtney, Liberman and Spaltenstein) was conjectured in combination with *relicta* instead of *revecto*, based on the assumption that Polyphemus stayed behind with Hercules, as in AR's version: Polyphemus left the Argo, not returning with it, and therefore came too late to attend his father's funeral. It was probably the same idea which made Bährens, followed by Langen, print *nec* instead of *et*. But it is clear that VF has Hercules alone left behind, and so the only reason for choosing *at* could be the wish to stress the opposition between Canthus, who did not return, and Polyphemus, who did. There is something to be said for this, but it is Canthus who is the exception, not Polyphemus, and moreover an opposition need not be made explicit by *at* (Sz. 481). Conversely, *at* may simply introduce a new item (as in 433). *at* in 462 is different: it underscores the distinction between the rowers and the other members of the crew. It seems therefore best to keep the mss. reading with Ehlers and Dräger. For *et* in the enumeration (more often *quoque*: 360, 380, 391, 444) cf. 362 and 407.

tibi … revecto: for the dative with *restat* cf. V. *A.* 7.271 *hoc Latio restare canunt.*

Palladia … pinu: for Pallas' part in constructing the ship cf. 93–95, 126, 215. The adjective returns in 478 and qualifies the Argo again in 5.206 (*ratem*), 8.292 (*puppem*), 463 (*prora*). It is earlier attested in Virgil (*G.* 2.181), Ovid and other poets.

pinu used metonymically for 'a ship' (also 687, 2.48, where see Poortvliet, 5.435) is very common in poetry; in Virgil: *Ecl.* 4.38, *A.* 5.153, 10.206. Several times it denotes the Argo itself: Hor. *Epod.* 16.57, Ov. *Am.* 2.11.2, *Her.* 6.47 and 18.158, Luc. 6.400, Sen. *Med.* 336. In 123 above VF had explicitly mentioned the use of pinewood in the construction of the ship. Note the strong alliteration with *p*-.

restat deprendere: although *restat* is usually construed with *ut* and subjunctive, the infinitive is not uncommon (K/S 2.242 A. 4; Sz. 348).

deprendere simply means 'to come upon, find', from Cicero on (OLD 3; TLL 5.1.608.64).

ardentis (with *patris*) or *ardentes* (with *reliquias*)? Either is possible, the verb being used in connection with individuals as well: Pt. *Cas.* 354 *ille edepol videre ardentem te extra portam mortuam* (sc. *velit*), where *extra portam* corresponds with *ante urbem* here. Cf. also V. *A.* 11.200 *ardentis … socios*

and Sen. *Ep.* 99.27 *filius ardet.* The metrical structure does not help either: an adjective before the caesura often agrees with a noun at the end of the line, but also sometimes with a noun at the beginning of the next line: see 8/9, 66/67, 118/119, 362/363. There seems to be no criterium on which to decide, but the plural accusative looks marginally preferable. The father's name was Eilatos (AR 1.41).

multum: the adverbial accusative, amounting to an accusative of extent of time, qualifies *morari* from Lucretius on: 5.91 and 6.245 (*plura*); cf. *Arg.* 4.243 (*plura*) and 371 (*multa*). Here *multa* was impossible in view of *pia iusta*, the object of *morari* 'to delay'. The *pia iusta* (also in 5.6) are the obsequies (OLD s.v. *iustus* 3b), *pia* denoting the social duties rather than an emotional or religious feeling; cf. n. on 80 *pias palmas*, and Tib. 2.2.3 *pia tura*. Propertius has (3.7.9) *iusta piae dare debita terrae*. Closely parallel is Ov. *Fast.* 2.249 *ne quid pia sacra moretur* (*pia sacra* also in *Tr.* 5.5.2).

si venias (for which *si venires* would have been regular: K/S 2.182.8): 'to see if, in case, on the off-chance that' (OLD 11). Here *morari* comes very close to *exspectare*, in which case *si* is normal (K/S 2.425.3, Sz 666).

breviore remo: the oar is shorter than that of the last-named rower, Canthus, but surely also shortest of all, Idas being placed in last position (*novissimus*). However, this poses a problem, because most ancient ships are supposed to have had a high stern (*Kl. P.* 5.68.12ff.) and therefore the hindmost oar should be longer than the one before it, not shorter. There is an echo of Luc. 3.537 (see below), but *summis … remis* there is not much of a help, since Lucan clearly thought of later, historical Roman ships, triremes and quadriremes. Nor does Juvenal's *brevibus … remis* (15.128) throw light on this problem, because he had in mind very small ships, equipped with *parvula … vela*. Spaltenstein suggests that ships were narrower near the poop, leaving less room for the oar inside the ship, but this does not seem to be recorded, as the higher stern is.

petit … caerula: the substantive use of the adjective to denote the sea is older than Virgil (*A.* 3.208, 4.583): Cicero has *nemo haec umquam est transvectus caerula cursu* in his translation of Homer (*poet.* 29.3 Morel, Soubiran p.269). *petere* in this connection ('to strike', OLD 3) is rather unusual, but Luc. 3.537 (see above) *summis longe* (!) *petit aequora remis* clearly served as a model.

Both *occupat* and *sua transtra* effectively close the enumeration of the rowers, pointing back to 352 (*sua*; *transtris*) and 354 (*occupat*) at the beginning. For postponed *et* see p. 261 on 449.

novissimus certainly means 'last in the row' (Strand 121), not 'youngest' (Cazzaniga). *longe*, which in the Lucan passage goes with *petit* ('strikes

from a (great) distance') is supposed by Langen, though hesitantly, to be short for 'longe … sedens ab Hercule', but this is extremely succinct even for VF. Strand 120 offers an even less acceptable interpretation: (*longe*) 'in relation … to all the crew'; far removed from the other rowers? Better take the adverb to qualify *novissimus* 'by far the last' (OLD 7; K/S 1.403 A. 21; Sz. 136 ß).

462–467

> at frater magnos Lynceus servatur in usus,
> quem tulit Arene, possit qui rumpere terras
> et Styga transmisso tacitam deprendere visu.
> fluctibus e mediis terras dabit ille magistro
> et dabit astra rati, cumque aethera Iuppiter umbra
> perdiderit, solus transibit nubila Lynceus.

The group of Argonauts who were exempt from rowing in order to perform special tasks is headed by (43) Lynceus, who in AR was coupled (1.151ff.) with his brother Idas. The Greek poet did not make a distinction between the rowing crew and the specialists. Lynceus' particular quality, a very keen eyesight, came in useful in the fourth book of the Greek epic, in which he and several colleagues went in search of Hercules (4.1466f., 1477ff.). VF does not mention him again, but in 466f. suggests that his services were made use of during the expedition, though evidently not in episodes important enough to be related.

The wondrous feats of Lynceus were already well-known in Greek literature, *e.g.* Pind. *N.* 10.61ff., Plut. *Adv. Stoic.* 1083 D. They were proverbial in Cicero's time: *Fam.* 9.2.2; cf. also Hor. *S.* 1.2.90, *Ep.* 1.1.28, Hyg. 14.12.

at here is really adversative (unlike in 433), opposing the *magni … usus* of the last seven Argonauts to the simple job of rowing.

servatus (mss.) was first in the Aldine edition and then in all later ones replaced by *servatur*, only Courtney returning to the mss. reading. But the present tense form is used in all but one of the principal sentences of the catalogue, the sole exception in perfect tense being *nec … defuit* (403f.), and *servatus* may have been caused by the following *usus*. Therefore *servatur* is clearly preferable.

magnos … in usus: 'for important functions' (OLD 12). The same line-ending occurs in V. *A.* 4.647 *non hos quaesitum munus in usus*.

servare in: 'to reserve for' (OLD 8a, where only Sil. (11.361) and Suetonius are cited as examples). VF repeats the expression in 780 below *in seros Ditis servaverat usus*.

quem tulit Arene: in AR (1.152) this is the name of the brothers' native town, also mentioned in Paus. 4.2.3 and 5.5.4, situated in Messenia (RE 2.641.3ff.). The verb is regularly used in a comparable context (OLD 25b), cf. particularly Ov. *Her.* 1.87 *quos tulit alta Zacynthos*. However there was also a tradition, recorded for instance in Apollod. (3.10.3) and Pausanias (see above), that Arene was also the name of their mother, and *ferre* is used in this connection as well (TLL 6.1.532.44ff.), as in Sil. 7.666 *quem tulerat mater claro Phoenissa Laconi*. Therefore it should not be excluded that VF had both referents in mind.

rumpere terras: in the (poetic) sense of 'to pass sharply through, cleave' (OLD 3c) the verb almost always denotes the physical splitting of the earth, as in Ov. *Met.* 5.406 *stagna Palicorum rupta ferventia terra*. This passage seems to be the only exception, describing a visual penetration, possibly facilitated by expressions like *viam*, *iter*, *aditum rumpere*. For postponed *qui* see note on 461.

Styga … tacitam: the nether world is silent; V. *A.* 6.265 *loca nocte tacentia late*, Luc. 1.455 *tacitas Erebi sedes*, Sen. *Phaed.* 625 *regni tenacis dominus et tacitae Stygis*.

deprendere: 'to discover, detect' (OLD 4a); 'percipere sensibus' TLL 5.1.611.6f. Other instances of this use are not numerous; they include Petr. 88.4 *ut astrorum caelique motus deprehenderet*, Germ. *Arat.* 722 *Eridani et primos deprendat navita fontes*, Stat. *Ach.* 1.518 *nunc superum magnos deprendit in aethere coetus*, Florus 1.33.12 *cadentem in maria solem obrutumque aquis ignem … deprendit*, Claud. 26.103 *arcanum tanti deprendere regni*.

transmisso … visu: this not a common expression either; it looks as if VF wished to accentuate the strangeness of Lynceus' skill by choosing unusual language. For this meaning of the verb ('to cause to pass through something', OLD 6) there is a good parallel in Sen. *Nat.* 7.26.1 *per stellas ulteriora non cernimus, per cometas aciem transmittimus*.

fluctibus e mediis: cf. V. *A.* 10.683 *fluctibus … mediis*.

terras dabit: the verb obviously must mean 'to point to', but it is not easy to find a parallel. *dare* is used in a variety of ways; perhaps an expression like *certas det in arte vias* (Manil. 3.45) has contributed to this particular combination. The *magister* of course is the helmsman Tiphys, not the captain of the ship (cf. note on 382).

dabit astra rati: a more natural way of saying this would have been *astra dare magistro* (cf. *tradere caelum* 418) and *terras dare rati*, in which case *dare* would have come close to the sense 'to present, make attainable', as in 2.597 *dabit ostia Phasis*. Perhaps VF was just looking for a diction slightly out of the ordinary but not difficult to understand.

cum … perdiderit: possibly the poet was so happy with his expression *crines perdere* (449) that he wished to repeat the same verb again here in the sense of 'to spoil the aspect of'. In Stat. *Theb.* 12.693f. *Tyrios iuga perdere montes / aspicit*, which has been adduced as a parallel, the meaning is rather '(he sees the Tyrian hills) lose (their "sharp outlines")' (Mozley). When Seneca writes (*Thy.* 792) *medio(que) diem perdis Olympo*, we probably have an instance of *perdere* not just as 'to spoil', but actually 'to destroy, make disappear' ('blot out', Miller in the Loeb edition); this stronger sense could be present here as well. Anyhow, VF also subtly varies Virgil's *ubi caelum* ***condidit*** *umbra / Iuppiter* (*A.* 6.271f.); there the darkness (*umbra*) is that of night, whereas here it is caused by stormclouds (*nubila*). In 3.579 *cum coit umbra minax* he goes one better, because *umbra* there is the cloud itself (Nováková 71).

transibit nubila: again, like *rumpere terras* and *transmisso … visu*, a somewhat original phrase. The verb occurs in the sense 'to pierce (the air)' with a weapon as instrument, in the otherwise close parallel Stat. *Theb.* 6.928 *tenui vel nubila transeat hasta*. Here it is the cloud proper which is 'passed through, penetrated' by Lynceus' keen eyes (OLD 8b). *transmisso … visu* and *transibit* of course reinforce each other.

468–469

> quin et Cecropiae proles vacat Orithyiae,
> temperet ut tremulos Zetes fraterque ceruchos.

The second pair of twins, (44) Zetes and (45) Calais, receive much less attention than the former, Castor and Pollux (420–432). These sons of Boreas possess as a particular skill the ability to fly. AR devoted 13 lines to them (1.211–223), chiefly paying attention to their appearance and to the story of their mother Orithyia, abducted by Boreas. Later he tells the story of how they chased the Harpies in succour of Phineus (2.242–300; 426ff.). This episode is also narrated by VF (4.465–528). In this case, therefore, their specialization is essential in the circumstances. Calais moreover is mentioned in 3.692, where he is in favour of sailing when Hercules has disappeared, and in 6.557, killing a Scythian opponent.

quin et: continuing the enumeration (see note on 387).

Cecropiae: Orithyia was a linear descendant of Cecrops, the mythical founder of Athens, but the adjective came to mean 'Athenian, Attic' in general. Its use to qualify Orithyia seems unique.

vacat: OLD 6 'to be disengaged from (other) tasks or occupations'; an

ablative to denote 'rowing' is easily understood.

proles … Orithyiae: probably inspired by Prop. (1.20.31) *iam Pandioniae cessit genus Orithyiae* (cf. ib. 25 *Aquilonia proles*), as noticed by Shackleton Bailey (*Mnem.* 1952:306f.). He gives seven other parallels, six of which refer to the abduction by Boreas, whereas in five instances the name itself occupies the last position in the line, as here in VF. This is the only spondaic line in the *Argonautica*, fully explained by the precedents. Also remarkable is the sequence (467–470) *-us … —eus*, *-iae … -iae*, *-os … -os*, *-us … -eus*, and the alliterations *temperet—tremulos—transtris*, *Odrysius—Orpheus*.

Zetes fraterque: clearly VF's readers were supposed to supply the name of Calais without difficulty. The only instance in the *Argonautica* where the brothers are both explicitly named is 4.465.

ceruchos: this Greek loan word is very rare in Latin. Lucan has it twice (8.177 and 10.495) and it occurs three times in later authors (TLL 3.943.49ff.). It denotes the ropes or braces supporting the yardarms.

temperet: OLD 8 'to control physically; (esp. in steering, guiding, or sim.)'. Cf. Ov. *Met.* 13.366 *ratem qui temperat* and Sen. *Oed.* 884f. *temperem … / vela* (with *antemnae tremant* in the next line).

tremulos: cf. Luc. 2.621 *ut tremulo starent contentae fune carinae*. In 620 below the mast itself quivers in the storm.

470–472

> nec vero Odrysius transtris impenditur Orpheus
> aut pontum remo subigit, sed carmine tonsas
> ire docet summo passim ne gurgite pugnent.

There is a marked difference between AR and VF in their choice of the occasions on which (46) Orpheus is mentioned (see *Ratis*[1] 229). Apart from the five instances in the fourth book of AR (which has no counterpart in the story as told by VF), the Greek poet presents him in three episodes omitted in the Latin version (1.1134ff., 2.161ff. and 2.685ff.). In two cases only is he mentioned at the same point by both authors: in the catalogue (AR 1.23ff.) and when he sings on the beach the night before the departure (1.277ff.; in AR 1.494ff.). Four appearances in the Greek poem (1.540; 1.569ff.; 1.915ff. and 2.928ff.) are not taken over by VF, who in his turn introduces the singer in five different circumstances. These are: 1.187, where the Argo is launched; 2.426, when Orpheus joins in the general grief on leaving Lemnos and its women; 4.85ff., where he consoles the Argonauts after the

disappearance of Hercules; 4.348–421 (the story of Io); and 5.98ff., the *carmina placantia* at the grave of Sthenelus. The activity described here in the catalogue, the accompaniment of the actual rowing, is not referred to again by VF (but it was in AR: 1.540), who probably thought it too uninteresting and self-evident.

nec vero: again in 4.703 and 751 (V. *A.* 6.392 and 431), also in prose (OLD 6).

Odrysius: the epithet does not occur in Virgil (or Lucan); Ovid and Silius have it, but not to qualify Orpheus. This use is not recorded before VF, who repeats it in 5.99 and 439; Statius has *Odrysius vates* (*Silv.* 5.1.203), *chelyn Odrysiam* (ib. 5.3.271) and *Odrysiis … querellis* (*Theb.* 8.57), all referring to Orpheus.

impenditur: the verb is used meaning 'to expend' with reference to people from Manilius (4.407) on (OLD 2c). It is construed in this sense with a dative in Sen. *Med.* 487 *hos quoque impendi tibi*, id. *Clem.* 1.17 (3.15).3 *si … neminem suae* (sc. *irae*) *impendit*, Stat. *Theb.* 7.215f. *non proprio diros impendo dolori / Oedipodionidas* and 11.653 *impensus patriae … Menoeceus*.

transtris: the noun seems only here to be used metonymically for 'rowing (on the thwarts)'; TLL (7.1.547.13): 'remigando'.

aut regularly continues a negated clause (K/S 2.103.6).

pontum remo subigit: when Virgil wrote *remigiis subigit* (*G.* 1.202) and *conto subigit* (*A.* 6.302), the object was the ship, and the meaning of the verb therefore 'to propel'. VF's variation is probably based on expressions like *humum* (*solum*, *terram*, *arva*) *subigere* and on the analogy of *vertere / versare* (cf. 450): 'to turn the earth'—'to churn the waters'.

carmine: cf. 5.439 *Odrysio … carmine.* For *tonsas* see note on 313.

ire docet: in this expression *ire* is equivalent to *moveri* (cf. 3.675 *ibant aequo nempe ordine remi*), and both *docet* and *pugnent* personify the oars.

summo … gurgite: V. *A.* 9.23, Ov. *Met.* 6.372, Luc. 3.669.

pugnent: usually explained (cf. *Mnem.* 1988:368f.) as 'to clash together' (Langen: 'inter se collidant'). In that case *passim* must mean 'in every part; on a large scale', which does not sound very relevant: a minor accident would also be prevented by Orpheus marking time. Perhaps we had better supply 'against the waves' with *pugnent* and take *passim* as 'without order, at random', as for instance in Caes. *Civ.* 2.38.4 *nullis ordinibus passim* and Cic. *Fam.* 11.13.2 *ille … iit passim, ego ordinatim.* For *pugnare* cf. Ov. *Fast.* 3.589f. *inque patens aequor frustra pugnante magistro / fertur*, where *in … aequor* certainly belongs to *fertur*, so that there too the notion 'against the forces of the sea' is not expressed.

473–476

> donat et Iphiclo pelagus iuvenumque labores
> Aesonides, fessum Phylace quem miserat aevo
> non iam operum in partem, monitus sed tradat ut acres
> magnorumque viros qui laudibus urat avorum.

The second (47) Iphiclus (the first was mentioned in 370) was Jason's uncle, the brother of Alcimede, as is clearly stated by AR (1.45–48). This is only hinted at in VF (*fessum … aevo* and the following lines). His name also appears in Homer: *Il.* 2.705, 13.698, *Od.* 11.290. Neither in AR nor in VF does he play a role in the further narrative.

donat: 'to spare (for a person) the trouble, inconvenience, etc., of' (OLD 4; TLL 6.1.2015.38). This use seems to originate in Lucan, who has it several times. VF's model was clearly 9.1016f. *rex tibi Pellaeus belli pelagique labores / donat* (other instances are 4.764, 6.58, 7.784 and 8.815). Silius too has the verb in this sense.

pelagus iuvenumque labores: a hendiadys for *iuvenum labores in pelago*; Iphiclus too is exempt from rowing, because of his age. *Aesonides*: the patronymic mention of Jason subtly underscores the family relation.

fessum … aevo: the adjective is only here combined with *aevum*, but related expressions are (*fessus*) *aetate* (V. *A.* 2.596; *Arg.* 6.444); (*senilibus*) *annis* (Ov. *Met.* 7.163, 9.440, 13.66); *senecta* (Luc. 3.729, Plin. *Nat.* 8.147 and 224); *senectute* (Plin. *Nat.* 8.206); *senio* (Stat. *Silv.* 2.4.36).

Phylace: a town in Magnesia (Hom. *Il.* 2.695, 13.696 (= 15.335), *Od.* 11.290, 15.236; AR 1.45; Plin. *Nat.* 4.32), of which Phylacus, the father of Iphiclus, was the 'heros eponymus' (Hom. *Il.* 2.705, 13.698; AR 1.47). For *mittere* said of a country, cf. note on 360.

The purpose of Iphiclus' sailing with the Argonauts is expressed in three syntactically different ways: final *in* with an accusative (in a negative way), *ut* with subjunctive, and a relative clause with subjunctive to denote what his tasks were.

non iam: 'no longer', because he was too old for this.

(operum) in partem: 'to share (in the work)'. Usually the expression is combined with *venire* (Ov., Luc.), but not in Ov. *Met.* 11.447 *nec vult Alcyonen in partem adhibere pericli.*

monitus sed tradat: for the present subjunctive after a (plu)perfect tense cf. K/S 2.192f. In VF after a perfect tense 5.215, 7.80, 8.282f.

monitus tradere seems to be a new collocation, perhaps a variation on (equally isolated) *praecepta tradere* Ov. *Met.* 8.208f.

monitus … acres: the combination being unparalleled, it is impossible

to decide whether the adjective primarily means 'shrewd, penetrating, acute' (OLD 5; Mozley: 'shrewd'), 'energetic, brave' (ib. 6), or 'eager, enthusiastic' (ib. 7); all these aspects are appropriate to this substitute Nestor.

magnorum … avorum: cf. V. *A.* 12.649 *descendam magnorum haud umquam indignus avorum.*

urat: 'to fire to emulation' (OLD 6c, quoting Prop. 3.9.45 *haec urant pueros, haec urant scripta puellas*, and (also with personal subject) Sil. 17.293f. *ignifero mentes furiabat in iram / hortatu decorisque urebat pectora flammis*). Cf. *peruris* in 76.

laudibus … avorum: different from *heroum laudes* (V. *Ecl.* 4.26), where the noun denotes 'glorious deeds' (Page), whereas here it means 'praises, eulogy' (OLD 1b). The line as a whole refers back to 104f. above, *hos stimulant* (equivalent of *urat*) *magnaque … laude canunt.*

477–480

Arge, tuae tibi cura ratis, te moenia doctum
Thespia Palladio dant munere; sors tibi ne qua
parte trahat tacitum puppis mare fissaque fluctu
vel pice vel molli conducere vulnera cera.

(48) Argus, the builder of the ship, was mentioned in AR not only before the catalogue (1.19) and in it (1.111ff. and 226), but also seven times afterwards, all in the first two books (in two instances his name appears in a speech by one of the Argonauts). VF diminishes his importance: having been mentioned in connection with the construction of the Argo (1.93 and 124) and the launching (1.314), he appears only once (2.390) after the catalogue, in the preparations for the departure from Lemnos. Perhaps VF wished to accentuate the role of the leader by paying less attention to the builder of the vessel.

tibi: this is not a case of a pleonastic personal pronoun (as mentioned in K/S 1.606 A. 4); the dative belongs to *cura* (*est*). Cf. Luc. 7.217 *cornus tibi cura sinistri* (though with *datur* ibid. 219).

moenia … Thespia: see note on 92f. *moenia … Thespiaca.*

Palladio … munere: rather to be combined with *doctum* 'taught by the gift of Pallas' than with *dant* (thus Liberman). For *dant* see note on 444.

sors has a very unusual neaning here (see *Mnem.* 1988:369f.). Developed from the sense of 'destiny', it must mean here 'task, responsibility', but without any trace of 'lot, sortition': Argus was specifically marked out to design and construct the ship (1.94; cf. 123ff.) and was therefore

obviously the one to take care of its maintenance. Nor does there seem to be an instance of *sors* with *ne* and a subjunctive, though it occurs (with *fato*) as 'destiny' with *ut* in Liv. 26.41.9. Here by a variation in construction (cf. ANRW 2460) the *ne*-clause is followed by an infinitive, for which OLD (8a) cites Ov. *Fast.* 3.804 *sors erat aeternos vincere posse deos*, where Bömer however translates *sors* by 'Spruch' (oracle). A better parallel is Luc. 9.211 *scire mori sors prima viris, sed proxima cogi.*

ne qua parte: 'in no place' (OLD 11).

trahat: OLD 7 '(of things) to let in (water)', with parallels from Seneca (*Dial.* 4 (= *de Ira* 2).10.8, *Ep.* 30.2).

mare: 'sea-water' (OLD 5; TLL 8.389.32ff.). The first clear instance is Pl. *Rud.* 588 *quasi vinis Graecis Neptunus nobis suffudit mare* (the exact meaning of Naevius' *mare interbibere* (*trag.* 55) is uncertain). Comparable in context is [Sen.] *Oct.* 319 (*ratis*) *sorbet mare*, an echo of which is found in 638 below *puppis mare sorbet.* Langen gives some other parallels, of which Sil. 14.550 *vulneribus patulis intrat mare* comes closest.

tacitum: there is a certain probability in Langen's interpretation that the epithet, in the sense of 'unobserved, unnoticed', here refers more to visibility than to acoustic perception, but Poortvliet's view (on 2.100 *tacitae … catenae*), that in both cases the adjective just means 'inaudible' (here used of the water stealthily creeping in), is also worth considering. In Luc. 10.249 also (*commeat hac penitus tacitis discursibus unda*) the adjective may mean either 'unheard' or 'unseen'.

Note the strong alliteration in this line *p—t—t—p—f—f-.*

fissaque fluctu: a convincing correction for mss. *fessaque luctu*, first printed in the Aldina; the earlier editions have *fixa* (although Pius proposed *fissa* in his commentary). The participle must mean 'caused by splitting or cleaving', which is very unusual. OLD (4) gives as parallels only V. *G.* 2.79 and Ov. *Her.* 19.208, both with the less remarkable *via(s)*, and TLL (6.1.770.4f.) furthermore quotes only instances from Hieronymus and Dracontius.

pice: one would expect this noun to be used more often in connection with the building or maintenance of ships, but in fact no other examples present themselves. The use of pitch is hinted at in Luc. 3.684 (see Hunink).

molli … cera: cf. 128 *tenues … cerae* (the only two occurrences of the noun in VF). See also Bömer on Ov. *Met.* 11.514f. *spoliataque tegmine cerae / rima patet.*

conducere (the mss. reading) 'to cause to contract or close up' (OLD 2c) was restored to the text by Heinsius, the preceding editions having

concludere. There are no earlier instances of the verb with 'wounds' (Heinsius cites only Solinus 32.31 *dum vulnus conducatur in cicatricem*), but these are often said to 'close up' (*coire*), from Propertius on (3.24.18. *vulneraque ad sanum nunc coiere mea*). Langen gives some parallels from Ovid, to which could be added Sen. *Ep.* 95.15 *herbarum quibus … vulnera coirent.* Other instances of *vulnera* sustained by ships are not to be found, but they are called 'wounded' by Livy (37.24.8, ib. 30.9).

481–483

> pervigil Arcadio Tiphys pendebat ab astro
> Hagniades, felix stellis qui segnibus usum
> et dedit aequoreos caelo duce tendere cursus.

(49) Tiphys, appearing last in the enumeration of the crew, receives ample attention, both in AR and in VF. The Greek poet mentioned his part in the launching of the Argo (1.381) and his appointment as helmsman (1.401). Later he appears regularly in the narrative, in particular when the ship passes through the Symplegades (2.557, 574, 584), and in 2.854 his death is briefly stated. VF, who had his name first in 419, clearly took his function as helmsman for granted. The storm, during and after which Tiphys is mentioned (1.649; 689), has no counterpart in AR, who has moreover nothing to say about Tiphys during the heroes' stay on Lemnos, in contradistinction to VF: 2.368 and 390. Later, Tiphys appears when the Argo leaves Cyzicus for the first time (3.2), during the following journey (3.37), and after the battle against the Doliones (3.259). He is mentioned in passing when the ship sails along Mysia (3.483) and after the disappearance of Hercules (3.614). Only a short reference is made to him in connection with the passage through the Symplegades (4.695), and his death, caused by an illness, is described at the beginning of book 5 (15, 25, 42, 44). Afterwards his name occurs in 5.102 and (in a speech by Erginus) in 8.181.

pervigil: the adjective (not in Virgil) is used by VF six more times, but never again qualifying Tiphys (*vigil* once refers to his successor: 8.202).

Arcadio … ab astro: this probably denotes both the Great and the Lesser Bear (cf. note on 17f., 419). The nymph Callisto was changed into the Great Bear, but her son Arcas, the eponymous hero of the Arcadians, was changed into another constellation, Arctophylax, also called Boötes (Ov. *Fast.* 2.153–192). Both Bears are also called 'Arcadian' in Sen. *Oed.* 477 *sidus Arcadium geminumque plaustrum* (*-que* explicative). Since Callisto at any rate could be called Arcadian 'avant la lettre', this

is a relatively small poetic extension, and there is no need to suppose that Seneca or VF confused the two constellations by assuming that *Arcadio … astro* refers to Arctophylax / Boötes instead of the Bear(s). There seems to be some misapprehension in Lucan, who obviously took Boötes to be near the Pole Star, like the Lesser Bear (= Cynosura): 8.180, 10.289. According to a different tradition, Boötes (or one of its stars) was the former Athenian Icarus (or Icarius): Ov. *Met.* 10.450, whence he could also be called 'Attic' as in *Arg.* 2.68 *Actaeus … Boötes* (see Poortvliet for further references).

pendere ab denotes either intent listening, as for instance in V. *A.* 4.79 *pendetque iterum narrantis ab ore*, or attentive watching, as here. For this OLD (4b) gives parallels from both the Senecas and Quintilian, all with *vultus*, which is of course nearer to *ab ore* than VF's 'star' (a constellation of course). Silius imitated both the image of the helmsman, 7.362ff. *quam multa affixus caelo sub nocte serena / fluctibus e mediis* (cf. 465 above) *sulcator navita ponti / astra videt* and the verb in its visual sense (8.93 *ad vultus conversa tuos ab imagine pendet*).

Hagniades: the patronymic also occurs in AR (1.105), and again 2.48; cf. Apollod. 1.9.16. Hyginus (14.9) has his father called Phorbas. Tiphys was also called *Thespiades* (like Argus, see note on 124 above) from his birthplace Thespiae (2.368; 5.44).

felix: there is no need to take this (with Langen) in an active sense 'bringing good fortune'; inspired no doubt by Virgil's famous *felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas* (*G.* 2.490), Ovid also applied the adjective to the 'first inventor' of astronomy in *Fast.* 1.297f. *felices animae quibus haec cognoscere primis /… cura fuit* (see Bömer), and thus Tiphys is called 'happy' as the first sailor.

The relative clause is complicated; firstly, the verb *dedit* is construed with first an accusative and then an infinitive (as for instance in Hor. *Carm.* 2.16.37ff. and *Arg.* 5.617, where the finite form *dent* is duplicated; ANRW 2459). Moreover, it is placed in the second part of the sentence. There are several instances where *-que* separates two objects, the governing verb being placed with the second of them: 1.846f. *natum / inducitque nurum*, 2.268 *sinus hederisque ligat famularibus artus*, 3.225 *vincla Iovis fractoque trahens adamante catenas*. The same phenomenon occurs with two subjects: 1.844f. *sol … -que …/ durat … dies*, 2.431 *Lemnos transitque Electria tellus*, 3.233 *tunc ensis placeatque furor*, 3.560f. *nil umbra comaeque / turbavitque sonus*. Two infinitives are also separated in this way: 2.224 *temptare fugam prohibetque capessere …/ arma metus*; two adjectives 7.156f. *levior … pudori / mensque obnixa malo*, or two genitives: 1.103 *arvorum*

studiumque insontis aratri. In 6.384 *confectaque* is placed after two ablatives belonging to it and before a third. Cf. the position of *nec* in 382 above (between two objects) and in 2.232 (between the infinitive and *potuere*). In V. *A*. 6.148 there are infinitives before and after *nec*, the form of *posse* again being placed with the second one. See also Williams on V. *A*. 5.26f. *poscere* ... / *et* ... *cerno te tendere*.

stellis ... *segnibus*: Langen took this (as Maserius had done before him) to refer to the Bears only, who describe a small circle and can therefore be said to move slowly. This is indeed the meaning in Luc. 9.540 and Sen. *Med*. 315, but in these cases one constellation only is mentioned: *segnis Cynosura*; *tardus* ... *Boötes*. The general *stellis* in VF implies that all stars are henceforth made use of by navigators: cf. for instance V. *G*. 1.137f. Another interpretation of *segnibus* could be based on passages such as V. *G*. 1.72 *segnem* ... *campum*, ib. 2.37 *segnes* ... *terrae*, where the adjective means 'slothful, unproductive'. This seems to be Housman's opinion (in his edition of Lucan, p.331 note: 'idle and useless'), although he gives no reason for it. But, unlike the soil which can be called 'productive' itself when it is tilled, the stars remain as inactive as ever when they are observed and thereby made useful. Therefore the explanation of Cazzaniga 263 (cf. *Mnem*. 1988:371ff.) is preferable: the constellations of the zodiac [and in fact all stars] move 'sluggishly' in comparison with the sun and moon.

dedit usum: 'gave them utility' (OLD 11a), made them useful (cf. Sen. *Med*. 310f. *stellisque quibus pingitur aether* / *non erat usus*). *dare* with an infinitive (K/S 1.681) is sometimes hardly more than 'to allow, grant', especially when gods or fate are the subject, as in prayers (604 and 675 below). Here, however, with no dative expressed (*stellis* ... *segnibus* of course only belongs to the first part of the clause), it comes very close to 'to make possible, enable' (OLD 15c, quoting only Stat. *Theb*. 7.766 and Sil. 14.683). Probably *dedit* in V. *A*. 1.65f. *tibi* ... / *et mulcere dedit fluctus et tollere vento* shows both shades of meaning (and is also connected with the sea).

aequoreos ... *cursus* is a poetic equivalent of *maritimos cursus* (Cic. *Planc*. 96). In Ov. *Her*. 19.160 and in Sil. 17.54 *aequoreas* ... *vias* denotes 'paths across the sea'.

caelo duce: also in Luc. 9.847.

tendere cursus: first in Lucr. 5.631 (*-um*), and said of sailors in Liv. 23.34.5 (where the Roman admiral is a Valerius Flaccus). The concluding sentence of the catalogue is again characterized by strong alliterations: *p-—a-—p-—a-—*, *s-—s-*, *d-—c-—d-—c-*.

484–497: (the arrival of Acastus; the actual sailing.)

The end of the catalogue implies that the men now are ready for sailing. After the hurried arrival of Acastus, clearly not a member of the crew, Jason cuts the hawsers and is subsequently compared to a hunter escaping with his (living) prey. Then the ship puts out, stared after by the women on the shore.

484–486

> ecce per obliqui rapidum compendia montis
> ductor ovans laetusque dolis agnoscit Acastum
> horrentem iaculis et parmae luce coruscum.

rapidum: as Langen notes, there is nothing unusual in the adjective itself, meaning 'swiftly moving', but the construction with *per* is remarkable, as if *rapidum* were a verbal form. Possibly VF experimented on the basis of Virgilian clauses like *rapidum ad naves praemittit Achaten* (*A.* 1.644) and *ad muros rapidi ... feruntur* (*A.* 11.906), where of course the prepositional phrases are governed by the verbs. Furthermore, Virgil has *arduus* with *ad* without a verbal form (*G.* 3.439 = *A.* 2.475).

per obliqui ... compendia montis: the combination *per compendia montis* is first attested in Ov. *Met.* 3.234 and is called 'ganz prosaisch' by Bömer, who notes that this is also the first instance of *compendium* meaning 'short cut'.

obliqui ... montis: not just 'down the mountain slope' (Mozley), which is unavoidable for someone running to the waterfront. Livy has *obliquo monte* (7.15.5 and 38.20.8) in the sense of 'crosswise; deviating from a given line', and here Acastus is pictured as running not along the road, which probably had S-turns, but transversely to it, to gain time (*compendia*). Cf. TLL 9.2.100.80.

ductor ovans: Heinsius' correction (*avens* mss.) was accepted by most later editors, including Courtney, Ehlers, Liberman and Spaltenstein. The transmitted reading, defended again by Scaffai (1986^2: 252 n.26) and Dräger, is just possible (cf. note on 100 above), but *ovans* is decidedly preferable. In 2.124 *quaerit avens* (where see Poortvliet), the situation is different in that there Venus is still 'eagerly' looking for Fama, whereas here Jason has achieved his objective. This is also the case in the three other instances of *ovans* in VF: 3.223 *credit ovans*, 5.68 *fertur ovans*, 8.462 *vellera vexit ovans*. Langen moreover refers to Corippus *Ioh.* 4.1047 *ductor ovans*. Finally, the natural combination *ovans—laetus* occurs in Hor. *S.* 2.3.146 *laetus ovansque*.

For *ductor* see note on 164 above.

laetus dolis: the tricks of Pelias (64; 245) are countered by Jason; cf. 695 *rapto … dolis … Acasto* and V. *A.* 8.393 *sensit laeta dolis*. The adjective takes a genitive in V. *A.* 11.73 and *Arg.* 3.659.

agnoscit: the accent is on recognizing rather than on perceiving (cf. 6.266 *laetusque virum cognoscit Anausis*).

horrentem iaculis: Heinsius' *in iaculis* is not necessary. It is true that *in* with an ablative can be used to describe someone's weapons (V. *A.* 5.37 *horridus in iaculis*), but the simple ablative is at least as frequent. Starting from Ennius' famous *sparsis hastis longis campus splendet et horret* (*var.* 14), we have (cited by Langen) Hor. *S.* 2.1.13f. *horrentia pilis / agmina* and Sil. 8.570 *horrebat telis*. The combination occurs in prose as well: Liv. 44.41.6 *phalangem cuius confertae et intentis horrentis hastis intolerabiles vires sunt*.

parmae luce coruscum: the adjective used in the sense of 'glittering, flashing' qualifies not only gleaming objects (V. *A.* 2.552f. *coruscum /… ensem*) and the source of the light (V. *A.* 2.172f. *coruscae /… flammae*; *Arg.* 1.622f. *coruscae /… faces*), but also people illuminated by flashing armour etc. from Virgil on: *A.* 9.163 *purpurei cristis iuvenes auroque corusci* (in VF again 6.517 and 7.567). By keeping *luce* but replacing the hendiadys *telis et luce* with the simple genitive *parmae*, VF subtly varies V. *A.* 2.470 (*Pyrrhus*) *telis et luce coruscus aëna*, the only instance in Virgil where the adjective does not take the last position in the line (in the *Argonautica* it invariably does, nine times). The ending *luce coruscum* occurs again in Sil. 1.463. VF has *parma* only once more: 6.99.

487–493

ille ubi se mediae per scuta virosque carinae
intulit, ardenti Aesonides retinacula ferro
abscidit. haud aliter saltus vastataque pernix
venator quam lustra fugit dominoque timentem
urget equum teneras compressus pectore tigres
quas astu rapuit pavido, dum saeva relictis
mater in averso catulis venatur Amano.

se mediae … carinae / intulit: the dative with *se inferre* is normal, both in poetry (V. *G.* 2.145; *A.* 9.53) and in prose (Liv. 33.16.8). Statius again adds *medius*: *Theb.* 1.201f. *mediis sese arduus infert / ipse deis*, while Virgil had already written *infert se …/ per medios* (*A.* 1.439f.). Likewise, *ubi* placed second in the line is unremarkable: the instances in the *Argonautica* are listed by Korn on 4.68.

scuta virosque looks like an allusion to *arma virumque* (but with actual weapons instead of metaphorical feats of arms). Possibly the pointed proximity of *parma* and *scuta* suggests the inexperienced youth of Acastus (53f., 177f.), carrying the lighter shield, versus the grown-up strength of the Argonauts proper.

ardenti … abscidit: VF here both shortens his model V. *A.* 4.579f. *vaginaque eripit ensem / fulmineum strictoque ferit retinacula ferro* by leaving out the first part and *stricto*, and changes it by substituting *ardenti* for *fulmineum* and *abscidit* for *ferit.* The participle *ardens* in the sense of 'shining' (cf. note on 400 above) is also Virgilian: *A.* 2.734 and 10.262, both with a form of *clipeus*. Lucan combines *ardens* and *coruscus* in 2.482 *ardentisque acies percussis sole corusco*, which line also gave rise to VF's *percussaque sole* in 495 below.

The choice of *abscindere* to denote the cutting of the cables is remarkable, because in this sense one would rather expect *abscidere* (Caes. *Gal.* 3.14.7), as in Luc. 3.33 *abscidis frustra ferro* (!) *tua pignora.* Cf. TLL 1.151.77 ('ubi haud raro *abscido* expectas') and ib. 149.30. Maybe Virgil's practice in using both *ex(s)cindere* and *excidere* for 'to destroy' contributed to VF's choice of the verb (cf. on the one hand *A.* 2.177 and 12.643f., on the other hand ib. 2.637 and 12.762).

The simile.

The hunter-simile, which at almost five lines is relatively long for VF (Bussen; Fitch), poses some problems regarding both the content and the text (*cum / quam*; *compressus / complexus*; *adverso / averso*). These will be discussed below; let us first look at the comparison itself. For the construction of the similes in this book see note on 319.

It seems clear that Jason, having taken Acastus on board, is compared to a hunter on horseback, carrying stolen tiger-cubs (Acastus) and fleeing from their mother (i.e Pelias). We should not expect every detail to correspond exactly; Acastus was not 'kidnapped' but took part voluntarily, an element that could not be kept once the simile was chosen. There are several references in Latin literature to a wild animal, either lioness or tigress, robbed of its cubs. Sometimes nothing more is related, as in 3.737ff. where the lioness is overwhelmed by grief, and in 6.147ff., where tigress and lioness stare after their lost cubs. Equally, in Stat. *Silv.* 2.1.8f. and *Theb.* 10.820ff., Mart. 3.44.6 and Sen. *Med.* 863ff. there is no explicit mention of pursuit, although in the last two instances it is suggested by *timetur* and *furente* respectively. The hunter being hunted appears in Ov. *Met.* 13.547f., Sil. 12.458ff., Stat.

Theb. 4.315f. and Claud. *Rapt. Pros.* 3.263ff. In the last two passages the horse is mentioned (as here) or implied. For more details on this see below.

saltus: in 493 specified as Mt. Amanus. The combination with *lustra* first occurs in V. *G.* 2.471 *saltus ac lustra ferarum*; cf. also *A.* 3.646f. *deserta ferarum / lustra* and Luc. 1.328 *matrum* (tigresses) … *lustra*.

vastata: the verb denotes more than 'to plunder, pillage'; it is really 'to make (a place) desolated or untenanted, leave without signs of life': OLD 1, where this passage is cited with *compressans*, a conjecture of Sudhaus printed by Kramer. According to L/S the word occurs only in late Latin.

pernix: with 92 the only two instances of the adjective in VF.

There has been some discussion about the construction of the comparative clause (cf. *Mnem.* 1989:420ff.). The first to reject the mss. reading *cum* was Columbus (in Burm. *Syll.* 5:172), who proposed *quam* and found approval from i.a. Burman, Housman (CR 1900:469), Courtney, Liberman and Dräger. Later Schenkl suggested *ceu*, but this introduces only comparative clauses which precede the main clause (with *haud / non aliter*), not those that follow it (TLL 1.1655.44–61). Ehlers kept *cum*, on the basis of Strand's argument (67f.), but in all parallels adduced by Strand the main clause has its own predicate, whereas here it is the subordinate clause that contains the verbal form. It is decisive that *haud aliter quam*, even without following *cum* or *si* (declared 'unparalleled' by Strand), is attested in Ov. *Met.* 8.762f. and Luc. 9.284f. Finally, Langen's assumption of an ellipsis in the main clause ('agit (venator)' or 'agitur') is made improbable by the fact that there seem to be no other instances of such an ellipsis; Langen's parallels are not taken from similes. We should therefore adopt Columbus' conjecture and print *quam*: (Jason departs) 'just as a hunter flees swiftly from the mountain-woods and the lair he has made empty'.

dominoque timentem: Langen found this to be expressed 'eleganter et poetice', but Köstlin 1881 thought the concept not true to nature and proposed reading *dominique* (to go with *pectore*) … *compressas*: the horse is afraid of the stolen cubs. Walter 1975, granting that a poet may add to nature from his imagination, declared the detail meaningless ('Informationsleere') and sought the explanation in a story found in the elder Pliny (*Nat.* 8.66). There a kind of relay-escape is described: the hunter switches horses when they are tired, throwing one of the cubs to the mother animal when she gets too close. But neither here nor in any of the parallel passages cited above is there the slightest hint

of this practice, and we can hardly suppose that the general reader of the poem would know about it. Moreover, if the horse in this or any other interpretation fears for itself, then *domino* is redundant; Walter's solution ('the horse fleeing in fear (for its own life) for the benefit of its master') will not convince everybody. If the horse 'is afraid for the master', which is certainly the most natural interpretation, this could even be taken to reflect the care of the pursuing tigress for her cubs.

urget equum: the verb has been used in this sense ('to spur on' one's mount) since Ovid: *Ars* 1.546, *Fast.* 2.858, *Her.* 12.152; also in Stat. *Theb.* 11.452.

teneras: since *tigris* is usually feminine and *quas* 492 seems to be the unanimous reading of the mss., this correction (in two late mss.) for the generally transmitted *teneros* is obvious. *tigres*: also in 2.260, and *tigrin* in 6.704; but *tigridis* in 5.593 and 6.148. Virgil too has the form with *-d-* only in the genitive singular (*A.* 11.577), all other instances having *tigres* / *-is*, once *tigrim* (*A.* 9.730). Ovid on the other hand uses *tigride* and *tigridas* as well, whereas Lucan has one instance of *tigride* (5.405). Statius again uses only *tigridis* as a form with *-d-*, but Silius has two instances of *tigride* (5.280 and 17.648). Although of course the epithet serves to indicate the age of the cubs, in itself a *tenera tigris* amounts to an paradox.

compressus has two advantages over *complexus*, which was printed in the editions before Heinsius, and later by Bährens and Mozley: it is the mss. reading, and its meaning is the desired one ('pressing, closing to his breast', not 'embracing'). The problem is that there seems to be no parallel for *comprimere* in this sense with an object (TLL 3.2158.11); the passages with *expressa* and *caelata* cited by Heinsius and Langen all describe works of art or other images, where the accusative denotes the pictured object. In the cases mentioned in K/S (1.289, 291) the noun in the accusative refers to a part of the subject (*premetur caput* Ov. *Her.* 13.39, *mentem pressus* V. *A.* 3.47), whereas in Stat. *Theb.* 6.679f. *humi … / pressus utroque genu* the subject presses itself. The other instances of the participle in VF are purely passive (3.106, 331). Probably we have here another daring linguistic innovation by our author. The ablative *pectore* has a possible parallel in Stat. *Theb.* 1.122 *gremio … pressit*, where *gremio* is taken by Heuvel as a dative, by Smolenaars (on *Theb.* 7.461f.) as an ablative.

astu … pavido: the noun is only here used in connection with hunting (TLL 2.983.37ff.). Ovid has *dolus* in the sense of 'fishing-net' (*Hal.* 26): cf. *dolis* 485. The combination of *astus* with an adjective recurs in 2.555 (Poortvliet). A 'fearful guile' is not quite an oxymoron, but it goes

farther in that direction than Lucan's *pavido … furto* (2.168). Neither *astus* nor *dolus* are combined with a comparable adjective elsewhere.

For *rapuit* cf. *raptor* 160 and *abripiam* 154, both connected with Acastus.

adverso (mss.) was first replaced by *averso* in the Aldina. Since then most editors have preferred the mss. reading: Kramer, Ehlers, Liberman and Dräger, only Courtney printing *averso*. In this he is probably right, for two reasons: first, a satisfying meaning for *adverso* is hard to find; Ehlers' suggestion (*adverso* '… nah', ut 518 *aversis* 'fern') is not convincing, as there are no instances of this use (TLL 1.1867.19ff., 76ff.; for *aversis* 518 see below). In the second place, two parallels in Statius strongly point to *averso*, to wit *Theb.* 5.357 and 7.42 *averso … in* (*sub*) *Haemo* (in both passages some mss. have *adverso* here as well). Smolenaars rightly interprets *averso* in both passages as not just 'remote, distant', but rather 'turned away (from the narrator's viewpoint)', and the same applies to the VF passage: the tigress was hunting 'on the back of the mountain' as seen by the hunter, which gave him the courage and opportunity to grab the cubs. The *dum*-clause modifies the last finite form (*rapuit*), not the predicates of the preceding main clause (*fugit / urget*). *venatur*: the verb is used previously with hunting animals for the subject in Ov. *Hal.* 76 *venandique sagax virtus* (cf. Cic. *N.D.* 2.158 *canum … alacritas in venando*), Phaedr. 1.11.3 *venari … cum vellet leo*. The standing epithet for hounds is *venaticus*; cf. further V. *A.* 12.751 *venator … canis*, Ov. *Met.* 2.492 (Callisto) *venatrixque metu venantum territa fugit*, and in VF 3.335 *venatrix … turba canum*. Here *venatur* echoes *venator* in 490: the fact that the animal goes hunting makes it possible for the hunter to raid her lair.

Mt. Amanus is a mountain range separating the plains of Issus from Syria, mentioned several times by Cicero (notably *Att.* 5.20), and in poetry once: Luc. 3.244 (Hunink). In the parallel passages cited above (p. 283) other haunts of wild animals are mentioned: Scythia (Stat. *Theb.* 10.820, and implicitly VF in 6.149), the Ganges (Sen., Sil.), Caucasus (Sil.), Niphates (in Armenia; Claud.).

494–497

> it pariter propulsa ratis. stant litore matres
> claraque vela oculis percussaque sole sequuntur
> scuta virum, donec iam celsior arbore pontus
> immensusque ratem spectantibus abstulit aer.

The scene on the beach, with the people who stay behind looking after the departing heroes, has resemblances to several other passages,

before and after VF. This list includes Cat. 64 (esp. 126ff., 249f.); Ov. *Her.* 5.55, 12.55, 13.17–24, *Met.* 11.461–470; Stat. *Silv.* 3.2.78ff., 5.2.6ff., *Theb.* 5.481–485, *Ach.* 2.23–26; while Lucan 8.47ff., a scene of arrival, has a similarity in wording. Verbal echoes from these and other passages will be noted below.

it: this correction by Eyssenhardt 1862 was taken over by all subsequent editors except Schenkl and Bährens; a temporal clause with *ut* (mss.) would imply that the women only stand there after the ship was put in motion. The verb is used with 'ship' as the subject on three other occasions in VF alone: 508 below, 4.710 and 8.331 (cf. OLD 1c). For *pariter* (45 occurrences in the *Argonautica*) 'in equal rhythm' cf. V. *A.* 3.560 *pariter … insurgite remis*; the adverb modifies *it* as it does *gressi* in V. *A.* 6.633.

propulsa: the verb, not used by Virgil (cf. Korn on 4.311), denotes the 'propulsion' of the ship from Propertius on: 3.21.11 *socii, propellite in aequora navem*; cf. also Sen. *Phaed.* 181f. *navita adversa ratem / propellit unda* and Sil. 14.624 *propulsa invadit piscator caerula cumba*. As Hunink (on Luc. 3.1) notes, sometimes it is the wind that is the agent, not the rowing crew as here (*pariter*).

stant litore matres is a clever combination of two Virgilian passages: *A.* 3.277 *stant litore puppes* and ib. 8.592 *stant pavidae in muris matres oculisque sequuntur.*

clara vela: the adjective ('bright, gleaming'; OLD 2b) is only here used to describe sails; these are mentioned in some of the parallel passages mentioned above (Ov. *Met.* 11.470, where see Bömer, *Her.* 5.55; Stat. *Silv.* 5.2.6; *Ach.* 2.25 *carbasa*).

percussa sole … (scuta): the combination is previously attested in Luc. 2.482f. *percussis sole corusco /… telis* (Lucretius having *percussus luce* in 2.800); cf. Sen. *Ep.* 102.28 *lux undique clara percutiet.*

The expression *oculis sequi* 'to follow with one's eyes' (OLD 1c) occurs in comparable passages: V. *A.* 8.592; Ov. *Her.* 13.18; Stat. *Silv.* 5.2.6; also *Arg.* 4.506 (and cf. 6.658). In the same sense we find *insequi* (Ov. *Met.* 11.468) and *prosequi* (Ov. *Her.* 5.55 and 12.55; Stat. *Theb.* 5.483).

celsior arbore pontus: for the adjective *celsus* denoting the height of the mast see note on 312. The whole ship is thus qualified in V. *A.* 2.375 *celsis … a navibus*, 8.107 *celsas … rates* (the cases with *puppi(bus)* are of course less clear). Likewise VF has *celsis … puppibus* (clearly 'ships') 719 below, *e celsa … rate* 5.9; cf. Stat. *Theb.* 5.479 *rate celsus Iason.* In this passage, however, it is the sea that is called 'higher than' the mast, *i.e.* making the ship disappear beyond the horizon. This seems to be a

unique way of describing this phenomenon (TLL 3.773.26).

arbor denotes the mast from Ovid on, after Virgil's *arbore mali* (*A.* 5.504): *Met.* 11.476, 551. To later passages listed by Langen and in OLD (4b) one can add Luc. 8.179 and Stat. *Theb.* 5.373f. This use is not exclusively poetic: OLD gives passages from Frontinus, Petronius and Pliny the Younger.

immens(usque), a correction in L (V having *immens*), is clearly better than *immensamque* (S): it is not the dimensions of the ship that matter here, but its distance from the coast. In itself *immensus aer* can denote the air in general, which is as such 'immense, immeasurable' as in [Tib.] 4.1.19 (= *Paneg. Messallae*); cf. Ov. *Met.* 2.157 *immensi … caeli.* Here, however, the required meaning is 'a particular expanse of air (as a measurement of distance), space' (OLD 4), as in 2.524. In this sense the combination with *immensus* is not attested elsewhere, but *aer* goes with such comparable adjectives as *multus* (Lucr. 4.358 and 558, 5.653, 6.1142), *magnus* (V. *A.* 1.300), and *ingens* (Stat. *Theb.* 9.534); the closest to our passage is Stat. *Silv.* 5.2.7 (in a farewell scene) *oculos longo … aëre vinci.*

spectantibus abstulit: OLD 7 'to remove (from sight)', sometimes with *e conspectu* or *oculis*. For the dative cf. Luc. 8.58f. *obvia nox miserae caelum lucemque tenebris / abstulit* and, with a slightly different construction, Liv. 1.16.1 (*nimbus*) … *conspectum eius contioni abstulerit.*

VF makes a neat transition to the following 'scene in heaven' by ending the preceding paragraph with the gaze of those who stay behind: the Argo is 'out of view' both for the spectators on the shore and for the reader of the story, but is observed by Jupiter in heaven.

PART C,2

PROTECTION AND PROPHECY

498–573

An element clearly thought indispensable in ancient epic is a discussion between the gods regarding the future and the course of action to be followed. Naturally, in the end Jupiter always overrules his opponent(s). For literature on this theme see in particular Schubert (18–44) and Voeten (10–36), both referring to earlier literature on 'typical scenes' in general. Since AR did not have a divine council at this stage of the narrative, it was almost certainly Virgil's example (see below) that led VF to introduce this element here.

In this case the detail concerning the location and circumstances of the meeting is extremely succinct, in contrast with *e.g.* Stat. *Theb.* 1.197–210 (see Voeten): it consists solely of *siderea … arce*. Whereas in some cases Jupiter at the start of the meeting sets out his reasons for convening it (again in the first book of the *Thebaid*; furthermore in V. *A.* 10.1–15 and Ov. *Met.* 1.163–198), here he just looks intently at the situation, and his approval is shared by the other deities (501). The opposition is not provoked by an initial statement from him, but comes spontaneously from Sol. For this reason the nearest model for VF was apparently V. *A.* 1.223–296, where Venus of her own accord approaches Jupiter with a complaint about the present dangerous situation of her son Aeneas. Similarly, here the sun god tries to safeguard the interests of his son Aeetes, the king of Colchis. Of course there are also differences: Aeetes is not in danger, nor even threatened as yet, and the loss of the Golden Fleece is not a very terrifying prospect in itself, though it would detract from his honour. Sol does not object to the newly-discovered art of seafaring as such; he only requests that the Argo sail in another direction (*flecte ratem* 525). For the contents of his speech see below.

While in Virgil Jupiter comforts Venus and promises ultimately the best for her son and his people, in VF his answer hardly serves to allay the fears of Sol. He shows it to be destiny that navigation will bring about contacts between parts of the world that were hitherto widely separated, and moreover the ancient power of the Orient is fated to

crumble in favour first of the Greeks, and later of an empire which is not yet named; for Roman readers the allusion was obvious. So it turns out that the future looks even worse for Aeetes and his descendants than his father had anticipated. On the other hand, since the sun god may be supposed to have the interests of the entire world at heart, and the prospects for mankind are generally prosperous (although seafaring will take its toll, and war more so than before), he will acquiesce in Jupiter's decision (not that he had any other option). The implication that Sol will have to accept that his son's interests must give way to the common good may silently hint at a similar sacrifice Jupiter himself will have to make in the case of Sarpedon (V. *A.* 10.470f.). Details of Jupiter's speech will be discussed below.

No answer follows on the part of Sol. The situation does not call for a messenger to be sent, as in Stat. *Theb.* 1.292–311 (and in Hom. *Od.* 5.28–42), and so the scene can end with a favourable omen sent by Jupiter particularly for the sons of Leda, with which he confirms his (and the Fates') decision.

The scene in heaven contains the following elements:

A. Sketch of the situation: Jupiter and (most) other gods watch the new enterprise with satisfaction (498–502).
B. Sol's protest (503–527), with the reactions of Mars, Minerva and Juno (528–530).
C. Jupiter's answer (531–567), briefly interrupted by the poet with a 'stage-direction' (561–562).
D. A sign from heaven sent to Castor and Pollux in particular, confirming Jupiter's words (568–573).

A. 498–502

The introduction to the discussion among the gods (it would be less correct to call it a 'council', because the issue is settled beforehand) is made by a clever transition. The preceding scene ended with the women on the beach looking fearfully at the departing ship (a traditional detail, as shown above); now Jupiter watches the same event from heaven, but with approval. This 'view from heaven' also forms part of comparable situations, as in V. *A.* 11.725ff. (Jupiter), ib. 7.288ff., 12.134ff., 792 (Juno), ib. 9.638ff. (Apollo). Jupiter's joy is shared by (as it first appears) all the other gods, from which the Parcae are singled out as viewing the future.

498–502

> siderea tunc arce pater pulcherrima Graium
> coepta tuens tantamque operis consurgere molem
> laetatur; patrii neque enim probat otia regni.
> una omnes gaudent superi venturaque mundo
> tempora quaeque vias cernunt sibi crescere Parcae.

siderea … arce: the combination is previously attested in Ov. *Am.* 3.10.21, but surely V. *A.* 10.3 (in a council of the gods) *sideream in sedem* contributed to VF's choice of words, as well as Ov. *Met.* 1.163 *quae pater ut summa vidit Saturnius arce*. For *arx* denoting the sky where the gods live (OLD 6) cf. Korn on 4.73 *super⟨as⟩ … ad arces*. In 3.481 VF has *summas … arces*, and shortly afterwards (487f.) another 'view from heaven' is presented, this time Juno looking at the Argo. *sidereus* 'starry' qualifying the sky occurs first in Virgil (*A.* 3.586; 10.3 [quoted above], where see Harrison).

tunc: V. *A.* 9.638 *tum*; in other instances *cum*, *ut*, *interea* are used.

pater: as in V. *A.* 10.2 and Ov. *Met.* 1.163 (both cited above), and also in Stat. *Theb.* 1.204; *sator* V. *A.* 11.725.

Graium: an obvious correction for mss. *gratum*. As a noun it occurs here for the first time in the *Argonautica*; the adjective was used in 18, 33, 56, 113.

pulcherrima … coepta: the adjective ('glorious, illustrious'; OLD 2b), already used by Cicero (*Phil.* 4.5) to qualify *factum*, serves to summarize Jupiter's judgement at once. The daring enterprise of the Argonauts has only just begun (*coepta* in its original sense).

tuens: as in V. *A.* 12.792 *tuentem*; in comparable contexts *dispicere, prospicere, aspectare, videre* and *observare* are used.

tantam … molem: cf. V. *A.* 1.33 *tantae molis*. The accusative and infinitive construction is the second object governed by *tuens*, the simple accusative *pulcherrima … coepta* being the first; cf. note on *videres* 52 above. The exact meaning of the clause is uncertain, owing to the different interpretations that can be given both for *operis* and *consurgere*. In itself *moles* with a genitive denotes something big, which may be either an action ('effort, exertion', OLD 8; 'enterprise', ib. 6) or the object produced by it. Of the first possibility *molem belli* is the most frequent: attested from Acc. *trag.* 610 on, it occurs quite frequently in Livy (see Heubner on Tac. *Hist.* 1.61.2; also on ib. 2.74.2). The only instance listed in OLD under 6 is Vell. 2.79.1, the others appearing under 5 ('a vast amount of'). *tantam … operis … molem* could therefore mean 'such a huge enterprise'. On the other hand we have expressions like *molem*

… *equi* (V. *A.* 2.32 and 150; 'implies not only the bulk of the horse, but the elaborate work that had gone to the building of it', Austin). So we could equally well assume that *tantam … operis … molem* is a circumlocution for 'such a huge ship'. There is a similar discussion about Tac. *Hist.* 4.28.3 *molem … operum*, where TLL (8.1340.30) takes *operum* as 'activities', but Heubner ad l. as 'siege works'. In Quint. *Inst.* 12.9.2 *civitates … operum mole difficiles*, the combination refers to the actual 'defensive works' (but of course these too are the result of energetic activities). As regards *consurgere*, this verb may denote the beginning of an action (Langen: 'initium capere, incipi'; OLD 7, TLL 4.622.53), as with *bellum* in V. *A.* 8.637, Ov. *Her.* 16.353, Sen. *Ep.* 91.5. In other cases it refers to buildings, walls, etc., not only during construction, but also in a finished state: 'to extend upwards, reach a height, tower' (OLD 6; TLL 4.621.33ff.). Therefore one way of interpreting *tantam … operis consurgere molem* is: 'that such a great enterprise is started', the other 'that such a bulk (of a ship) rises (above the waves)'. In 75 above VF has both *operis* and *consurgere*, but in a different construction. If the poet had only one of these constructions in mind, not wishing to express two thoughts in one set of words, there is a slight preference for *operis* as 'enterprise, venture', because it is the new era heralded by the expedition which matters, rather than the size of the vessel.

laetatur: this implies a silent opposition to Jupiter's speech in Ov. *Met.* 1.163ff., where he is angry at the things happening on earth (*ingemit* 164; *iras* 166; *indignantia* 181).

patrii … regni: usually the pre-Jovian 'golden age' was considered as a paradise now lost (see note on p. 149). The notable and in this case decisive exception is of course to be found in V. *G.* 1.121–124 *pater ipse colendi / haud facilem esse viam voluit …/… nec torpere gravi passus sua regna veterno.* As it was for the benefit of mankind that Jupiter introduced agriculture, so here he combats the sloth and indolence of the preceding generations by furthering the newly-discovered art of navigation. This positive evaluation of the present age as compared to the 'golden' past found little favour with later writers. Schubert (24) refers to Sen. *Dial.* 1 (= *De Provid.*).2.6 *operibus … doloribus, damnis exagitentur* (God (*deus*) speaking); *languent per inertiam.* There, however, it is explicitly the *boni viri* who are thus disciplined: *adversus bonos viros*; 7 *deus ille bonorum amantissimus*; *magnos viros*, not the human race in general. The only clear echo of VF seems to be Claud. *Rapt. Proserp.* 3.20f. *Saturnia postquam / otia et ignavi senium cognovimus aevi.* The reign of Saturn is nowhere else characterized with *otia*, a less strong word than *veternus.*

The idea of ascribing the new development to Jupiter is harder to accept than Virgil's startling reversal of the traditional views about the age of Saturn: when the Argo sets out, agriculture is clearly a well-established aspect of human life (cf. 25 above), so Jupiter has obviously been in power for a considerable time. In Virgil, however, its invention is projected far into the past and coupled as usual with the discovery of seafaring. VF makes the 'process of civilization' by Jupiter happen in two instalments.

una … Parcae: this is a difficult sentence (cf. *Mnem.* 1989:422f.). The interpretation mostly accepted nowadays is Burman's: *una cum Iove omnes superi gaudent et Parcae, quae cernunt ventura mundo tempora, et vias sibi crescere*: 'with Jupiter all the gods of heaven rejoice, and the Parcae (as well), who see the (new) era coming to the world, and (see, realize) that the ways (of death) grow more numerous for them'. Undoubtedly, seafaring will result in dangers and causes of death that did not exist before. The change in construction (the object of *cernunt* first being an accusative and then an accusative with infinitive) is nothing remarkable (cf. note on 499), and the place of (the first) *-que* is not only in this, but in any other construction very strange. Burman's interpretation was endorsed by Schmitz, Samuelsson, Giarratano, Courtney and Ehlers. Nevertheless, several other possibilities have been put forward. First, Thilo (LXVIII) thought *mundo* corrupt and hesitatingly suggested *laudant*, which would rid him of the inversion of *-que* he found unacceptable. Langen assumed the equivalent of a line had disappeared between *tempora* and *-que vias* etc. (for his reasons see below). Then Hertz (ap. Hirschwälder 11) proposed *aquaeque* instead of *quaeque*: 'all the gods rejoice and the Parcae see the new times approaching and (realize) that the ways across the waters come in addition (to the formerly existing causes of death)', rather than Mozley's 'the Fates mark how the coming age and the paths over the waters increase for their own gain'. This is certainly an ingenious idea, also accepted by Bury and Kramer, but it does not look like the solution to the problem. However, neither is Burman's interpretation convincing. First, Langen argues cogently that the Parcae may have reason to rejoice at the greater number of causes of death (the negative aspect of future times), but the gods of heaven also look forward to an era (*ventura tempora*) which will show greater achievements for mankind, which is the positive element in the change introduced by Jupiter. Langen's second argument for rejecting Burman's construction is not as good: *tempora* would need an explanation (it being 'sic simpliciter positum'); but *ventura*, in combination with

the preceding *patrii … otia regni*, makes the sense quite clear. On the other hand, Langen could have pointed to the second Virgilian model for VF here, namely *Ecl.* 4.52 *aspice venturo laetentur ut omnia saeclo*: *laetentur* became *gaudent*, *omnia* is echoed by *mundo* (cf. *mundum* 50 in the Virgil passage), and *saeclo* was changed into *tempora* (the Parcae also figuring in Virgil, l.47); furthermore VF replaced the ablative with *laetentur* by an object in the accusative. Therefore it seems almost certain that *ventura … tempora* depends not on *cernunt*, but on *gaudent*, and that the correct interpretation was given by J.A. Wagner (1805): *una gaudent superi* de laetis *quae mundo ventura* sint *temporibus, Parcaeque quae vias sibi crescere cernunt*: 'with Jupiter the deities of heaven rejoice at the coming era to the world and the Parcae [as well, but for a more restricted reason] who see the ways [of dying] grow for them'. This construction, presented by Thilo as an idea that had occurred to him but was then rejected as too artificial, implies the transposition of *-que* in 501 from its 'normal' position after *superi* to the part of the sentence in which a second subject is presented. This opinion was also voiced by Schenkl (1871 Sitzungsberichte, again 1898 Wochenschr. f. kl. Philol. 15 nr.1, review of Langen), but was not elaborated. The resulting sentence has the additional benefit of a better correspondence between *-que* in 501 and *-que* in 502: instead of Burman's awkward construction, paraphrased by him as *superi … et Parcae, quae … et …*, we have *-que* twice separating the subjects: *superi (-que)—Parcae (-que)*. This view is now endorsed by Liberman as well.

una omnes in itself means 'in one body, all at the same time' as in V. *A.* 5.830 and 8.689, and *Arg.* 8.412. In V. *A.* 8.105, however, we may infer from the preceding *Pallas huic filius una* (sc. *cum eo erat / ibat*) that *una omnes iuvenum primi pauperque senatus* means both 'all (youths and older men) together' and 'together with him (Euander, the *rex Arcas* of 102)'. Here too both aspects appear to be present: 'all the gods [not strictly true, since Sol and Mars do not agree] together' and 'together (with Jupiter) all the gods'.

gaudent: like Jupiter himself *laetatur* (500). They do not take part in forming a decision, but simply applaud when it is taken. The verb is not very often construed with a (non-cognate, not pronominal) accusative (TLL 6.2.1703.55ff.), but it is occasionally used thus; by Caelius (in Cic. *Fam.* 8.14.1) and Statius (*Theb.* 4.231 and 9.724; K/S 1.261).

It is hard to find an exact parallel for the *traiectio* of *-que*, but in VF a word followed by this connective more than once splits two elements that belong together, as here the two subjects *superi* and *Parcae*: two

objects are separated in that way by a finite verb form (1.846f. *natum / inducitque nurum*, 2.224f. *temptare fugam prohibetque capessere … / arma metus)* or by an ablative (2.268 *sinus hederisque ligat famularibus artus*, 3.68 *Triviamque canens umeroque Learchum*), two attributes by an ablative (1.693 *subitus curaque … metus acrior omni*), and noun and attribute by a finite form (7.117 *in carae gremium refugitque sororis*).

mundo: the 'New Age' will arrive for the world as a whole, but the 'new ways of (dealing) death' for the Parcae in particular (*sibi*).

vias: elsewhere more explicitly called *leti vias* (as in 32 above, where *vias* and *tempora* are coordinated: *leti vias et tempora*). The combination is first attested in Lucr. 2.917 *leti vitare vias*; Livy has (31.18.7) *per omnes vias leti*. More to the point is Tib. 1.3.50 *nunc mare, nunc leti mille repente viae* (cf. ib. 1.10.4 *tum* (= after the invention of swords) *brevior dirae mortis aperta via est*). In other instances there is only one *via leti* (*mortis*): Hor. *Carm.* 1.28.16, Prop. 2.27.2 and 3.18.22. VF does not point out how the 'ways of dying' will grow more numerous, but apart from the evident danger of shipwrecking we surely have to think of the expansion of warfare as well. This element detracts from the overall favourable aspects of the future age and thereby reminds us of the general condemnation of the present era in other authors in antiquity, beginning as it does with war, navigation and (sometimes) agriculture. Of course this recognition of the drawbacks is present in Virgil's *Georgics* and *Aeneid* (but not in the fourth Eclogue, to which VF clearly refers here).

For *crescere* 'to increase in numbers' with a plural subject see TLL 4.1178.59ff.; other instances are to be found in OLD 4.

B. 503–527

It appears that Jupiter's joy is not shared by all *superi*.

503–504

sed non et Scythici genitor discrimine nati
intrepidus tales fundit Sol pectore voces:

This sentence too presents great difficulties, both syntactical and semantic, due to the remarkable use of *sed non et*. This combination usually denotes an opposition by negation: a statement is declared true in one case, but not in another ('A, but not B as well'). A notable

exception to this 'rule', and apparently the only one, occurs in V. *A.* 6.86 *sed non et venisse volent.* Here the negation applies to the infinitive, *et* belonging to *volent*: they will arrive, but 'they will also' (Austin) wish they had not come. In the other instances, where *non* and *et* belong together, two statements are opposed in three different ways. First (a) two people (subjects) are opposed: one does (is) something, the other does (is) not (also); we find this (1) in V. *A.* 7.736f. *patriis sed non et filius arvis / contentus* (the son, not content as his father had been); (2) ib. 10.583ff. *vesano talia late / dicta volant Ligeri. sed non et Troius heros / dicta parat contra* (Aeneas does not boast like Liger; see Harrison ad l.); (3) Ov. *Met.* 4.273 (after *veros … deos*) *sed non et Bacchus in illis* (sc. *erat*) 'not also Bacchus was one of them', *i.e.* the others were (recognized as) true gods, but Bacchus was not; (4) in Sil. 5.523 *sed non et consul* ('The consul, unlike his rival …', Duff in the Loeb edition). The second possibilty (b) is to oppose in this manner two actions (verbs) by the same Agent (subject), as in (1) V. *A.* 10.343f. *sed non et figere … / est licitum* '(he threw his javelin) but did not also hit his opponent'; (2) Luc. 9.757 *aequoreusque placet, sed non et sufficit, umor.* Thirdly, we see (c) two Predicates or Praedicativa (in the terminology used by Pinkster) in the form of adjectives or participles qualifying the same person first in a positive (affirmative) way, then in a negation: (1) Ov. *Fast.* 4.307 *casta quidem, sed non et credita*; (2) Ov. *Met.* 15.74 (*ora*) *docta quidem … sed non et credita*; (3) Calp. *Ecl.* 2.61 *rusticus est, fateor, sed non et barbarus Idas* 'he is a peasant, but it does not follow that he is a barbarian as well'. Of course, in principle it is possible that more than one of those three elements are present at the same time in a given clause, but that is not the case in the passages listed above.

So we also have to ask here: which element of the phrase is negated with *non*; do *non* and *et* belong together (as in all but one of the instances noted above); and if so, what is the opposition involved. Now it is clear that Sol is in fact opposed to, and even opposing, the other gods: they rejoice in the new situation, but the Sun-god protests. Therefore, in any case, this instance belongs to category (a) above: the other gods versus Sol. But is it also, as is sometimes assumed (recently by Liberman), an instance of (c), *intrepidus* (or rather *intrepidi*) versus *non intrepidus*? Sol is concerned about his son, but can we say that the other gods were 'fearless' or acted thus? This is rather a weak way of characterizing their enthusiastic reaction. Matters are further complicated by the fact that *intrepidus* qualifies as a Praedicativum the predicate *fundit* etc., but in fact the words of the Sun-god are quite bold (though of course not

without due respect) and cannot therefore be spoken by someone who is *non intrepidus*. Further, in all the instances quoted above the word containing the opposition follows immediately after *sed non et*, which is not the case here: it is clearly not *Scythici* that is negated. And finally, *discrimine* seems much too strong an expression for the fact that Aeetes might lose his precious Fleece; after all, he is not yet speaking here (in exaggeration)—these are the poet's words. We must conclude that VF's diction here is unusual in the extreme. It looks as if the poet wished to convey three notions at once:

a) Sol reacted very differently from the other gods (*sed non et … genitor*);
b) he was concerned (*non intrepidus*) about his son;
c) he spoke freely (*intrepidus*). The translation could be: '(all the gods, and epecially the Parcae, were glad.) Not so the father of the son in Scythia; concerned about his (the son's) danger, he frankly uttered the following words: …' This would amount to a major compression of language, going further even than the poet's well-known favourite brachylogy. If it really was his intention to weld all these elements into one phrase, one cannot easily consider this attempt a success.

Alternatively, we can see this extraordinary diction as another sign that the work was never finished and that eventually the poet would have sought a more conventional way of expressing what he wanted to say. All the problems would be solved could we assume that 1) here too the word marking the opposed element (*genitor*) originally came immediately after *sed non et*; 2) that instead of the resulting *Scythici dis-* VF wrote *Scythici qui* (with the almost imperative position of the relative); 3) that for *-crimine* we should read *nomine*. This would result in: *sed non et genitor, Scythici qui nomine nati / intrepidus* … 'but not so the father, who on behalf of his son in Scythia, undaunted …' (but it must be admitted that the expression *nomine* + gen. usually implies a request on the part of the person on whose behalf someone tries to intervene, of which there is no evidence here).

Scythici … nati belongs to both *genitor* and *discrimine*; cf. 345 *Scythici regis*. The disjunction *genitor*—*Sol* is not as remarkable as in the cases where a conjunction intervenes (ANRW 2462f.). For the supposed *discrimen* of Aeetes and for *intrepidus* see above.

tales … voces: a variation on several passages in Virgil, chiefly *A*. 5.482 *ille super tales effundit pectore voces* (cf. ib. 8.70 *tales effundit ad aethera voces*),

6.55 *funditque preces rex pectore ab imo* and 11.482 *et maestas alto fundunt de limine voces*. *fundere* 'to utter' is attested from Cato on (OLD 5c). VF has the line ending *pectore voces* again at 6.496 and 7.308 (where see Perutelli).

(505–527) (The speech of Sol)

VF's primary reason for inserting Sol's protest here seems to be the creation of an opportunity for Jupiter to reveal his (or the Fates') decrees. There would have been no reason for this if the support of the gods had been unanimous. In the second place, the attention drawn to the remote country of Colchis serves to strengthen the unity of the work by once more closely linking the departure to the goal of the journey. The words of Sol, introduced with *tales fundit … voces*, are directly followed by the reactions of several listeners: approval from Mars, rejection by Pallas and Juno. The speech with its 23 lines is relatively lengthy, in this book only surpassed by Jupiter's reaction (35 lines) and Aeson's imprecation at the end (28 lines). It can be analyzed into the following elements:

a) 505–508: with a prayer-like introduction (address without proper name, followed by a relative clause) Sol states in the form of a question that he is entitled to object to Jupiter's favouring the expedition;
b) 509–516: first argument: 1) Sol has already taken measures to prevent a clash between his son and possible 'aggressors' (509–513); 2) he (literally) could not go further in this respect (514–516);
c) 517–524: the second argument: in his distant country Aeetes has not caused difficulties for anyone (517–518) and certainly not for Phrixus after his arrival in Colchis (519–524);
d) 525–527: the request to save Sol another cause of grief (after the fate of Phaethon).

505–508

'summe sator, cui nostra dies volventibus annis
tot peragit reficitque vices, tuane ista voluntas
Graiaque nunc undis duce te nutuque secundo
it ratis, an meritos fas est mihi rumpere questus?

In a prayer the name of the god to whom it is addressed is not usually mentioned, but a relative clause indicates either a specific task of the god's (194 *o qui* …) or a reason to be grateful to the praying person (81

omnipotens regina, quam …). In this instance both elements are present, because the 'suppliant' happens to be a god himself: 'am I not faithfully collaborating with you in the maintenance of the universe?'

summe sator: in the sense of 'progenitor' (as opposed to lit. 'sower') the noun is poetical and qualifies Jupiter from Pac. *trag.* 295 on. Cf. V. *A.* 1.254 (= 11.725) *hominum sator atque deorum*. In Stat. *Theb.* 3.488 we read *summe sator terraeque deumque*.

cui: almost 'in whose service' ('I never fail in my duty to you, so you have no reason to complain about me').

nostra dies: for the gender of *dies* see note on 344. The meaning of the noun here is not so clear. Langen rightly remarks that it cannot stand simply for 'day', since that is of itself one of the 'orderly succeeding' elements (cf. OLD s.v. *vicis* 7) which *dies* is said to bring about. His suggestion that *dies* here denotes the sun itself sounds very convincing; to his parallels, among which Stat. *Ach.* 2.2 *Oceano prolata dies* (Dilke: '*dies*, as often, virtually identified with the sun'), could be added several instances listed in TLL (5.1.1027.56ff.: 'interdum etiam sol ipse'). This sense appears in connection with the meal of Thyestes: Ov. *Am.* 3.12.39 *aversumque diem mensis furialibus Atrei*; *Aetna* 20 *aversumque diem* (Manil. 3.18f. *conversaque sidera retro / ereptumque diem* is a more 'normal' expression; cf. ib. 5.462 *solemque reversum*), Sen. *Thy.* 1035f. *hoc* (sc. *facinus*) *egit diem / aversum in ortus*, but also in other contexts: Sen. *Oed.* 219 *caelo lucidus curret dies*, *Her.O.* 1363 *vetans flagranti currere in zona diem*. This last passage seems to have been in VF's mind when he wrote Sol's speech: *plaga* (1362) and *zona* recur in 511 and 516 below. In the other parallels presented in TLL 'daylight' will do: *Arg.* 1.655 *emicuit reserata dies*, 4.678 *pelagoque dies occurrere aperto*, 5.412 *curvoque diem subtexit Olympo*. Here, however, with *nostra dies* the sun is probably referring to himself, additionally because *volventibus annis* suggests seasons rather than the alternation of daylight and darkness.

With *volventibus annis* (V. *A.* 1.234) next to *dies* (days make years) Sol emphasizes his assiduous cooperation.

tot … vices: in Ov. *Met.* 4.218 *nox … vicem peragit* the meaning is 'night performs its task in its turn', rather than 'die Stelle einnehmen' (Bömer), whereas ib. 15.238 *quasque vices peragant* (sc. *elementa*) it must be 'to undergo (or cause) changes' (Bömer: 'Wechsel durchführen'). In *Tr.* 5.13.30 *peragant linguae charta manusque vices* both 'to perform the task of …' and 'to take the place of …' are possible. It is hardly a coincidence that a very similar expression occurs in Sen. *Her.O.* (see

preceding note): *perage nunc, Titan, vices* (1512). Therefore here too the sense will be '(Sun) performs his task in regular succession (alternating with night)', OLD 4; the verb also contains an element of (ib. 10b) 'to complete (a period of time)'.

reficit somewhat redundantly underlines the repetition; the usual meaning 'to restore' does not fit well with *vices* ('changes, turns'). There appear to be no other instances of the expression *vices reficere*. Incidentally, virtually the same meaning would be obtained with *vias* instead of *vices*: cf. 283 *septem Aurora vias … peregerat.*

tua voluntas: usually this sentence is closed with a question mark after *ratis* 508. If however the next clause were to begin with *an* as a new question, the expected answer would be 'no': K/S 2.517ff.; TLL 2.3.76ff.: 'praecedentem quaestionem ipse corrigit vel amplificat vel omnino retractat'. Indeed, in some cases the second question contains a suggested answer to the first (V. *Ecl.* 3.1 and 9.1, *A.* 9.400, 12.636). *an* opposing an alternative possibility to a formerly mentioned one appears in V. *Ecl.* 8.108 and Hor. *Carm.* 3.4.5 (but in both cases *-ne* is metrically inpossible). Here *-ne* and *an* constitute the well-known binary question 'is A the case or B?' Sol asks: 'is this really what you want (in which case there is no room for opposition, the wish of Jupiter being equal to an order) **or** may I too present my views?' Thus *tua(ne)* and *mihi* represent both possible opponents. For *fas est mihi* see below.

undis: the ablative denoting 'the route by which', as in the more usual *mari* (K/S 1.350 e).

For *duce te* see note on 19 above. Here the combination amounts to a slight rhetorical exaggeration: Jupiter does not 'lead' the expedition, he favours and in a sense originated it. *te auctore* would be more exact, but the following words specify the expression.

nutuque secundo: from *te* we have to supply ⟨*tuo*⟩. The combination does not seem to occur elsewhere, but there is no need for Heinsius' *flatuque* (attested with *secundo* in Ov. *Met.* 13.418, 14.226, Sil. 7.409): *nutus* is characteristic for Jupiter's approving nod; cf. 85f. above *nutuque …/ coniugis*, 3.251 *nutuque sereno*; V. *A.* 9.106 *nutu tremefecit Olympum*. For *secundo* there is a parallel in Ov. *Met.* 7.619 *tonitruque secundo*; for *ire* said of ships see note on 494 above.

fas est: Heinsius suggested *fas et*, which was approved by Burman and printed by editors up to and including Bährens, Bury, Giarratano and Mozley. Following Schenkl's example Langen and subsequent editors reverted to *est*. On the one hand the reading with *et* is somewhat more forceful, strengthening the opposition *tua—mihi* with a truly Valerian

brachylogy 'may I too say something? I want to complain …'. On the other hand the mss. reading presents no problems and therefore the change is not called for.

meritos: not 'deserved' but 'justified' (TLL 8.112.74ff.: 'i.q. *iure factus, iustus*'). Statius has the same use in *Theb.* 5.104 and *Ach.* 1.397 (*doloris* / *-res*), *Theb.* 7.378 (*iras*), *Ach.* 1.788 (*enses*). Cf. also *meruere* 519.

rumpere questus: again in 4.42 (where see Korn). The model was V. *A.* 4.553, developed from the equally Virgilian *rumpere vocem* (*A.* 2.129 (see Austin), 3.246 (see Willams), 11.377). The verb implies a passionate utterance (OLD 5b).

509–513

hoc metuens et ne qua foret manus invida nato
non mediae telluris opes, non improba legi
divitis arva plagae (teneant uberrima Teucer
et Libys et vestri Pelopis domus): horrida saevo
quae premis arva gelu strictosque insedimus amnes.

hoc metuens: as in V. *G.* 1.335 and *A.* 1.61. For the combination of syntactically different objects of *metuens* (first an accusative, then a subordinate clause introduced with *ne*) TLL (8.904.22ff.) gives as parallels Ter. *Hau.* 808 *nec quicquam mage … quam ne*, Liv. 25.24.10 *non tam vim … quam ne*, Luc. 8.593f. *metuens non arma nefasque, sed ne …*.

manus invida: it is hard to determine whether with *manus* VF meant 'band, gang' or '(hostile) hand', or even exclusively one of these. Anyhow, there is some sort of brevity involved: Sol wished to prevent any people being jealous of his son and forming an attacking force (OLD 22) / engaging in violent action (ib. 8).

invida is not elsewhere coupled with *manus*, but it takes a dative regularly (*nato*; neither Sol nor Jupiter mention Aeetes by name). Sol has intentionally relegated his son to an inhospitable part of the world, not to a fertile and flourishing region which could be a cause of envy. The richness of the areas not accorded to Aeetes is indicated by *opes*, *divitis* and *uberrima*, whereas *mediae telluris* denotes a temperate and habitable zone. TLL (8.583.10) refers to Plin. *Nat.* 2.190 *medio … fertiles … tractus*, ib. 23.27 *orbis medius (et mitior plaga)*. The wording is based on the primitive concept of one central and habitable zone as against the regions to the north and south, which are too cold. Later this central zone was divided into two temperate zones on the outside and a torrid one between them (Kl. P. 4.255 s.v. Oikumene). We see this notion for instance in V. *G.* 1.237ff. (see Thomas, and Mynors on 233). Here in VF

the ancient, less refined version prevails; the realm of Aeetes is situated on the outer edge of the habitable world, beyond which (515) there is only everlasting winter.

improba … arva: according to Poortvliet (on 2.630) the adjective still contains an element of disapproval, in this case because the action Sol denies having taken would have been 'presumptuous'. However, when TLL (7.1.693.46ff.) distinguishes a meaning 'immensus, immanis, ingens', two passages (apart from the two in VF) are mentioned where it is hardly possible to detect any moral implication: both in Plin. *Nat.* 2.171 (on the Ocean) *improba et indefinita debet esse tam vastae molis possessio* and in Sil. 14.508 *dimensi spatia improba campi* the adjective simply indicates size. So it is likely that here the quantity of land left free by Sol is emphasized next to its quality.

arva … plagae: there are no other instances of *arva* with a defining genitive. *plaga* however may particularly denote a climatic zone (OLD 2c) and is therefore chosen purposely. The words *tellus*, *medio* and *plaga(rum)* all appear in V. *A.* 7.225ff. (where again the number of zones is five).

divitis … plagae (and *uberrima*): cf. V. *A.* 7.262 (near the passage mentioned in the preceding note!) *divitis uber agri.*

legi: the Sun could have 'chosen' any attractive region, but as it is he 'contented himself with' a cold and distant one.

teneant: as in V. *A.* 5.164 *altum alii teneant.* The subjunctive is not fully concessive, no following 'but' being implied.

uberrima: the adjective often qualifies nouns meaning 'land, soil' (OLD 1b), but as it does not seem to be used substantively (the noun *uber* being available), it is probably best to take it as belonging to *arva.* In 6.37 *plaga* again refers to the north, *pingui … ubere* (39) denoting its young warriors.

Teucer … Libys … Pelops: as observed already by Maserius, the proper nouns refer to Asia, Africa and Europe respectively. *Teucer* does not appear again in VF, *Teucri* for 'Trojans' once (4.58). There is no record in classical literature of an individual named Libys, so it probably stands for 'the inhabitants of Africa' in a collective singular. *vestri (Pelopis)*: according to Pind. *Ol.* 1.36ff. Pelops was abducted by Poseidon to Olympus, where later Ganymede too arrived 'to perform the same tasks'.

For parallels of the description of a 'locus horridus' Pollini 1986 points to Ov. *Pont.* 1.7.9ff., Luc. 4.106ff. (both passages containing forms of *premere*, the latter also of *ignes*), Plin. *Nat.* 2.172 (*infesto rigore et aeterno gelu premitur*).

horrida combines the notions of '(uncultivated,) rough' (OLD 2, TLL 6.3.2993.22) and '(shivering with) cold' (OLD 7, TLL ib. 2992.4ff.). This also seems to be case in Petr. 123.204 (Caesar) *horrida securis frangebat gressibus arva* (of the Alpine country). The adjective qualifies Colchis in the form of *Phasis* in Sen. *Med.* 102 and Stat. *Silv.* 1.6.77. For *saevo … gelu* cf. V. *A.* 9.604 *saevoque gelu duramus et undis*. The repetition of *arva* so soon after its occurrence in 511 again shows that the ancients saw no problem there.

premis: next to the passages cited above we are also reminded of Hor. *Carm.* 1.22.19f. *quod latus mundi nebulae malusque / Iuppiter urget.*

strictos … amnes: the use of the simple verb to denote 'to freeze' is infrequent; instances are Liv. 22.51.6 *stricta matutino frigore … vulnera*, Luc. 4.652f. *pectora pigro / stricta gelu.* In combination with 'water' the only parallel seems to be Gell. 17.8.16 *gelu stringi (mare)*. More usual in this sense is *astringere* (*e.g.* Luc. 1.17f., 5.436, and already in Ovid: see Bömer on *Met.* 9.222).

insedimus: not earlier than in the year 1610 found by Zinzerling and immediately recognized as the solution for the missing verb (the mss. having *in sedibus*). Sol includes himself in the action of his son. *insidere* 'to settle in' (OLD 3) occurs in V. *A.* 10.59. Of course *strictos … amnes* should be taken no more literally than the plural form of the verb. More realistic is 2.177 *insedisse domos.*

514–516

> cederet his etiam et sese sine honore referret
> ulterius, sed nube rigens ac nescia rerum
> stat super et nostros iam zona reverberat ignes.

cederet: with an ablative 'to withdraw from', both in a spatial (OLD 2) and an almost legal (OLD 12) sense, as in V. *A.* 12.185 *cedet Iulus agris.* For *etiam* placed after the word it accentuates see K/S 2.53 A.3; in VF with forms of *hic* again in 5.645, 6.373.

sese … referret: in all other instances this expression denotes 'to go back, return (to a place)', not as here 'to retreat or withdraw (from a place)', for which *castra / signa referre* is used. This apparently new meaning is made explicit with the help of *ulterius* 'still farther away' (used in a comparable context in Ov. *Tr.* 3.4.51 *ulterius nihl est nisi non habitabile frigus*).

sine honore: V. *A.* 5.272 *inrisam sine honore ratem Sergestus agebat.* There is no need for Schubert's suggestion (27) that it may even mean 'abandoning his royal dignity'.

sed: a second principal clause opposing the former one takes the function of an 'unreal' construction introduced by *nisi* (… *staret* … *et* … *reverberaret*); cf. K/S 2.166.6.

nube rigens … *zona*: *rigere* / *rigor* are often used in connection with the extreme north. The ablative with the verb usually denotes the cause of the stiffness (*e.g. frigore* Cic. *Tusc.* 1.69, Ov. *Pont.* 2.7.72); here *nube* defies labelling. The overall effect is of a grim image of a frozen and forever clouded landscape.

nescia regum is the mss. reading. From the Aldina on *rerum* was preferred, although other conjectures were made: *legum* Vossius (in the margin of the Leyden copy of Carrio's second edition), *veris* Jortin, *verni* Bährens (XXI, tentatively), *frugum* Sandström, *verum* Bury 1893, *rorum* Courtney ('fort.'). For *nescia rerum* (the latter word is a certain correction for *regum* in 725 below) there are parallels in V. *A.* 12.227 *haud nescia rerum* (Iuturna) and Ov. *Her.* 17.145 *ego* (Helena) *nescia rerum.* Here in VF it has been interpreted in two different ways: according to Langen it means 'there is nothing there (no plants, trees, animals, human beings)', which could be taken as a strong expression for 'nothing grows there, cultivation is impossible' (Burman); alternatively one could read it as 'nothing ever happens there' (for *rerum gestarum*). Jortin's *veris* is certainly attractive: in Colchis, although it is cold (in winter), civilization and agriculture are present, whereas the region still farther to the north endures permafrost. It is, however, quite far from *regum.* Closer to the mss. reading is Sandström's *frugum* (called by Langen 'non improbabilis'), which also yields good sense. Schubert (28; n.30 and 32) remarks that *regum* could do, as Tacitus in his *Germania* notices that not all German tribes have kings. There, however, the opposition is to another form of government, and Sol is not just saying 'my son could not be a king there', but stating with characteristic deinosis that human life is impossible in the extreme north. Yet there is room for serious doubt about *rerum*, which sounds a bit vague; *frugum* has a fair chance of being what VF wrote, and is now printed by Liberman.

stat suggests the immobility of the icy surroundings (Langen); cf. Hor. *Carm.* 2.9.5 *stat glacies iners.*

super apparently carries the unusual meaning 'beyond'. If in Mela 2.90 (OLD 1b) it can denote 'further to the south', there is no problem in taking it here as 'further to the north'.

nostros … *ignes*: the Sun's warm rays cannot penetrate there.

zona: at last the technical term (V. *G.* 1.233, where see Mynors).

reverberat: 'to repel violently from a surface, beat back' (OLD); its use in connection with 'rays' seems new. It is repeated in Apul. *Soc.* 11 (145) *radios omnis*.

iam: from the usual temporal meaning, here resulting in a brachylogical expression: '(when one proceeds further,) then'; the adverb closely approaches a spatial sense 'from there'.

517–518

> quid regio immanis, quid barbarus amnibus ullis
> Phasis et *aversis proles mea gentibus obstat?

As a result of Sol's precautions Aeetes and his country have been out of the way of any potentially encroaching nation (517–518), and the specific case of Phrixus, who was received hospitably, presents no reason to threaten the Colchian empire (519–523).

The meaning of the first sentence is globally clear, but the wording deserves attention, and the uncertainty about the text (*adversis* or *aversis*?) complicates matters. We have a tricolon crescendo with anaphora of *quid* (repeated in 519) in the form of an oratorical question; the obviously rhetorical colouring makes us expect no ordinary language. Three subjects, the first two with a qualifying epithet (1.1), are construed with one predicate (2), which governs a noun in the dative in the second (3.1) and third (3.2) phrase, and only in the last case is that noun qualified by an adjective (1.1, 1.1., 1.0; 2; 3.1.0., 3.2.1). As for the verb, the literal sense 'to be an obstacle' (which in any case would be impossible in the second phrase; a river cannot 'block the way' of another river) is not the required one: clearly the Colchians, situated at the end of the world, could not have presented an obstacle to any other nation. The diction leans heavily on V. *A.* 6.64f. *dique deaeque omnes quibus obstitit Ilium et ingens / gloria Dardaniae*. The glorious Troy is said to be 'a thorn in the flesh' of (some) gods, without actually doing anything to provoke their ill will. In VF too the subject is a country (but with no glory attached); the hendiadys *Ilium / gloria* is replaced by that of *regio* and *Phasis* (= *Phasidis regio*; cf. 43 and 87 above), *proles mea* mirroring *Teucrorum*. Colchis is said to be 'not a cause of envy (malevolence, enmity)' for anyone by the very reason which opposes it to Troy and its glory, namely its lack of desirability. This is expressed by the epithets of the first two subjects: *immanis* here clearly refers not to size but to the repulsive character of the country, as in V. *A.* 1.616 *quae vis (te) immanibus applicat oris?* Comparable in VF are 2.231 *immanes … Bessi* and ib. 615

abruptis Europa immanior (sc. *quam Asia*) *oris*. On the other hand, *barbarus* applies less to the river and the region it stands for than to the inhabitants, who are represented as 'uncivilized, uncouth'; not 'cruel, savage', as in Hor. *Carm.* 2.6.3 (see Nisbet-Hubbard). Cf. Sen. *Med.* 612 *barbara … ora* (Colchis again). The adjective qualifies other rivers in Luc. 1.19 (Araxes), 3.200 (Cone). Note that VF has *barbarus … Phasis* again in 5.424f., but there the river-god is acting 'barbarously' in the sense of 'cruelly' in raping the nymph Aea. The combination of both epithets is not unexpected: cf. Cic. *Marc.* 8 *gentes immanitate barbaras*.

Since the other rivers (*amnibus ullis*) could hardly have felt any animosity towards the Phasis (or the other regions towards Colchis: in the first element of the sentence we have to supply *regionibus ullis*), there seems to be another aspect in *obstat*, namely 'be preferable to, more valuable than', as more or less in 318 above ('to surpass'). This is also observed by Liberman. Sol's suggestion is: 'the country inhabited by my son (*proles mea*) is not to be preferred to any other (*ullis*) and therefore there is no reason to grudge him the undisturbed possession of it'.

There still remains the problem of the adjective qualifying *gentibus*. The mss. reading *adversis* was first challenged by Pius, who in his commentary suggested *aversis* as an alternative, meaning 'distant'. From Heinsius on editors printed this, with the notable exceptions of Thilo and Langen. The latter explained the mss. reading as 'quasi ad pugnam paratis'; for *aversis* no other interpretations have been put forward than 'distant, remote' (OLD 5). The only parallel that has been adduced for this meaning is V. *A.* 1.568 *nec tam aversus equos Tyria Sol iungit ab urbe*. But even here can the adjective mean 'distant, far away'? Silius (15.334f.) and Servius did not think so, and TLL (2.1323.52ff.) does not recognize this sense. Henry (1.761ff.) argues with several parallels that *aversus* is never simply 'far, distant', but rather 'turned away from, heading another way, averse', and that in the Virgil passage the poet meant 'the sun rises not so averse ["turned another way"] (that Carthage remains "unenlightened" about the events in the world)'. This is basically correct: if *aversus* referred to distance, the implication would be that Carthage is too far removed from the sun's path (from east to west), and consequently too far to the north (or south), which is evidently nonsense. We must conclude that there is no support whatsoever for *aversus* (without any modification) in the sense of 'distant, remote'. Instead we should seriously reconsider the mss. reading. Cf. for instance V. *A.* 6.831 *gener adversis instructus Eois* ('confronting forces', Austin), also in a context where the powers of east and west are opposed. In the

VF passage the question is more complicated because the sentence is virtually negated (*quid …?* standing for *non*), and the problem arises of whether or not every element is included in the negation. If *adversis* is read, it is negated as well: 'my people are no hindrance to intruding nations (because there are none)'; *aversis* would be excluded from the negation: 'my people do not cause problems to other nations, since those are *aversae*'. In the latter case *aversis* would mean not so much 'situated far away' in a geographical sense, but rather 'oriented in another direction', and therefore 'not interested' in such an undesirable country.

519–524

> quid Minyae meruere queri? num vellere Graio
> vi potitur? profugo quin agmina iungere Phrixo
> abnuit, Inoas ultro nec venit ad aras,
> imperii sed parte virum nataeque moratus
> coniugio videt e Graia nunc stirpe nepotes
> et generos vocat et iunctas sibi sanguine terras.

A more specific argument: not only have Aeetes' people never caused problems for any other nation, but in hospitably receiving Phrixus they have rather earned gratitude than aggression from the Greeks.

quid … queri: another remarkable phrase. In all other instances *merere* with an infinitive can be translated with 'to deserve', that is: 'to have behaved or acted in such a way that a certain consequence, whether reward or punishment, is justified'. The subjects of the infinitive denoting the consequence and of the form of *merere* suggesting the behaviour are identical, as in Ov. *Her.* 14.63 *finge viros meruisse mori*, Plin. *Ep.* 7.20.1 *qui maxime laudari merentur*. Prop. 2.5.3 *haec merui sperare?* is different in that the consequence (the punishment) is contained in *haec* ('this treatment'), *sperare* functioning as an auxiliary verb ('ita me gessi ut sperarem me sic punitum iri?'); cf. Stat. *Theb.* 1.240f. *meruere tuae, meruere tenebrae / ultorem sperare Iovem*, where the reward consists of Jupiter's vengeance. In all these cases, however, the preceding actions are performed by the person or persons who are punished or rewarded, whereas here it is not an action by the Greeks but the behaviour of the Colchians which is denied as a just cause for complaint by the Greeks. TLL therefore rightly (8.809.3) cites our passage as an isolated instance where *meruere* is equivalent to 'quid causae habuerunt?' As shown in the note on 508, the sense of 'justified' for *meritus* also appears in Statius; for a finite form

of *merere* with an infinitive as 'to be justified in doing …' there are no parallels.

Note the double anaphora of *quid* and the sustained alliteration with *queri* … *quin* (also ***M****inyae* … ***m****eruere*, 520 ***p****otitur* … ***p****rofugo* … ***P****hrixo*).

vellere Graio: cf. 56 *vellera Graio*, 8.393 *vellera Grais*.

vi potitur: from V. *A.* 3.56 (also a historic present; K/S 1.118.6). In 6.469 too VF uses the form of the third conjugation.

profugo … *Phrixo*: cf. 4.556 *profugi* … *Phrixi*. For the dative see K/S 1.317.6a.

quin: the second place in the sentence is less remarkable than its fourth position in 5.82. In meaning it approaches *immo* so closely that it is almost identical, in that it does not simply corroborate ('even'), but in fact corrects ('on the contrary'; *Antib.* 2.458).

agmina iungere: 'to join forces'. In V. *A.* 2.267 the expression is used in a military context (as in Curt. 4.15.23), but not in V. *A.* 4.142 and 11.145f. Here its use is somewhat strange since Phrixus obviously had no *agmina* to contribute.

abnuit: the mss. reading *adnuit* would be just possible: 'he consented to furnish Phrixus with troops (out of benevolence towards him)'. *abnuit* however (from the Aldine on) is much better: Aeetes even refused to engage in any military action against the Greeks. For *abnuere* with an infinitive (also in 3.678) cf. particularly Stat. *Ach.* 1.917 *nec tamen abnuerit genero se iungere tali* (K/S 1.673 A. 1).

Inoas … *ad aras*: 'to Ino's altar' (where she had tried to sacrifice her children); see 278ff. above and, for the adjective, the note on 280.

It was also in the Aldine that the mss. *ultro* was first replaced by *ultor*, which was adopted by all subsequent editors with the exception of Kramer, Courtney and Dräger. As regards meaning both words fit well into the context, but V. *A.* 2.193f. *ultro Asiam magno Pelopea ad moenia bello / venturam* unmistakably points to the adverb. In both cases an attack by Asia on Europe is suggested and *Pelopea ad moenia* corresponds exactly to *Inoas* … *ad aras*. The mss. reading should be kept and the meaning is 'Aeetes did not make an unprovoked (*ultro*) attack on Greece'.

nec in third position is rather uncommon (it also occurs in 7.482).

moratus: not just 'delayed' but 'held back, prevented from going' (OLD 2). For the ablative denoting the ways and means by which one restrains cf. V. *A.* 12.873f. *qua tibi lucem / arte morer?* Aeetes did this *imperii* … *coniugio* 'by making him partner in kingship and giving him his daughter in marriage' (Chalciope [AR 2.1148f.], mentioned in 6.479 and 7.156). The combination *pars imperii* is earlier attested in Sen.

Thy. 526f. and [Sen.] *Oct.* 790. *virum* is not otiose: 'when he had grown up'; on arriving Phrixus was still a boy.

nepotes: called Argus, Melas, Phrontis and Cytisorus (5.461ff.).

et[1] … *terras*: the line can stand as it is. *generos* is a generalization for 'son-in-law (and his family)', known from Virgil (*A.* 7.270 *generos externis adfore ab oris*, 11.105 *hospitibus quondam socerisque vocatis* and particularly 12.658: *quos generos vocet*). By calling Phrixus his son-in-law he recognizes the Greeks (which notion is contained in *Graia* … *stirpe*) as his relatives. For *terras* the qualification 'Greek' has to be supplied from the same source. *iunctas sibi* points back to *agmina iungere Phrixo* 520: Aeetes refused to join military forces with Phrixus against the Greeks, but instead entered into a familial relationship with him. The uneasiness editors and commentators have felt about this line is caused by the compactness of the diction: the object of *generos vocat* is not expressed; with *terras* we have to think of Greece, and strictly speaking it is not the country which is 'attached, connected' with Aeetes, but its inhabitants. The verb *vocat* finally, though appropriate in combination with *generos* (see the Virgilian examples quoted above), is less so with *terras*, so there is a slight zeugma (for *putat*).

525–527

> flecte ratem motusque, pater, nec vulnere nostro
> aequora pande viris; veteris sat conscia luctus
> silva Padi et viso flentes genitore sorores!'

The actual prayer is very short: one and a half lines; in the rest of the sentence Sol makes an emotional appeal to Jupiter not to inflict grief over a son on him again.

flecte … *motusque*: as Langen notes, *ratem motusque* is a hendiadys for 'ratis motum, cursum'. For *motus* said of ships instead of the more usual *cursum* cf. Caes. *Gal.* 4.25.1; Cic. in *de Or.* 1.153 has both nouns. *flecte ratem* occurs earlier in Ov. *Her.* 10.36 (also beginning the line). The interpretation of *motus* as 'disturbance' (Spaltenstein, Dräger) fits the context poorly.

nec connecting a positive (commanding) imperative with a negative (forbidding) one is normal usage: K/S 1.203.2b.

vulnere nostro: the ablative of 'attendant circumstances' often amounts to a 'consecutive' one, even without *cum*: K/S 1.410 A. 31. Here it is a more colourful way of expressing *damno*, *incommodo* etc.: 'resulting in sorrow for me'.

pandere aequor (*mare*) is not previously attested (TLL 10.1.196.72); the verb meaning 'to make accessible' (OLD 4b) as here is combined with *viris* in Prop. 4.9.34 *pandite defessis hospita fana viris*.

sat modifies the entire sentence, not just *conscia* (K/S 1.795 A.2): 'it is enough that the trees on the banks of the Po have witnessed my sorrow on that earlier occasion' (of course the downfall of Phaethon).

conscia … silva: as in Ov. *Met.* 2.438 (and in VF again in 3.584f.); here, however, the personification is less marked in that the trees were actually the Heliades (*silva* and *sorores* being identical). The story of how Phaethon's sisters, weeping after his death, were changed into poplars is told in Ov. *Met.* 2.340–366 and hinted at in V. *A.* 10.190 *populeas inter frondes umbramque sororum*. It is again referred to in the description of the temple doors in Colchis (5.429ff.), another sign of the close correspondence between book 1 and 5 (Frank 1967:38).

Padi: the river into which Phaethon fell is sometimes named Eridanus (Ov. *l.c.* 324, *Arg.* 5.430), but this originally mythical river later came to be identified with the Po (Plin. *Nat.* 3.117 *Padus … Graecis dictus Eridanus ac poena Phaethontis illustratus*). Statius too has *Padus* in connection with the fate of Phaethon (*Theb.* 12.414).

viso … genitore: less because of their brother's death than because they saw their father's grief. Perutelli on 7.283 lists five other Valerian instances of *viso* as part of an ablative absolute.

flentes: their tears were said to consist of amber (Ov. *Met.* 2.365, *Am.* 3.12.37, Hyg. 154.4). In Ovid's version the sorrow is denoted in several ways: *lugent* 340, *dant lacrimas* 341, *plangorem dederant* 346, *fluunt lacrimae* 364. AR tells the story in 4.597–626, when the Argonauts have arrived at the Eridanus.

As a whole Sol's speech is rather convincing. It is rhetorical of course but never violates the truth. I think the judgement of Schubert (26–30) is too harsh.

528–530

adfremit his quassatque caput qui vellera dono
Bellipotens sibi fixa videt temptataque contra
Pallas et amborum gemuit Saturnia questus.

The reactions of Mars, Minerva and Juno, cut short by Jupiter's response.

adfremit his: the verb is first attested here (not noted as such by Contino) and only once later: Sil. 14.124 (Boreas) *stridentibus adfremit alis*, where both meaning and construction are different: *stridentibus alis* is an ablative and *his* a dative, and in Silius the verb simply denotes 'to rush roaring …', whereas in VF it contains a reaction to the preceding speech (*his*). This reaction is usually described as assent (as in *adnuere*, *assentire* /*-ri*), but in itself the prefix is ambiguous: *acclamare* is either 'to protest' (OLD 2) or 'to applaud' (ib. 3), *afflare* either 'to inspire' (OLD 3) or 'to infect' (ib. 4). Moreover, *fremere* itself can be taken either way: often complaining, but sometimes assenting (as in V. *A.* 1.559, 5.385, 11.132). So Mars only 'grumbles at' what he hears: approving Sol's standpoint, protesting against the events that occasioned his speech. Probably there is also a hint of V. *A.* 10.96ff., where *adsensu vario* makes it clear that *fremebant* can denote different reactions (cf. also *tum* ib. 100; Adamietz 1976:21 n.53).

quassatque caput: a sign of a negative emotion, be it fear (Pl. *Trin.* 1169), sorrow (Pl. *Merc.* 600, Lucr. 2.1164, V. *A.* 7.292) or anger (Pl. *As.* 403); V. *A.* 12.894 seems to combine the last two notions. Here in VF anger is the dominant factor.

qui … videt; the position of the noun (here a substantively used adjective) within the relative clause is not very common when the principal clause precedes the subordinate one (K/S 2.311.2).

dono: this dative modifies verbs like *dare* / *accipere*, *habere* (Pl. *Mil.* 982, *Ps.* 1075), *ducere* (Ter. *Eu.* 229), *emere* (ib. 135); TLL 5.1.2024.16–43. Here the combination with *fixa* makes for brevity: *dono sibi (data et deinde in arbore) fixa*.

Bellipotens: first used of Mars in V. *A.* 11.8, later several times by Statius, once to denote Pallas (*Theb.* 2.716, where see Mulder). *videt*: with the mind's eye (OLD 7).

temptataque: does the participle belong to the subject of *gemuit*, Pallas, and in fact Juno as well, or to *vellera*? In the former interpretation, first put forward by Pius, we have to punctuate before *temptataque*, in the latter (originating from Burman) after it. To Langen's excellent note (cf. *Mnem.* 1989:423f.) we may add that if we take the participle as qualifying *vellera*, the connector *-que* would not just be 'valde incommoda' but in fact hardly possible, coordinating as it would an attributive participle (*fixa*) with a predicative one: 'he sees the Fleece that was given to him [and?] being endangered'. VF's syntax is often intricate, but never clumsy. Moreover *temptata* itself would not be very happily chosen; it should mean 'to … try get possession or mastery of' (OLD 9), but this

use occurs chiefly in the context of military operations. Furthermore, as Langen rightly remarks, VF generally avoids starting a new sentence with the last foot of the line. On the other hand, the combination with the name of the goddess is possible, though at first sight not very attractive, since Pallas is not attacked directly by Sol's speech and therefore 'assaulted' (OLD 9d) would hardly be the correct word. However, she can be said to be 'troubled, harassed' (ib. 10c) by the content of Sol's words. One could even think of another construction, or possibly two, if it were possible to take *temptata* substantively in the sense of 'attempt', either as governed by *contra* or as another object governed by *questus* or *gemuit*. However, since there seem to be no other instances of *temptata* used substantively, maybe we should be content with Pius' explanation (followed i.a. by Thilo, Langen, Courtney and Spaltenstein; Burman's idea being preferred by Schenkl, Mozley, Ehlers, Liberman and Dräger), punctuating after *videt*.

Pallas et … gemuit Saturnia: as K/S notice (1.46 c), the predicate if placed after the first of several subjects regularly takes singular form. Even for *et* placed before the predicate (instead of *Pallas gemuit et Saturnia*) there is something of a parallel: Cic. *Brut.* 36 *huic* (= Demosthenes) *Hyperides proximus et Aeschines fuit*.

gemuit … questus: a subdued reaction to Sol's articulate argumentation and the growling of Mars, taken together as complaint.

C. 531–573 (Jupiter's speech and confirming omen)

Jupiter's answer is contained in the longest speech in book 1. The first 30 lines, addressed to his fellow gods (531–560), and another five meant for the Argonauts (563–567) are separated by two lines in which VF indicates this change in direction. Since there seems to have been no pause in Jupiter's speech, we may regard the 35 lines as a continuing whole.

The importance of the oration is reflected in its length: it serves to provide a supra-human justification for the enterprise of the Argonauts. Seafaring has to be introduced on earth because the power of Asia must now pass to Greece (and eventually to another country, as yet unnamed). This will be brought to pass first by the actions of the Argonauts themselves, leading to the capture of the Fleece, and later by another expedition from Greece to Asia: the Trojan war. Moreover, ships will be necessary in any great war. In this way VF combines two

important elements of Virgil's poetry: the theodicy of *G.* 1.121ff., which dealt fundamentally with human lifestyle in general (though with a special application for Italy), and the decisions made by Jupiter concerning the destiny of nations and the divine mission of an individual (*A.* 1.257–296, 10.104–117, 12.830–840). This combination of different purposes results in Jupiter's speech being less specific (containing only the most general hints in mentioning names) and broader in perspective than those in the *Aeneid* (particularly the first cited above). Jason had already guessed at Jupiter's approval of the enterprise in 245ff. (where see note); his suggestion of a more peaceful contact between nations (*commercia*) is not found in Jupiter's words, which only refer to the military consequences of seafaring (*bellis* 540, *Bellona* 546, *bella* 552).

The construction of the speech is as follows:

1) 531–535: introduction, stating that Jupiter will only be carrying out what has been ordained from time immemorial;
2) 536: the announcement of his exposition about what is to happen;
3) 537–541: a description of the present situation with a dominant Asia (in accordance with Jupiter's wishes up to now);
4) 542–554: information about the future hegemony of Europe:
   a) in general terms (542–543);
   b) the purpose of the Argonauts' expedition in the world-wide upheaval (544–548a);
   c) the additional impact of the Trojan war (548b–554);
5) 555–560: prophecy about another shift of power, which will occur in the distant future, from Greece to another part of the world;
6) 563–567: encouraging words to the Argonauts with reference to Jupiter's own exertions before his coming to power and the comparable struggles of Bacchus and Apollo before gaining their current position. Cf. Barich 123–130.

The sequence of the (future) events is structured with the help of *iam pridem* (537)—*iam* (543)—*iam* (549)—*dehinc* (551)—*hinc* (555).

Particulars about VF's adaptation of Virgil will be pointed out below.

531–535

tum genitor: 'vetera haec nobis et condita pergunt
ordine cuncta suo rerumque a principe cursu
fixa manent; neque enim terris tum sanguis in ullis
noster erat cum fata darem, iustique facultas
hinc mihi cum varios struerem per saecula reges.

tum genitor: as in V. *A.* 3.102 and 10.466 (not in Ovid, Lucan, Statius or Silius). More directly relevant to our passage is V. *A.* 10.100 *tum pater omnipotens* (also following an *adsensus varius* of the other gods). This combination further occurs in V. *G.* 2.325, *A.* 7.770, Ov. *Met.* 1.154, Sil. 3.163.

vetera … condita: refining Virgil's *nova condere fata* (*A.* 10.35). VF has Jupiter insist that he is not introducing a new chain of events: everything that will happen (*cuncta*) is just a continuation of the past and a realization of what was predestined. There will be no break in history, only a development. The same point is made by *pergunt* 'to proceed (towards an eventual destination)', OLD 1. *condita* does not imply 'hiding', as has been supposed (Pius); comparable expressions are found in Luc. 7.131f. *diem qui fatum rebus in aevum / conderet humanis* and Manil. 1.119 *fatorum conditus ordo* (ib. 3.168 *conditus ordo*). For the relation between Jupiter and Fate(s) cf. Heinze 293–297, Brooks Otis 225f., 353f., Quinn 213f., 300ff., 320ff., Schubert 32f.

nobis is a somewhat loosely attached dative: not simply 'of agent' going with *condita*, but rather modifying the statement as a whole: 'these things go for me (according to my wishes)'.

From a syntactic point of view *vetera* functions as a qualification of *condita*: 'established long ago'.

ordine cuncta suo: 'in their proper sequence'. In V. *A.* 11.241 the same three words at the beginning of the line refer to a report to be delivered 'in due order'.

rerumque a principe cursu: whereas *princeps* of course originally just means 'first', there seem to be no other instances where it is used like *primus* in the sense of 'the first part of …', as *primo … cursu* would be equivalent to *principio cursus* 'from the beginning of the course (of events)'.

The combination *rerum cursus* is common usage in prose from Cicero on (*Fam.* 4.2.3, *Div.* 1.127,128; later in Curtius, Seneca, Tacitus).

fixa manent: a general statement as opposed to Virgil's personal and reassuring phrase *manent immota* ***tuorum*** */ fata* ***tibi*** (*A.* 1.257f.). Cf. also Stat. *Theb.* 3.242f. *manet haec ab origine mundi / fixa dies bello.*

neque enim … erat: Jupiter draws attention to his impartiality, since at the time of these decisions he had no offspring on earth whom he could unduly favour.

For *sanguis … noster* cf. V. *A.* 6.835 *sanguis meus.*

cum fata darem: at first sight it could seem that Jupiter rules over Fate (Langen). There are some instances (cf. TLL 6.1.363.52, 356.41) of *fata*

dare with a dative in the sense of 'to determine what will happen to ...': Luc. 4.48f. *cetera bello / fata dedit ... aer*, Sen. *Herc.F.* 497 *nunc solita nostro fata coniugio date*, Sil. 17.228f. *genti ... superbae /... proavorum fata dedissem*. However, the datives show that these are incidental actions, not a world-wide determination of events.

In Lucan, of course, Jupiter is not to be considered as an individual god confronting others, so that the *parens rerum* (2.7), who (perhaps *sive*) *fixit in aeternum causas* (ib.9), is rather the Stoic 8 εἱμαρμένη; cf. ib. 5.92f. *sive canit fatum seu quod iubet ille canendo / fit fatum*, where the etymology of *fatum* may still be felt (Schubert 33, n.49). In V. *A.* 1.382 *data fata secutus*, *fata* clearly means 'oracles', but *A.* 4.614 *sic fata Iovis poscunt* comes close to VF's *fata darem*. The equally Virgilian *fata deum* either plainly refers to oracles (*A.* 7.239) or is comparable to *fata Iovis* (*A.* 2.54, 257, 6.376). In every case, however, the genitive in itself does not make explicit the exact nature of the relationship between the Fate(s) and the god, and in the present passage *fata dare* reminds us of *ius* (*iura*) *dare*, which may mean either 'to establish the law' (OLD 3d) or 'to administer justice, make sure things happen according to the law' (ib. 4b).

iustique facultas: 'the power to establish what is right and lawful'. *iustum* is not often used in this sense (TLL 6.1.147.33 gives our passage without comment), and with *facultas* one expects a gerundive (such as *decernendi* or *statuendi* here). In Luc. 10.428f. *summi contempta facultas / est operis*, *summi* clearly contains the notion of *consummandi*.

hinc: the mss. reading *hic* could only mean 'then', but there seems to be no instance of the combination *hic ... cum* instead of *tum ... cum* (533f.). Therefore Balbus' conjecture *hinc*, taken over by most subsequent editors, is probably right, not in the sense of 'from that time on', but rather causal 'for that reason' (sc. because I could act impartially, having no sons whom I could favour).

cum: the reading of two mss. from the 15th century (Q and Mal), also proposed in Pius' notes. Thilo (LXXIII) tries to defend *cur* (all other mss.) on the grounds of the awkward repetition of *cum*. However, this is not an isolated instance (cf. *e.g.* 5.368f.) of such a repetition, and it seems impossible to construe a subordinate clause introduced by *cur* with *facultas*, which word is anyhow qualified by *iusti*.

struere reges is again a rather remarkable expression. Apart from a military context, when it means 'to arrange (troops)', the verb is not used with personal objects. It here combines the notions of OLD 5c (where our pasage is cited) 'to arrange (in temporal or other sequence)'

and ib. 6 'to contrive, devise (a plan, course of action, etc.)', as in *consilia struere* (Liv. 2.3.6). The phrase is therefore a shortened version of *consilia* (cf. *decreta* 536) *struere ordinandi reges* (cf. Suet. *Jul.* 76.3 *magistratus … ordinavit*).

varios probably means hardly more than 'several; a series of', without the notion of 'of different kinds, various'. This is not usual, but Stat. *Ach.* 1.785f. comes close: *gentes / innumeras variosque duces* suggests that there too number is more important than variety.

536–541

atque ego curarum repetam decreta mearum.
iam pridem regio quae virginis aequor ad Helles
et Tanai tenus immenso descendit ab Euro
undat equis floretque viris, nec tollere contra
ulla pares animos nomenque capessere bellis
ausa manus. sic fata, locos sic ipse fovebam.

atque ego: Virgil and Lucan often begin a line with *atque*, but never with *ego* following. This combination is Ovidian: *Met.* 13.21 (where see Bömer), 859, *Am.* 2.7.11, *Pont.* 4.9.9.

curarum … decreta mearum: an obvious variation on Luc. 8.279f. *ast ego curarum vobis arcana mearum / expromam*. Poortvliet (1994:491) wishes to read *ast* here as well, because 'that is what the sense requires'; but Jupiter states 'this is no more than the realization of what was preordained; **and** (now) I will tell …'. Why should **but** be required for **and**?

For *decreta* (OLD 3d 'a decree, ordinance (of fate, gods, etc.') cf. Ov. *Met.* 15.781 *veterum decreta sororum*. There, however, as in all other comparable instances, the genitive denotes the author (of the decree etc.), whereas here the *curae* are less personal, being the considerations that resulted in the decree. More 'normal' language would have been 'decreta mea quae curis constitui' or similar. For *curarum* meaning 'careful and thoughtful attention' (of a god) there is again a parallel in Lucan: 7.311 *di quorum curas abduxit ab aethere tellus*.

repetam: it is not necessary to assume with Schubert (34) that the verb means 'to repeat'; there is no reason to suppose that Jupiter had stated his (or the Fates') intentions before. They were simply decided long ago, hence the *re-*, as for instance in V. *A.* 7.371 *si prima domus repetatur origo* (OLD 7); Jupiter says: 'I will go back in expounding the results of my considerations'.

There follows a sketch of the present world situation.

iam pridem: the distinction made in the *Antibarbarus* (671) between *iamdudum* 'schon seit langer Zeit' and *iampridem* 'schon vor langer Zeit' seems arbitrary; OLD s.v. *pridem* 4 'for a long time now', which is the required meaning here.

regio: cf. 517 *regio immanis*.

aequor (Helles) denotes the 'Hellespont' (Dardanelles) previously in 284 and 293 (*virginis* 292).

aequor ad Helles: the placing of the preposition between noun and adjective or genitive is normal poetic practice (TLL 1.473.17ff. 'saepissime … a poetis'; K/S 1.587.g ß). Other instances with *ad* in VF are 1.726, 3.359f., 5.331 (adjectives), 4.465 *nomen ad Actaeae* (a proper name again).

Tanai: the river Don. The mss. reading *Tanain* was kept (sometimes in the form of *Tanaim*) i.a. by Thilo and Kramer, and defended as either an instance of *tenus* governing an accusative (K/S 1.517.3, Sz. 258) or as a case of *tenus* as an adverb (Samuelsson 1899:105f.; Wölfflin ALL 1.422 calls it a 'particle'). Cf. also Romeo 216. For the second construction, however, no parallels are adduced, and for the first they are scarce, late and unconvincing (*e.g.* Auson. *Parent.* 3.15 *tenus Europ*__am__ *f*__am__*a*), and placed before the noun. So Courtney, Ehlers and Liberman are right in printing *Tanai*, explaining *Tanain* as caused by the preceding *ad*. Cicero's *Tauro tenus (regnare)* comes very close (*Deiot.* 36).

immenso … ab Euro: 'from the vast realm of the East' (OLD 2 gives other instances of the noun used thus). In fact the designation is quite precise, the Eurus properly being a southeaster, whereas 'Helle's sea' stands for the West and the Tanais for the North.

descendit: the verb denotes the sloping of land towards the sea (OLD 5b). Originally the point from which the descent started would have been a mountain, as in Ov. *Fast.* 3.835 *Caelius ex alto qua mons descendit in aequum*, but this is not the case in our passage, nor in Plin. *Nat.* 2.136 *Italiae … partibus iis quae a septentrione descendunt ad teporem* (where the same prepositions are used); TLL 5.1.648.35.

undat equis: usually (Pius, Burman, Langen, OLD) the verb is considered a 'simplex pro composito' for *abundat*. Yet, without denying that a great number of horses are implied, we should also think of V. *G.* 2.437 *undantem buxo … Cytorum*, where clearly (OLD 5) the mountainside is described as 'undulating', at the same time suggesting 'abundance'. The only other supposed instance cited in OLD 6 of *undare* as 'to abound' is Enn. *Ann.* 316 (mentioned in Serv. on the *Georgics*-passage) *praeda exercitus undat*. However this is explained by Jocelyn

(LCM 1988:10) as describing 'the unsteady progress of the booty-laden army', and he might be right in this (but not in calling the *Georgics*-line a 'fading poeticism', nor in stating that this was 'destined to fade still further in the hands of Valerius'). Here the verb is transferred from the mountainside, as in Virgil's Cytorus, to the country (*regio*) in general, thus also recalling V. *G.* 2.281f. *late fluctuat omnis / aere renidenti tellus* (cf. Thomas on *G.* 2.437). VF describes a multitude of galloping horses.

Just about the same can be said about *floret viris*. The immediate example would have been V. *A.* 7.644 *floruerit terra alma viris*, which in its turn may have been inspired by Lucr. 1.255 *laetas urbes pueris florere videmus*. The word suggests richness, but both 'to billow' and 'to bloom' are much more expressive than 'to be numerous' and 'to be rich'. Although the mention of the men and the following phrases imply military strength, we should not regard this with Schubert (34) as a denial of Aeetes' peaceful intentions (517ff.); Asia (as such not identical with Colchis) is described as strong enough to prevent any hostile attack, not as intent on war.

tollere … pares animos: the noun denotes '(the mind as the seat of) courage' (OLD 13a and b). The combination with *tollere* as 'to raise the spirits; to pluck up courage' is quite common (OLD 9b). Its qualification with *pares* is not: Liv. 1.26.12 *parem in omni periculo animum* is different ('steadfast', Foster in the Loeb edition). Here it primarily denotes 'equal courage' (*i.e.* as great as the Asians'), but it also suggests pregnantly 'the courage to present oneself as a match for the opponent'.

contra adverbial denotes opposition ('against a person, place, etc.'; OLD 5).

The remarkably wide hyperbaton *ulla … manus* stresses the attribute.

nomen capessere: 'to acquire a reputation'. The verb is not previously construed with *nomen* (though of course with other abstract nouns), but the expression is comparable to *nomen parere* (Cic. *Mur.* 22), *n. ferre* (Ov. *Her.* 16.376), *n. merere* (Luc. 9.597, 10.544).

manus in combination with *tollere … animos* and *nomen capessere* means 'band' rather than 'hand'.

The punctuation of the rest of the line depends on the interpretation. Most editors place a comma after *fata* (understood as *fata locorum*; Pius), but the Aldine prints *fata locos, sic*, and so does Ehlers. Dureau (ap. Langen) construed the phrase in that way (*fata locos* sc. *fovebant*), as did Delz (*MusAfr* 1976:99) and Schubert (35). In itself, *fata* can be either the subject or object of *fovere* (TLL 6.1.363.82). Here, however, one has to agree with Langen that *fata* as subject would result in undue attention

for the role of the Fates, whereas the accent is clearly on Jupiter's power and ability to decide (4.557 is different, not containing an anaphora of *sic*). In particular *fata darem* 534 and the repetition of *fovebo* in 555 point that way, as does the string of personal pronouns (*nobis* 531, *noster* 534, *mihi* 535, *ego* … *mearum* (!) 536, and later *me* 543, *meae* 544, *meae* 549; *ipse* both here and in 558). Jupiter therefore in his supremacy 'furthers, promotes' (OLD 7a) the development that the Fates have in store, and 'favours' (OLD 6) the country (of Asia)—until now. There is no need to limit *fata* to *fata locorum*, nor to assume a kind of hendiadys by rendering 'to promote the course of Fate by favouring (a particular) country'. For the anaphora of *sic* see note on 566. Liberman punctuates after *fata* but still takes it as a first implied subject of the expression *locos fovere*, Jupiter himself (*ipse*) being the other one.

542–543

> accelerat sed summa dies Asiamque labantem
> linquimus et poscunt iam me sua tempora Grai.

Intransitive *accelerare* 'to approach rapidly' is not used previously with a subject denoting 'time'.

summa dies: of course from V. *A.* 2.324 *venit summa dies et ineluctabile tempus*. The combination recurs in Ov. *Am.* 3.9.27 and Luc. 7.195.

labantem: OLD 5 'to be on the point of collapse, become defective, break down, totter'. The verb is used with states as subjects, as in Ov. *Met.* 15.437 *cum res Troiana labaret* (immediately preceding a prediction of Rome's future greatness). Here the name of a country (or continent) as such appears for the first time.

linquimus: 'I forsake, abandon', which can imply the god(s) literally leaving the place formerly protected and favoured; see V. *A.* 2.351f. and Austin ad l.

poscunt … Grai: this does not imply that the Greeks were conscious of the future changes. It is probably just a lively way of saying 'now the time for the Greeks has come'. For *poscere* with a double accusative cf. V. *A.* 4.50 *posce deos veniam*. Usually *sua* when combined with *tempora* means 'convenient, meeting … requirements' (OLD 13), whereas here we have rather a case of OLD 12 'due or allotted to him, his proper …', as often in combination with *poscere* (cf. 6.386f., Ov. *Fast.* 2.791 and 861 and 4.253). The Greeks 'claim as their due' the oncoming times.

544–551a

> inde meae quercus tripodesque animaeque parentum
> hanc pelago misere manum. via facta per undas
> perque hiemes, Bellona, tibi. nec vellera tantum
> indignanda manent propiorque ex virgine rapta
> ille dolor, sed—nulla magis sententia menti
> fixa meae—veniet Phrygia iam pastor ab Ida,
> qui gemitus irasque pares et mutua Grais
> dona ferat.

inde: causal, not temporal.

meae quercus etc.: the poet has been accused by Langen of inconsistency in referring here to oracles given by Jupiter that have not been mentioned before; only Pelias' assignment would have induced Jason to undertake the expedition. But the 'Dodonian oak' has spoken to Jason in 302f., and moreover why should he not have consulted the oracles after his initial decision in 76ff.? He himself states in 3.299 that he has done so (*quercusque Tonantis*). Mentioning this foresight at the earlier stage of the narration would perhaps have diminished his heroic attitude. The same applies to the oracles provided by Apollo (*tripodes*), which could also have reached him during the preparations. Cf. again 3.299 (*Clarii … antra dei*) and ib. 618 *vox … Parnasia*. As for the *animae parentum*, not mentioned later by Jason, there is no need to suppose that his own ancestors are meant here: in view of *hanc … manum* the words could easily apply to exhortations addressed to other Argonauts.

meae only qualifies *quercus* (Liberman, Spaltenstein; differently Dräger). The oaks refer to the oracle of Dodona, as in V. *G.* 2.16, Ov. *Met.* 7.623, 13.716, *Ars* 2.541, Luc. 3.179 and Sen. *Her.O.* 1473 and 1623f.; see note on 302 above.

tripodes: only used here by VF, whereas it occurs three times in the *Aeneid* and ten times in Lucan. It denotes the oracle of Apollo even without the mention of his name or that of the Pythia: Ov. *Fast.* 3.855 *mittitur ad tripodas* (in the story of Phrixus and Helle), Sen. *Med.* 86 *qui tripodas movet*, Luc. 6.770 *tripodas vatesque deorum*.

The combination *animae parentum* is earlier attested in Ov. *Met.* 15.459 (in the context of the Pythagorean metempsychosis-doctrine). Comparable are V. *A.* 5.81 (*salvete …*) *animaeque umbraeque paternae* and Ov. *Fast.* 2.533 *animas placare paternas*.

A consultation of the spirits of the ancestors in a kind of νέκυια takes place in 730ff. below: Aeson and Alcimede evoke their *exanimes*

atavos (737) and the shade of Cretheus appears. Of course the ghosts of forefathers could also approach any one of the Argonauts unbidden.

hanc … manum: although Langen and Romeo (110) take *pelago* as a dative of the *it clamor caelo*-type, it seems preferable to interpret it as an ablative 'across the sea' (Pius: 'per mare', Damsté 1921: 'trans mare'); the final destination, Colchis / Asia, is what matters here. For *mittere* with an ablative of the 'route by which' cf. Liv. 22.55.4 *Q. Fabius Maximus censuit equites expeditos et Appia et Latina via mittendos.*

via … undas: cf. V. *A.* 9.356 *via facta per hostis*. The line ending *per undas* is very common; a notable instance is V. *A.* 4.381 *pete regna per undas.* For the thought in general we may compare Prop. 3.7.31f. *terra parum fuerat, fatis adiecimus undas: / fortunae miseras auximus arte vias*, Tib. 1.3.50 *nunc mare, nunc leti mille repente viae*, Sen.*Nat.* 5.18.

per hiemes: cf. Stat. *Silv.* 1.3.95 *per Aegaeas hiemes*. More common is *per hiemem* in the sense of 'all winter long'. The combination of *hiems* 'storm' and *undae* is unexpectedly rare: it occurs only in Luc. 1.217 *tum vires praebebat hiems atque auxerat undas.*

Bellona: mentioned again in 2.228 (where see Poortvliet), 3.60 and 7.636. In itself the expedition of the Argonauts was not of a military nature; Jason came to Colchis to request the return of the Golden Fleece, not primarily to capture it by force. The link between seafaring and wars, however, was firmly established in earlier literature. Jupiter simply means that once the seas can be crossed, warfare on a wider scale will inevitably follow. Note the apostrophe *Bellona, tibi* within a speech addressed to the gods in general and more specifically to the protesting Sol (who was backed by Mars).

nec … manent: in Carrio's reading *indignanda; manet propior de* the *virgo rapta* would be Helena. But she is referred to in the next sentence beginning with *sed* (cf. Langen and Thilo LXXIV), and the maiden here is Medea. The sentence *nec … dolor* is about the result of the Argonauts' expedition.

manent: 'awaits; is fixed by fate' (OLD 4), as *e.g.* in V. *A.* 2.194, 3.505, 6.84 and 757.

vellera indignanda: both the sense and the parallel with (*ille*) *dolor* make it very likely that the gerundive is used dominantly; Pius rightly paraphrased 'indignationes de velleribus raptis'.

propior: either 'nearer in the future (than the events leading to the Trojan war)' or rather 'hurting deeper' (OLD 3b), because the loss of a daughter is of a more personal nature than that of a material possession. The combination with *dolor* is attested once more (Liv. 7.21.3). For

dolor ex parallels are lacking, but cf. Ov. *Ars* 3.677 *dolor … de paelice fictus* (Stat. *Theb.* 9.80 *unde dolor*).

ille dolor: the weak pronoun is hardly more than the article, whereas the noun combines the notions of indignation and grief, as is common. In V. *A.* 9.139 we read *iste dolor*, in Ov. *Rem.* 130 *ille dolor.*

sed … Ida: not just what is happening now, but also the next stage in the conflict between Asia and Europe has been planned, and will result in a still greater disaster for Asia (554). The parenthesis of *nulla … meae* seems to originate from Burman. The reading and punctuation *sed nulla … meae: veniet … nam …*, still kept by Kramer, results in a jarring construction: '(not only the present situation has been planned previously,) but about no (other) plan am I more determined; for …'. Jupiter's *sententia* in fact amounts to his sovereign decision; cf. V. *A.* 1.237, 260 and Ov. *Met.* 1.243 *sic stat sententia* (also parenthetically in a speech made by Jupiter).

(*menti*) *fixa* (*meae*): TLL 6.1.717.82ff. (h.l. 718.6f.) refers to Lepidus ap. Cic. *Fam.* 10.34b.1 *quae perpetuo animo meo fixa manebunt*, V. *A.* 3.250 (= 10.104) *accipite ergo animis atque haec mea figite dicta*, ib. 4.15 *si mihi non animo fixum immotumque sederet*; in Liv. 21.44.9 the text is uncertain. In all these instances the case of the noun is not clear in itself, but it is in Lucil. 431 M. *firmiter hoc pariterque tuo sit pectore fixum* and likewise in *Arg.* 5.288 *stat pectore fixum.* For *menti* in the passage presently discussed there are two parallels with *cordi* in Statius: *Silv.* 1.2.58 *nec cordi fixa voluntas*, *Theb.* 6.394 *nil fixum cordi.*

For the impossible *nam* (mss.), objectionable even in the construction without a parenthesis (see above), *iam* was printed from the 1498 edition on; its occurrence in the 15th century ms. U is probably the result of a conjecture.

Phrygia … ab Ida: if compared with Virgil's *pastor ab Amphryso* (*G.* 3.2) these words could be taken to qualify *pastor* as an equivalent for *pastor Phrygius* (V. *A.* 7.363, [Sen.] *Oct.* 774): Paris was exposed on Mt. Ida. On the other hand, a combination with *veniet* would be very natural too, as in Ov. *Tr.* 3.12.37 *rarus ab Italia tantum mare navita transit.* Probably both constructions were not distinct in the poet's mind. *Ida*: the nominative form in VF is *Ide* (2.519, 582). Paris is called *pastor Idaeus* in Cic. *Att.* 1.18.3 and Ov. *Met.* 4.276f., *pastor Dardanus* in Stat. *Ach.* 1.20f. and *Phrygius raptor* in Stat. *Silv.* 5.1.57 (and *Phrygius iudex* in Cat. 61.18f.). *Phrygius* is often used loosely to denote 'Trojan'.

gemitus irasque pares: the adjective qualifies both nouns, corresponding to *mutua* with *dona*; likewise *gemitus* and *iras* point back to *indignanda* and

dolor. For (*iras*) *pares* 'equal in degree' (OLD 7b) cf. Juv. 15.130f. *in quorum mente pares sunt / et similes ira atque fames*.

mutua (*dona*): OLD 3 'felt, done, etc. in return, corresponding'; the combination with *par* is already attested in Cicero (*Att.* 16.16a.1). *dona* is used several times ironically of 'fateful gifts' (V. *Ecl.* 6.79, *A.* 10.882, Ov. *Met.* 9.181 etc.); here it subtly echoes *rapta*. Therefore *damna* (in the Aldine edition and preferred by Bährens) is not an improvement. The verb *ferre* is natural with *dona*, but not impossible with the first two nouns: cf. Liv. 6.3.4 *Etruscis se luctum lacrimasque ferre*.

ferat: the subjunctive cannot be defined as 'categorizing / characterizing' since it does not qualify a given group or type, but an individual person. It is to a certain degree 'prospective', as in other prophetic passages with forms like *veniet* etc. (Samuelsson 1899:68 with note). But in most cases it is possible to discern an element of 'purpose' as well (Sz. 558).

551b–554

quae classe dehinc effusa procorum
bella, quot ad Troiam flentes hiberna Mycenas,
quot proceres natosque deum, quae robora cernes
oppetere et magnis Asiam concedere fatis!

This highly rhetorical sentence consists of four exclamatory utterances, all depending on *cernes*. The first two (or perhaps three) of these are objects in the accusative, whereas the fourth, and perhaps also the third, is in the form of an accusative with infinitive.

quae: first printed in the Juntine edition for mss.' *qua*, and preferable because the accent is on the combatants, not on the identity (or even the size) of the fleet. *bella* seems a clear example of the metonymy 'war' for 'warriors' (Strand 62; Bömer on Ov. *Met.* 12.25; Venini on Stat. *Theb.* 11.456): 'war streaming from the ships'; cf. in VF 7.609 and 627, 8.138. The verb is construed with the ablative as in V. *A.* 7.522 and 812; VF has it in the same sense in 6.120 and 7.553. With *proci* 'the (former) suitors' the poet refers to the oath taken by all the youths before the selection of a husband for Helena, to defend the rights of the eventual successful candidate. The most explicit version of this story is in Eur. *Iph. Aul.* 58ff.

It is not so clear whether *procorum* is governed by *classe* or by *bella*. In itself *bella procorum* could stand for *proci bellaturi*, but then *classe* would somewhat lamely be left on its own. The rendering 'what warriors

streaming from a fleet of (former) suitors' seems slightly stronger in emphasizing the number of *proci* (although of course the forces would consist in larger numbers of the military following). *dehinc* in VF is bisyllabic again in 4.760 and 5.215, the only instance of synizesis being 7.596.

On the next clause *quot* … *Mycenas* the following observations may be made (cf. *Mnem.* 1989:424ff.). Firstly, we should not alter *Troiam* into *Troiae*, as was first suggested by Pius. Secondly, *hiberna* does not refer to the winter encampment, but to a winter season (OLD 1). Thirdly, *Mycenas* is metonymically used for 'the people (not necessarily the soldiers) of Mycenae'. There remains the question of which element is qualified with *quot*. Pius and Strand take it with *Mycenas* 'how many Mycenaeans'. But this type of metonymy is hardly compatible with a numeral; 'Sparta' may stand for '(the) Spartans', but 'how many Spartans' cannot very well be expressed by 'how many Spartas'. Besides, *Mycenae* is a plural in itself. The suggestion of Shackleton Bailey (1977:200), who took over Pius' *Troiae*, to take *quot* as the sole subject of *flentes* 'how many people weeping …' is equally implausible. Langen has nothing to say about the construction, whereas Ehlers prints *Troiae* in the wake of Pius and Shackleton Bailey, but leaves us in the dark about his opinion on how to construe the phrase. Surely *quot* can only go with *hiberna*, 'how many seasons near Troy', as is now also recognized by Liberman, Spaltenstein and Dräger (the first thinks that by *Mycenas*, 'the Mycenaeans', the warriors themselves are meant, which seems less than heroic; rather it is the people at home in Mycenae weeping over all those years of absence of their men; thus Renkema 16). In his discussion of this passage (*Mnem.* 1994:491f.) Poortvliet proposes reading *implentes* for *flentes*, and this verb certainly may denote the passing of time (though not in VF, who has it 27 times). However, simply 'completing' the time before Troy is a somewhat colourless expression, and furthermore the combination *hiberna implere* could also point to a quite different meaning, viz. 'to fill the winter bivouacs'. Moreover the metrical structure with only a fourth foot caesura and no word division after the third arsis seems problematic.

quot proceres: there is some confusion here. Thilo refers to P as having *quos*, which was in fact printed in the editions from the Juntina up to and including Carrio[1]. None of this is mentioned by the four most recent editors. Ehlers states that the mss. with the exception of Co give *quod* both here and in the preceding line, whereas Liberman mentions this as occurring only in 552, passing over 553 in silence. Nowadays *quot*

is generally but silently preferred to *quos*, probably rightly: it results in the chiasmus *quae … quot … quot … quae*.

proceres: there are eight more instances of this elevated noun (see Bömer on Ov. *Met.* 3.530) in VF, five times referring to the Argonauts, three times to the noblemen of Colchis.

With *natos deum* the link between the Argonauts and the Greek participants of the Trojan war is strengthened: see 1.1 *deum … natis*. It seems better to take the accusatives as subjects of *oppetere* than as objects of *cernere*; thus we have first (*quae … bella*) the arrival of the fleet, then (*quot … Mycenas*) the long campaign, and finally (*quot … oppetere*) the casualties.

robora: clearly inspired by Cat. 64.4 *Argivae robora pubis* (which was also echoed in V. *A.* 8.518f. *robora pubis / lecta*). The 'innovation' detected by Poortvliet (on 2.643 *tales … duces, tot robora cerno*) can at most consist in the addition of *quot* (*tot*), which tends to individualize the 'powerful heroes', but it is very slight in view of Cic. *Clu.* 153 (after three names) *illa robora populi Romani*.

cernes: although Jupiter is addressing Sol (or Bellona?) in particular, it would seem that any potential hearer is included as well. Virgil has *cernes* five times against eight occurrences of *videbis*; exactly the same goes for Ovid. In Lucan the numbers are 0–1, in Statius 2–0, in Silius 4–0, but VF (*cernes* only here, *videbis* five times) adheres to the more classical distribution.

oppetere: two lines in the twelfth book of the *Aeneid* begin with this infinitive, namely 543 and 640; the first of these shows a marked similarity in metre: *oppetere et late terram consternere tergo.*

(*Asiam*) *concedere fatis*: 'to submit to fate', OLD s.v. *concedo* 3c; but in the three other instances listed there, the sense is more or less clearly 'to die by natural causes'. Also, *fato* might well be an ablative in Tac. *Ann.* 2.71, whereas here it must be a dative (TLL 4.10.50). In the instances of *fato / fatis cedere* (Liv. 26.13.17, Sen. *Oed.* 980, [Sen.] *Oct.* 253, Luc. 8.575) the case invariably seems to be a dative.

magnis … fatis: the combination is first attested in Luc. 5.189, then in Stat. *Theb.* 5.534 (sg.).

555–557

hinc Danaum de fine sedet gentesque fovebo
mox alias. pateant montes silvaeque lacusque
cunctaque claustra maris; spes et metus omnibus esto.

hinc: in the next stage (see note on 531ff. p. 313). Strictly speaking the verb does not qualify *sedet* (a real present tense) but rather, in an attributive construction, *fine* 'the then following downfall'; cf. K/S 1.218, Sz. 171 (with 'öfters Val. Fl.' referring to Langen on 6.220).

Danaum de fine: not the Greeks as a national entity but as the reigning world power (Maserius: 'Danaum imperio finem imponere').

sedet meaning 'it is (my) firm resolve' (OLD 11) is attested from Virgil on, but in all instances in the *Aeneid* (2.660, 4.15, 5.418, 7.368 and 611, 11.551) we have a subject expressed (*sententia*; *id*, *hoc*) and/or the ablative *animo* and/or a dative (*mihi*, *pio Aeneae*, *patribus*, *versanti*); in all cases but one two of these items occur. This also applies to Sen. *Phoen.* 141 (*hoc*, *animo*), where for the first time the decision taken is expressed with an infinitive. This construction was taken over by VF in 2.383 (in 7.428 he has *idque sedet*) and occurs five times in Statius, with or without *sententia* (*Theb.* 1.180 and 324, 2.368, 3.459 and 491), whereas in Silius the verb is twice construed with a pronominal subject: *quid* 2.385, *haec* 15.352, once with an accusative with infinitive (4.797) and once with *ut* (5.121). The passage discussed here is therefore the only one with a bald *sedet*, without *sententia* or a pronoun as subject and not construed either with a following infinitive or a clause with *ne* or *ut*. In this isolated instance the content of the decision is expressed with *de* and an ablative.

fovebo: Barich (135 n.) rightly refers to 541 *fovebam* and to V. *A.* 1. 281f. *mecumque fovebit* (Juno) / *Romanos* (*A.* 1.18 *tenditque fovetque* is also relevant).

gentes … alias: VF is subtle enough not to name the future world empire, suggesting that as yet Jupiter has not made up his mind about the exact nature of his decision.

mox refers to the same time as *hinc*, but whereas the latter is considered as marking the end of an era, *mox* indicates that this also means another is beginning.

pateant: to be distinguished from the sense 'to extend in space' (OLD 7); the verb here means 'to offer unimpeded passage, be open' (ib. 3). However, in all other instances of this use the subject is either a road without obstacles or a space into which entrance is open, whereas here the nouns *montes* etc. denote the obstacles themselves. Seafaring (the last item recorded here) has already provided the opportunity for wars abroad (545f.); now terrestrial impediments too are described as to be surmounted. Roman imperialism, sanctioned by divine providence, is only alluded to, not predicted in a straightforward way as in the *Aeneid* (*e.g.* 6.851ff.), which deals explicitly with Rome.

montes etc.: to the mountains, forests, lakes and seas, rivers could have been added. For the sequence A B*que* C*que* D*que* cf. K/S 2.30. In V. *Ecl.* 4.50f. geographical elements are also enumerated, but the three items in 51 are an explication of *mundum* in 50. A clearer example of four equivalent members is Ov. *Met.* 9.691ff.

claustra: OLD 5a 'a natural barrier or boundary'; TLL 3.1322.10 (under the heading 'claustra regionum, locorum; res immobiles quae aditum prohibent'). As a rule, however, the added genitive denotes that which is closed by the barrier, and therefore is an 'objective' one. This applies even in V. *A.* 3.411 (Williams: 'the *claustra Pelori* are not the promontories of the strait itself but the mountain masses which screen the strait from the south-east'). In Tac. *Hist.* 3.2 *quid tum claustra montium profutura?* the meaning of *claustra* according to Heubner is not 'the Alpine passes' as such but the troops positioned there. The only exception to this seems to be a passage in that other Valerius: *disciplina militaris acriter retenta … Alpium Taurique montis convulsa claustra tradidit* (sc. *Romano inperio*), V. Max. 2.8. There too the genitives, like *maris* in the poet, are 'subjective', not denoting that which is closed, but the (former) barrier itself. The opening of the frontier is neatly expressed with the almost paradoxical opposition *pateant … claustra.*

spes … esto: although a considerable number of scholars, and not the least of them (including Heinsius, Thilo and Langen), punctuate not at the end of the line but after *arbiter* 558, this construction is rightly rejected by the most recent editors from Kramer on. The run-on in itself would be no problem, and *arbiter* may qualify an inanimate subject (TLL 2.467.67); but although fear and hope may inspire people, they cannot be said to decide what will happen, and throughout the passage Jupiter accentuates his sovereign power to settle things without being influenced by external factors or individuals (cf. note on 541 p. 318f.). *arbiter* therefore has to go with *ipse* and the subject of (*movendo* and) *experiar*. The combination of *spes* and *metus* (also in 7.192) is both natural and traditional; to the instances mentioned by Austin on V. *A.* 1.218 several can be added, *e.g.* Liv. 26.37.1, Sen. *Ep.* 5.7, *Her.F.* 161/163. The dative with *metus* is equally Virgilian: *A.* 1.361f. … *quibus* …/… *metus acer erat*. For the line ending *esto* we may compare V. *A.* 11.14 *timor* (!) *omnis abesto*.

558–560

> arbiter ipse locos terrenaque summa movendo
> experiar, quaenam populis longissima cunctis
> regna velim linquamque datas ubi certus habenas'.

arbiter: 'as sovereign ruler'; again said of Jupiter in Stat. *Theb.* 4.758f. *ipse deorum / arbiter*. In 541 *ipse* was already combined with *locos*.

locos terrenaque summa: probably it is *summa* rather than *terrena* which is used substantively; the general meaning seems to be: 'the highest power on earth' (cf. Luc. 1.510 *o faciles dare summa deos!*); thus Liberman. Langen calls this a hendiadys: 'locos summae potestatis terrenae', and there is an element of truth in this; surely *locos* and *terrena* denote more or less the same thing. *summa* however could not be combined with *locos* in the same sense. Moreover the construction is slightly zeugmatic, since *movendo* contains two shades of meaning: with *summa terrena* it is chiefly 'to change the location …, shift, move …' (OLD 5), whereas with *locos* there is at least an element of OLD 11 as well: 'to throw (a country, nation, etc.) into political turmoil'. The similarity of the line to 541 (*locos*, *ipse*) is enhanced by the switch from *fovere* to *movere*. For the adjective added to another one which is used substantively cf. K/S 1.230, Sz. 154 (Zus. α). Spaltenstein and Dräger restrict the meaning to a purely local sense.

experiar: 'I will test'. The verb is construed with an indirect question from Ennius on (*Ann.* 198).

populis … cunctis: a dative, as Langen noted, as in V. *A.* 1.17f. *hoc regnum dea gentibus esse / … tenditque fovetque* (!): 'the reign over all nations'.

longissima regna: it has been observed (Alfonsi 126, Schubert 38f.) that VF's Jupiter is purposely vague in describing his plans, not committing himself to an explicit statement as in Virgil's *imperium sine fine dedi* (*A.* 1.279). *longissima* 'very long' could imply 'everlasting' (cf. Horace's *longus … somnus Carm.* 3.11.38), but not necessarily so. Moreover the plural can be taken to refer to still later empires in the future.

velim: one of the few instances where the verb in the sense 'to will' (as an authoritative wish; OLD 13) is construed with an object in the accusative (unlike 246, as noted there).

datas … habenas: the expression *habenas dare* usually means 'to give rein' (OLD s.v. *do*[1] 18e), as in V. *A.* 1.63, 11.623, Man. 3.372, Varr. *Men.* 177, 224. Again VF gives a new meaning to the combination: *habenas* is for the first time used as *regnum* (TLL 6.3.2394.22). Cf. Mart. 6.3.3 *cui pater aeternas post saecula tradat habenas*. What is 'given' here is

not (some) freedom for the reined horse (figurative or otherwise) but the power to control others.

certus: not so much 'without fear' (Mozley) as 'having (my) mind made up, determined, resolved' (OLD 10). It is used in this sense without a qualifying genitive or infinitive (or gerund) in V. *A.* 5.2 (where see Williams), Luc. 2.524 *rue certus*, Sen. *Phaed.* 669 *certa* (Phaedra) *descendi ad preces*. It is not clear why TLL (3.923.54) lists our passage under the heading 'fidus' with V. *A.* 1.576, where *certos* must indeed mean 'reliable, dependable' (OLD 8).

561–562

> tunc oculos Aegaea refert ad caerula, robur
> Herculeum Ledaeque tuens genus, atque ita fatur:

As has been noted before (on 531ff., p. 312), these lines do not interrupt Jupiter's speech as such, only the poet's account of it. They serve to indicate a shift from a general proclamation of intent to a special encouragement formally addressed to Hercules and the Dioscuri (who of course cannot hear these words).

oculos ... refert ad: as in Cic. *Quinct.* 47 *cum ... ad te ... oculos ... rettuli* (with *in*: V. *A.* 12.657). Jupiter looks again at the Argo and her crew as he had done in 498ff., also with *tuens*.

Aegaea ... caerula: here for the first time *caerula* is combined with a geographical name (TLL 3.107.32). In 160 above (see note) and in 2.383 *Aegaei* qualifies *profundi* (or perhaps the other way round), whereas the fourth and only remaining instance (2.366) has *Aegaeo* used substantively without further qualification. This line was no doubt inspired (Poortvliet) by V. *A.* 12.365f., where, however, *alto* figures as well. *Aegaea* could therefore be the noun and *caerula* the adjective, though one may doubt whether the poet was actively aware of the syntactical distinction.

robur Herculeum: this is of course a periphrasis coined after Homer's βίη Ἡρακληείη (*Il.* 2.658 and other instances; cf. Maurach 1983:31). VF uses *vis*, but with a genitive instead of an adjective, in a comparable circumlocution (3.86, 6.683). This noun however contains the notion of 'a large number or quantity' (OLD 8) as well. There are no other instances recorded of *robur* used in the same way as here. However, the noun itself denotes a strong warrior in 553 above and further in 2.643 and 5.569. Perhaps the use of that same noun referring to Hercules' club (634 below; 2.534) has contributed to VF's choice of the word.

Ledaeque genus: the only instance of the name in VF. *genus* with a genitive in the sense of 'offspring' is chiefly poetic (OLD 2); the combination with *Ledae* occurs again in Mart. 7.24.6. It has been argued (Moltzer; Shey 45) that the choice of Hercules and the Dioscuri implies a rather subordinate role for Jason. But apart from the fact that the same combination is exemplary for apotheosis as a reward for valour (Hor. *Carm.* 3.3.9 *Pollux et vagus Hercules*), Jupiter is here speaking to his own sons. Barich (129f.) sees an 'important difference' between Virgil and VF in their treatment of the tension between ultimate glory and preceding (human) suffering, but surely the 'solution' *per aspera ad astra* applies to the *Aeneid* as well (9.641). The promise of immortality, at least for Hercules, is repeated when his drowned companion Hylas seeks to comfort him (4.35f.)

563–567

> 'tendite in astra, viri: me primum regia mundo
> Iapeti post bella trucis Phlegraeque labores
> imposuit; durum vobis iter et grave caeli
> institui. sic ecce meus, sic orbe peracto
> Liber et expertus terras remeavit Apollo'.

tendite in astra: 'strive to make yourselves immortal'. For *tendere in* (or *ad*) OLD 13 gives some parallels. The phrase was already found in Ov. *Pont.* 2.9.62 *lucida Pieria tendis in astra via.*

The next sentence has caused much discussion (see *Mnem.* 1989: 426f.). First, while most mss. read *me*, there is a variant *mea*, still adopted by Kramer. This, however, would leave *imposuit* without an object. Nor is Spitzer's idea (1899:299) acceptable, that here *imponere* could mean 'to impress' as in Tac. *Hist.* 1.30 (Heubner notes: 'erstmals hier und Plin. *ep.* 2.6.6'): both passages contain *specie* with a genitive). On the other hand there is an obvious difficulty in taking *regia* as the subject and *me* as the object of *imposuit.* Housman (followed by Courtney, Ehlers and Liberman) referred (on Manil. 4.695) to passages in Grattius (323f.), Ovid (*Fast.* 6.360) and Lucan (3.393, 10.376f.) where *imponere* in the sense of 'to enthrone' is used with more normal subjects. He thinks that VF 'mala adfectatione actum invertit'. This seems too harsh and undeserved; there is hardly any real problem in saying 'the kingship places someone in command of the world' (OLD 10). And *regia* can have this meaning: OLD (3b) rightly refers to Ov. *Fast.* 4.599 *posita est mihi regia caelo.* The resemblances are clear: *regia caelo / regia mundo*; *posita est / imposuit.* Even if with *regia* Ovid primarily meant 'palace'

(but Bömer translates 'das Reich'), VF may have understood it as 'royal power' or even deliberately shifted its meaning. He probably did the same in 5.67 *ille gregis cessit cui regia taurus* (see Wijsman; but V. *A.* 7.210f. *stellantis regia caeli / accipit*, is not a parallel, nor perhaps 668 below *magno … par regia caelo*, since in these cases the meaning 'palace' is either clearly correct or at least possible).

As for *primum*, there is no need, without parallels, to take this as (or even replace it by) *demum* (Schenkl, Samuelsson 1905/6, Liberman). It is true that 'only after' winning his victories did Jupiter become undisputed ruler of the world, but he was also the example, the 'first', to achieve his goal after a heavy struggle, and the Argonauts, more particularly Hercules and Castor / Pollux, will have to be the next. *primum* is the adjective, qualifying *me*, not the adverb. In this way the similarity between Jupiter's achievement (or rather his exertions in attaining it) and the future achievements of his sons is accentuated. Spaltenstein appears to agree with this interpretation. The expression is of course shortened, because their success will not be identical to his, only comparable, but this is not exceptional in VF.

Iapeti post bella trucis: 'after my battle with grim Iapetus' (one of the Titans; Hom. *Il.* 8.479, V. *G.* 1.279). He is here perhaps not confused but certainly associated with the Giants (as for instance in Stat. *Theb.* 10.916), who were defeated at Phlegra. His name occurs once more in the *Argonautica* at 4.74. The adjective *trux* is not used to qualify either Titans or Giants previously (but cf. Sil. 13.590 *Centaurique truces umbraeque Gigantum*).

Phlegraeque labores: according to Herodotus (7.123) Phlegra was the ancient name for the peninsula of Pallene in Chalcidice. Here the battle was waged between the gods and the Giants. For further references to ancient authorities on it, see Owen's commentary on Ov. *Tr.* 2 (pp. 71ff.) and for modern literature on the subject, Poortvliet on 2.17f. (*Pallene*).

The adjective *Phlegraeus* is used earlier in the same context by Propertius (2.1.39 *Phlegraeos Iovis Enceladique tumultus* and 3.9.48 *Phlegraeis … iugis*). Later VF has *Phlegraeas … pugnas* (5.692) and *cum … Phlegram / Iuppiter … verberat* (6.169f.), whereas Statius varies the first of these combinations with *post proelia Phlegrae* (*Theb.* 10.909) and *Phlegrae … proelia* (ib. 11.7f.); cf. *Ach.* 1.484 *Phlegraea in castra.*

labores: in combination with *militiae*, already used by Cicero (*Fam.* 7.8.1), Livy (44.22.14) and Ovid (*Fast.* 1.302). Wijsman on 5.132 cites five parallels for *belli labores*. Without such a genitive *labor* seldom denotes military efforts (cf. *laborare* OLD 3b); instances are V. *A.* 12.727 *quem*

damnet labor and Sil. 1.3 *decus memorare laborum* and ib. 3.165 *priscos … labores* (Spaltenstein 1986: 'des batailles d'autrefois'). VF himself is more explicit in 5.617 *belligeros … labores*. In a wider sense the noun is often applied to the toils and hardships of the Argonauts from 172 above on (19 instances), but not exclusively so: 1.247, 5.194 and 617 (cited above). Sometimes the Argonauts are not involved at all: 2.79, 285, 409; 5.132 (cited above), 278, 448; 7.276). For *imposuit* see note on 563.

durum … iter: first in V. *A.* 6.688,; then Luc. 9.385, Stat. *Theb.* 2.375 and *Silv.* 1.2.202, Quintil. *Inst.* 12.11.11 (Ov. *Her.* 7.116 *duras … vias*). For *iter grave* cf. Ov. *Her.* 18.34, Plin. *Ep.* 2.17.2.

iter caeli: for the genitive expressing destination cf. V. *A.* 2.387f. *salutis /… iter* and other instances noted there by Austin, among which *caeli … iter* in Prop. 2.1.20. Cf. 793 below *placidae …/ sedis iter*. In 2.495, however, *laborantis Nemees iter* the meaning could well be 'the road through Nemea', as in V. *A.* 9.391f. and 10.161f. (noted by Austin on *A.* 2.359f.).

institui: another Valerian innovation. *iter instituere* in earlier authors means 'to begin a journey' (OLD 5), as in Cato ap. Cic. *Fam.* 15.5.3 *instituto itinere*, Hor. *Carm.* 3.27.5 *iter institutum*, Liv. 21.31.9 *iter instituit.* Here, however, the dative *vobis* makes it clear that Jupiter has 'established' (OLD 4) a hard and difficult journey for the Argonauts. TLL (7.1.1993.64 'vi attenuata i.q. edicendo, determinando sim. statuere') cites no instances with dative added, but Lucr. 5.14f. is more or less parallel: *Ceres fertur fruges Liberque liquoris / vitigeni laticem mortalibus instituisse* (Bailey: 'introduced'; in the sense 'to teach' the verb takes an accusative).

sic … sic: this anaphora (also in 541 and 214 above, always in a prophetic context) occurs already in V. *A.* 4.660, and later in VF 4.7f., 5.664, 6.407f. Only here and in the *Aeneid* passage can it be considered a 'closure-device' (Barich 29 n.).

meus belongs to Apollo as well. Like Hercules and the Dioscuri (562), Dionysus and Apollo were sons of Jupiter, by Semele and Leto / Latona respectively.

orbe peracto: the primary meaning of the verb here seems to be 'to cover (a distance)', OLD 9; cf. ib. 4b with *iter*. On the other hand, the noun suggests a 'round trip'. This meaning is prevalent in Juv. 5.21 *tota salutatrix iam turba peregerit orbem* ('their round of visits', Courtney). Here the expression appears to combine the notions of 'having traversed the world' and 'having finished his tour', at least in the case of Apollo (*remeavit*).

expertus terras: 'having had experience of, having become acquainted with'. Cf. 8.50f. *tecum aequora, tecum / experiar quascumque vias*, Hor. *Carm.* 1.3.34 *expertus vacuum Daedalus aëra.* Plin. *Nat.* 2.125 *hiberna experiri maria* (TLL 5.2.1666.22ff. 'periculum facere').

remeavit: often but not exclusively used to denote a victorious return. Like *expertus terras*, the verb here strictly applies only to Apollo, who was already a god before his sojourn on earth. Langen therefore notes a zeugma (for *venit* with *Liber*) and is probably right in assuming that the reference is first and foremost to Apollo's servitude to Admetus (cf. 444–449 above), and possibly also to his part in the construction and later destruction of the walls of Troy. This event, however, is but lightly touched on in VF (2.492).

For the position of the predicate in the singular with the second of two subjects see K/S 1.45, Sz. 433. In prose *Apollo remeavit* would have been the natural word order, but here, as often, two nouns in the same case and number frame the line, as in 24, 139, 215, 356, 372 with two proper names, 109, 282, 334, 552, 560 other cases.

D. 568–573 (Jupiter confirms his words with an omen)

568–573

dixit et ingenti flammantem nubila sulco
derexit per inane facem, quae puppe propinqua
in bifidum discessit iter fratresque petivit
Tyndareos, placida et mediis in frontibus haesit
protinus amborum lumenque innoxia fundit
purpureum, miseris olim implorabile nautis.

dixit et: this time followed by another perfect form (see note on 120). There are ten more instances in VF of this way of closing a speech, whereas *dixerat* followed by a conjunction (*et*, *ac*, *at*, *atque*, *ast*, *-que*, *sed*, *cum)* occurs 16 times in all in his work. Virgil begins a line after a speech with *dixerat et* eight times, against 13 instances of (*sic*, *haec*) *ait et* and 16 of *dixit et.* VF closes a direct speech with (*sic*, *haec*) *ait* 19 times; in 10 of these instances a conjunction (*et*, *-que*, *atque*) follows. In Ovid's *Metamorphoses* we see an opposite tendency: *dixerat et* (*ac*, *at*, *-que*) 11 times, *dixit et* 30 times. Lucan again reverses the ratio: *dixerat* with a conjunction six times against two instances of *dixit et.* Statius has the perfect form eight times, the pluperfect in 13 cases (the numbers in Silius are negligible).

Clearly VF here combines the two omens in V. *A.* 2.681ff. (the harmless fire on the head of Iulus) and ib. 692ff. (the 'falling star'), but what is he describing: lightning, a comet, a meteor? In some cases the language is clear enough to warrant the conclusion that *fax* may have any of these three meanings. Cicero in *N.D.* 2.14 *facibus visis caelestibus* can only mean 'meteors', as lightning has been mentioned previously and *stellis iis quas Graeci cometas … vocant* follows immediately. Probably in *Cat.* 3.18 too (*visas nocturno tempore ab occidente faces*) meteors are described. This is also the case in Luc. 1.528, where *cometen* follows. But in Stat. *Theb.* 1.354 *attritus subita face rumpitur aether*, lightning is obviously meant, accompanying a thunderstorm, as in Sen. *Phaed.* 680f. *cur dextra, divum rector atque hominum, vacat / tua nec trisulca mundus ardescit face?* TLL 6.1.404.40ff. furthermore cites Sen. *Her.O.* 880, 1913, 1915, *Arg.* 4.671, Claud. 1.207. The third possibility we find in [Sen.] *Oct.* 231f. *vidimus caelo iubar / ardens cometam pandere infestam facem.* Sometimes in cases where preternatural phenomena (portents) are meant, the characteristics of lightning (thunder, sulphur, zigzag form, forking flashes), meteors (visibility in the dark, impact on earth) and comets (also visible at night, blazing trail) tend to merge into a description where physical accuracy is not the most important element. On Prop. 4.6.29f. *et nova flamma / luxit in obliquam ter sinuata facem* Butler and Barber note on *facem*: 'Thrice bent like the slanting meteor's flash', whereas Camps thinks that 'this seems to describe the conventional rendering of the lightning flash as a zigzag'. Austin on V. *A.* 2.698 (also a model passage for VF) *sulphure fumant* comments: 'a traditional accompaniment of lightning, which Virgil has retained in connexion with a different omen' (a shooting star, a meteor). In VF neither thunder nor sulphur are mentioned, but the bifurcation is; furthermore the action is supposed to happen in daytime, and Jupiter himself sends the *fax*. Clearly lightning is the predominant element here, and as such stands for the confirmation of Jupiter's words. The preternatural aspect consists in its reaching the heads of the Dioscuri *placida* and *innoxia*, resulting in St. Elmo's fire; this is the encouragement provided by the omen.

ingenti … sulco: the noun denotes the trail of a meteor in the Virgil passage, as in Luc. 5.562f. *cadentia … sidera* and 10.502 *lampas*. In the case of lightning here we should perhaps think of the visual effect on the retina after seeing the flash; the combination of *sulcus* with lightning is made easier by Virgil's use of the word with *sulphure fumant* as a concomitant phenomenon. VF condensed Virgil's *longo limite* to *ingenti.*

Note that AR twice uses ὁλκός in a comparable context: 3.1378 (in a simile) and 4.296 (in describing an encouraging τέρας); cf. also 3.141.

flammantem nubila: there are no earlier instances of the verb used transitively, with the possible exception of V. *A.* 4.54 (*flammavit* or *inflammavit*?). The form *flammatus* is attested from Cicero on (*Cons.* 2.1), but it is quite possible (cf. note on *flammata veneno* in 108 above) that this was originally an adjective of the type *barbatus*, *dentatus*, from which only later were finite forms developed. Lucan has neither *flammare* nor the participle. In VF the active form reappears in 5.177 *sol propius flammabat aquas*. The two other Flavian epicists made more extensive use of the non-participial forms, both in a literal and in a figurative sense: Statius has five instances, Silius no less than eight. Here in VF the meaning is clear: 'setting aglow the clouds'.

derexit or *direxit*? While in some compounds the prefixes *de-* and *di-* clearly mark a difference (as in *dimittere* and *demittere*), in this case TLL (5.1.1232.32ff.) and OLD (s.v. *dirigo*) are in accordance, stating or implying that the variation is only a question of orthography. See the discussion by Poortvliet on 2.49; his argument that in *dirigere* (and only in this compound) the suffix *di(s)-*, indicating 'spreading', 'would be meaningless', seems valid. Therefore *derexit* (first printed by Bährens, later by Bury, Mozley, Courtney, Liberman, Spaltenstein and Dräger) is preferable, forms of *derigere* being recorded considerably earlier than its opposite. It is true that here Jupiter's *fax* eventually splits into two, but not at once, only *puppe propinqua*, so that there is no reason to suppose that VF attributed a special effect to the prefix *di(s)-*. The verb itself, in whichever spelling, denotes the throwing of a missile (OLD 4; lightning in Ov. *Fast.* 6.759f.).

per inane: used by Lucretius (first in 1.1018) in a technical sense 'through the void' (as opposed to atoms). This may also be meant in V. *Ecl.* 6.31f. *magnum per inane coacta / semina*, but in all later instances *inane* simply denotes 'the air' (as here): V. *A.* 12.354 and 906, Ov. *Met.* 2.506, 4.718, 6.230, *Fast.* 2.41, Man. 1.33 and 5.444, Germ. *Arat.* 406, whereas Luc. 1.528 appears to be intermediate between the *Aeneid* passage mentioned previously (2.681ff. and 692ff.) and VF: *per inane faces* (in the preceding line *polum* and *caelo* occur).

puppe propinqua 'when the ship was near' instead of *puppi propinqua(ns)* (which of course would not scan) 'when it was near the ship'. Like Virgil's *portusque patescit / iam propior* (*A.* 3.530f.) this is not a very radical 'inversion of the motion'. More remarkable are the cases where the subjects of the verbs (*accedere*; *propinquare*) are the places or objects

towards which someone moves (ANRW 2464f.). A clear example of this is *Arg.* 4.544f. *quantumque propinquat / Phasis.*

VF prefers the ablative form *puppe* to *puppi* (Korn on 4.85).

in … iter: the adjective *bifidus* was previously only used to qualify 'cloven' objects, not as here a forked path of lightning.

For *discedere in* 'to split into', the nearest parallels are Luc. 6.360 *ergo abrupta palus multos discessit in amnes*, Sen. *Nat.* 7.16.2 *hunc cometen … ait … discessisse in duas stellas*, id. *Oed.* 321f. *ignis in partes / discedit.* There and in the other combinations with *partes* (Lucr. 3.640 and Sen. *Ep.* 89.3), the primary or only meaning of the noun is 'parts' rather than 'directions', which sense is dominant in VF because of *iter*. The bifurcation was essential for the omen to be propitious (Plin. *Nat.* 2.101). Slightly different is Sen. *Nat.* 3.30.1 *cum in hunc habitum ex informi unitate discederet (mundus).*

For *Tyndareos* see note on 167 above, p. 110.

placida: there appear to be no other instances of the adjective in combination either with 'fire' or with a portent. It must mean 'without harming them', along the lines of natural phenomena (OLD 3 'favourable'). In the model passages in Virgil there is no counterpart for it.

mediis … haesit: for *haerere* (*in*) see note on 316 above (and 762 below). Virgil has *circum tempora* (*A.* 2.684). For St. Elmo's fire in connection with the Dioscuri see Nisbet / Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* 1.3.2 with further literature.

innoxia: directly taken from V. *A.* 2.683, which is according to TLL (7.1.1721.37) the first instance of this meaning, denoting that 'deest damnum … de variis rebus' (but cf. id. *G.* 3.283 *non innoxia verba*). Cf. Sen. *Nat.* 3.14.2 (*ignis*) *innoxius tactu*, id. *Ep.* 79.3 *ignis innoxius.*

lumen … fundit: after the same line in Virgil (2.683) *fundere lumen* (but the combination is older: OLD s.v. *fundo*[1] 5b). There is no need to read with Courtney, Liberman and Spaltenstein *fudit* (the reading of N). As K/S note (1.116 A. 1, referring i.a. to 610 below) the preceding perfect may denote the cause and the following present the effect; in other words, the settling of the fire on the Dioscuri is momentary, the light emitted lasts longer.

purpureum: Nisbet / Hubbard state (on Hor. *Carm.* 1.12.27) that 'St. Elmo's fire is normally electric blue in colour, according to the experts', after which remark our VF passage is cited. But one may ask if the adjective can denote this colour rather than 'a shade from blood-red to deep violet' (OLD s.v. *purpura* 2). According to Gipper (*Glotta* 1964:55ff.)

'dunkelblau' could be the meaning of πορφύρεος when applied to the sea. Probably the notion of 'glowing' (OLD s.v. *purpureus* 3) is dominant here (see Schrier's discussion in *Mnem.* 1979:316ff.). The adjective qualifies (forms of) *lux* in Ov. *Fast.* 6.252, *lumen* in V. *A.* 1.590f., 6.640f. (where see Austin), Stat. *Silv.* 5.1.256, Sil. 7.195.

olim: 'in times to be', modifying both *miseris* and *implorabile*: then the sailors will be in danger and therefore unfortunate. The combination *miseris* … *nautis* occurs first in V. *G.* 3.313, then (in several case forms) in Luc. 8.173 and 9.343, Stat. *Theb.* 3.323, Sil. 2.291, 10.325, 12.36.

implorabile: a Valerian neologism that apparently failed to find favour with later authors: no other instances are attested (TLL 7.1.645.41). Almost certainly its coinage was inspired by V. *A.* 12.767 *nautis olim* (!) *venerabile lignum*. The future dangers and victims resulting from seafaring will be mentioned again in Neptune's speech (645ff. below).

PART C,3

SEA AND STORM

574–699

For the theme of 'storm at sea', cf. Wolf-H. Friedrich, *Episches Unwetter* (Festschrift B. Snell, 1956, 77–87), J.E.Shelton, *The storm scene in Valerius Flaccus* (CJ 1974:14–22), E.Burck, *Unwetterszenen bei den flavischen Epikern* (AAWM 1978).

A storm at sea, endangering a ship (or a fleet) and her crew, is a standing element in epic poetry only from Virgil on. In the *Iliad* storms appear in similes, while the *Odyssey* contains one major instance: 5.282–450. There, however, it is a raft, not a ship, which is tossed by the waves, and Odysseus is its only occupant. Perhaps still more remarkable is the fact that in Apollonius' *Argonautica* Jason and his men are never threatened by a storm; the only instance of this natural phenomenon is in 2.1098–1122, where the sons of Phrixus are in danger.

Obviously Virgil (*A.* 1.50–156; the storm proper from 81 on) sets the example here, as in many other respects. He was followed by Ovid (*Met.* 11.474–572; Ceyx), Lucan (5.560–677), VF, Statius (*Theb.* 5.335–421; another storm is described ib. 1.336–389, but this one does not occur at sea and consequently no ship is involved), Silius (17.236–291; he too has another one, but again on land: 12.605–645). Outside epic we have a fine storm description in Sen. *Ag.* 456–578. Relevant details will be noted below. In general, we can observe the following resemblances and differences.

In Virgil, as in VF, the storm is narrated in the first book, although we can suppose that it is not the first to befall Aeneas and his men. In the *Aeneid* it is firmly knit into the story, serving to illustrate both the resistance on the divine level to Fate's decrees (and/or the will of Jupiter) and the mental state of Aeneas, and of course to bring the Trojans to Carthage. It also represents the dangers and difficulties Aeneas and his men will have to surmount. Notable details are the combination, followed in later Latin versions, of thunder and lightning with the tempest, not according to nature (Friedrich 77), and the fact

that all the winds are mentioned by name. This is not the case in Ovid's story, where the storm is not caused by divine action and the winds are not hero-like figures, but simply forces of nature. Generally speaking his version rather stresses the human aspect, for instance in the measures taken by the crew and later the accentuation of the fear and despair of the men, especially of Ceyx himself. As the storm begins without visible cause, so it ends spontaneously. Of course in the *Metamorphoses* a close link with the preceding and following texts is not to be expected.

Lucan in his turn uses a storm, which has no effect whatsoever on the course of events in the civil war, chiefly to depict the overweening arrogance of Caesar, who brags and sneers towards gods and Fate, and has the best of it. Thus the poet again illustrates the perversity of the world: hubris is not punished but rewarded. Lucan moreover tries to surpass Ovid's hyperboles with his own: where the former poet makes the stars invisible, only lightning still providing occasional light (11.520–523), Lucan has even lightning become invisible as a result of the preternatural darkness (5.630f.). He also reintroduces the personified and individually named winds, warring over the sea.

Statius describes a storm rising at the exact time of arrival at Lemnos of the Argonauts. This episode is narrated by VF as well (2.311ff.), but without a storm. In the *Thebaid* it is part of the story of Hypsipyle, told by herself. Statius' primary reason for inserting it here seems to have been the wish to have at least one 'storm at sea', the march of the Argives through Greece not presenting any opportunity for it. Both the setting and the storm itself are far-fetched in the extreme: why does Jupiter suddenly cause a tempest (5.362) and why should it stop at once (ib. 420f.)? Statius' striving for novelty, also with regard to style, goes very far here.

Silius, on the other hand, is very conventional and Virgilian in his language. He clearly took the last opportunity to narrate a sea-storm, which alters the course of events no more than in Lucan's version: when Hannibal, returning with the Carthaginian fleet to Africa, thinks about returning to Italy, he is prevented from doing so by the storm. However, his reconsidering the decision taken is gratuitous.

The structure of the episode.

Comparing the structure of the storm scene in Virgil, Ovid, Lucan and VF, we note the following similarities and differences: In Virgil

the story starts at l.34 with a 'view from heaven' (with which the preceding episode was concluded in VF): Juno utters her resentment against the Trojans (34–49). She approaches Aeolus with a request (hardly less than a command) to raise a storm, with which he complies (50–80). The resulting storm comprises the following elements: Aeolus releases the winds (81–86); the first reaction of ship and crew (87); darkness, lightning and danger (88–91); the verbal reaction of Aeneas (92–101); the effects of the storm on the fleet in general (102–105); the various situations of individual ships, including the loss of Orontes' vessel (106–123); the appearance of Neptune (124–131); his command to end the storm (132–141); his calming actions and departure (142–156).

In Ovid, as we have seen, no god causes the storm against which Alcyone, full of misgivings, had warned. It simply occurs as the natural phenomenon it is, and the crew take measures against it (11.480–489). Then the force of the gale increases (490–501) and its effects on the ship (there is no fleet, unlike in Virgil) are described (502–513). In an almost journalistic report the poet mentions the leak (514–515) and then pictures several aspects of the storm: rain, darkness and lightning (516–523). Then the waves break over the deck, thus entering the ship from above as well (524–536). Only here is the despair of the crew mentioned (537–543), followed by the anxiety of Ceyx himself (544–550). The wreck of the ship is narrated in 551–557, the fate of the crew in 557–560, and the reaction of Ceyx to his imminent death in 561–567. His actual drowning is related in 568–569, followed by the characteristically powerless reaction of his father Lucifer. The Ovidian version moreover contains four similes.

In Lucan, the storm itself is less important than the protagonist. At night, Caesar asks a certain Amyclas, owner (and captain) of only one ship, to carry him to Italy (5.504–537). The man, though apprehensive of oncoming bad weather, agrees in the end (538–559). After the departure the storm announces itself almost immediately, and Amyclas warns for the second time (560–576). Caesar's first speech shows his contempt for each and every power in the world, and the storm breaks loose (577–596). It is described in its full force, to a large extent depicted as a contest between the winds (597–620). After a simile (621–624) the usual phenomena of the storm (darkness, rain, lightning) are depicted in such a way that they can hardly be called 'natural' any longer (625–653). The crew and the captain are mentioned in passing (639; 645), without attention to their feelings or reactions. After Caesar's second boasting

speech (654–671) all of a sudden the 'tenth wave', which was in antiquity supposed to be especially powerful, puts the ship ashore (672–677): end of story.

For VF, several considerations would have contributed to his choice of the first book for the storm scene. Firstly, the voyage to Colchis itself will bring various adventures, constituting as many episodes, among which a storm would not stand out. Secondly, its position here serves to clarify at once the new world order to the junior officers, who have not yet been informed of the change by their superiors, and the fact that the Argo escapes unharmed is in a way a favourable omen. And of course by placing the storm scene in his first book, VF follows the example of Virgil. Like his predecessor, he makes the action of Aeolus happen immediately after the announcement by one of his betters, though it is not caused by a request or command from on high, but by an alarming report from a subordinate deity.

The episode contains the following elements:

1. Boreas sees the Argo, the first ship ever, on her way, and still thinking the sea is forbidden for mankind, reports to Aeolus (574–607).
    a) Boreas sees the ship and hastens to the palace of Aeolus (574–578);
    b) description of the citadel, with reference to the formerly existing situation (579–596);
    c) the indignant report of Boreas to his superior (597–607).
2. The storm itself:
    a) Aeolus sets the winds loose to rage against the vessel (608–617);
    b) the first effects of the storm on the ship (618–621);
    c) the reaction of the Argonauts (621–637);
    d) the leak, and consequent danger to the ship (637–641);
    e) the appearance and speech of Neptune (641–650);
    f) his calming actions (651–658).
3. The aftermath:
    a) prayer of thanks by Jason (659–680);
    b) the reaction of the crew to the prayer (681–685);
    c) the new and propitious situation (686–692).

It is particularly remarkable that three times the transition from one item to the next is made within a line: 621, 637 and 641.

1. The preparation for the storm by the actions of Boreas and Aeolus (574–607)

1a. *Boreas' observation* (574–578)

574–578

Interea medio saevus permissa profundo
carbasa Pangaea Boreas speculatus ab arce
continuo Aeoliam Tyrrhenaque tendit ad antra
concitus. omne dei rapidis nemus ingemit alis,
strata Ceres motuque niger sub praepete pontus.

interea: usual in epic diction at the beginning of a new scene, not always a new book (see Poortvliet on 2.1). In this instance it has to be taken literally, which is not always the case; cf. Harrison on V. *A.* 10.1, with further references. Whereas Jupiter looks favourably on the enterprise (498ff.), Boreas, equally observing the sea but clearly ignorant of Jupiter's decrees, is alarmed.

saevus: earlier said of Boreas by Catullus (26.3). It is a natural epithet of winds in general (OLD 5), and the North wind was considered as especially rough and inclement. On the other hand, the adjective indicates beforehand the harsh nature of Boreas' attitude towards the reckless humans venturing upon the sea.

medio … permissa profundo: the combination of substantively used *profundum* for the sea with a form of *medius* does not occur in Virgil, but is attested from Ovid on (*Met.* 4.537 *in medio … profundo*); without a preposition in Luc. 3.2 and later in Statius (*Theb.* 2.42) and Silius (7.418, 14.16). See further the note on 558 (and 585 below *latumque profundum*). The words here are to be taken as a dative governed by *permissa* rather than a local ablative modifying either *speculatus* ('spying on the sea') or *permissa* ('having been let free'), though OLD s.v. *permitto* 2 seems to take it that way. The verb *permittere* in certain combinations comprises the elements of 'giving over, relinquishing' (OLD 3) and 'entrusting' (ib. 3b); cf. *Mnem.* 1989:428f. The former dominates in expressions like *rogum … permittere flammae* (V. *A.* 4.640) and *permissas ignibus urbes* (Luc. 7.413); the latter in instances like *permittere vulnera ventis* (Luc. 8.384), *permissum ventis … telum* (Sil. 1.316). In VF the second shade of meaning is predominant, especially in view of the parallel *carbasa ventis credit …/ navita* Sen. *Her.F.* 152f. Our line appears to be a conflation of that passage, V. *A.* 12.263f. *profundo / vela dabit* and

Lucan's *permittere ventis* (cited above); cf. also Luc. 5.560 *dat carbasa ventis*. VF took *profundo* from Virgil, *carbasa* from Seneca (or Lucan) and *permissa* from Lucan. Boreas notices the sails 'entrusted to the sea', as if those men could safely expect to travel there! His indignation is not even expressed here; it will become fully clear in his words in 598–607.

carbasa: cf. 1.8 above. Here it is not necessary to take it as a *pars pro toto*, since the sails are what attracts Boreas' attention.

Pangaea … ab arce: Mt. Pangaeus was a mountain range in Thrace (where Boreas was traditionally at home), situated near the sea. The connection between the locality and the god is made again in 4.630f., whereas the mountain is mentioned in 2.359. The poet has Boreas himself use the combination *Pangaea … ab arce* in his report in 598 below. The name itself is first attested in V. *G.* 4.462, later in Luc. 1.679 and Sen. *Med.* 721; the first instance of the adjectival form seems to be Plin. *Nat.* 4.40.

For *arx* denoting 'a hill-top, peak, crag' (here used as a look-out post) cf. OLD 5. When combined with names of northern mountains it originally figured in the plural: V. *G.* 4.461 *Rhodopeiae arces*, ib. 1.240 *Rhipaeas … arces* (also in *Arg.* 7.562; cf. Mynors ad l.); *Arg.* 8.446 *Ogygias … in arces*. Perhaps VF here preferred the singular because Boreas was based at one fixed point within the range; cf. also V. *A.* 1.56 *celsa sedet Aeolus arce*.

speculatus: OLD 5 'to see by observation'; since Boreas could not expect to see a ship at all, neither 'to keep a close watch on' (ib. 1) nor 'to look out for' (ib. 3) can apply. Langen sees a contradiction between this line and 584 and 602. There, however, Boreas describes the 'normal' situation of himself and the winds in general, whereas here he is evidently singled out to take his turn on watch duty.

continuo: eight instances in VF; only in 7.174 does it not take the first position in the line. There are seven occurrences of *extemplo* (the first in 722 below), four of *ilicet* (see Poortvliet on 2.186). VF does not use *ilico*.

Aeoliam: already in V. *A.* 1.52 the mythical name of Aeolus' island. For the identification see note on *rupes* 580 below.

Tyrrhena … antra contains a double specification of *Aeoliam*, the first word denoting its geographical location, the second its physical nature, elaborated from 584 on (cf. V. *A.* 1.52 *vasto rex Aeolus antro*).

ad: the place of a preposition between the two nouns it governs is well-known from Virgil; see Williams on *A.* 5.512 and Austin on *A.* 6.692. VF has it with the same verb and preposition in 716 below

(where Langen gives some more instances from other authors) and in 6.375, this time with *in*.

tendit ad antra: although the combination is not uncommon (in VF, with *iter*, 717 below [see previous note] and 2.366; OLD 8), this instance looks like a deliberate echo of 563 above *tendite in astra, viri*.

concitus: there might be an element of the meaning 'aroused to action, excited' (OLD s.v. *concieo* 3), but the sense 'moving rapidly' (OLD s.v. *concitus*) seems predominant. Cf. TLL s.v. *concieo* (4.37.3ff.); other instances are V. *A*. 11.744 and 889, ib. 12.331 (Mars) and 902 (*cursu concitus heros*), Luc. 7.677. For the quantity of *-i-* cf. note on 3 above. Its first position in the line, in itself unusual with this participle/adjective, occurs again in 6.705 and is here combined with a telling run-on ('in hot haste').

omne … *nemus*: the woods on the Thracian hills (in the next line the corn-growing lowlands and the seas between the Balkan peninsula and Sicily are indicated). *dei*: the personification or rather deification of the winds occurs as early as the Odyssey (*Od*. 10.1ff.).

rapidis … *alis*: the adjective is not previously attested in combination with 'wings' (later in Sil. 4.93), but it is not a far cry from expressions like *manibus rapidis* (V. *A*. 8.442) and *rapido* … *pede* (Ov. *Her*. 5.136). (Dark) wings are attributed to Boreas in Ov. *Met*. 6.707 (the abduction of Orithyia; cf. *Tr*. 3.10.45 and Sil. 14.124) and to other wind-gods as well: Ov. *Met*. 1.264 *Notus*. This detail seems absent from Greek authors, but is current on Attic vases (Roscher I.807).

ingemit: the woods 'croak, groan' under the North wind (OLD b, the only instance cited there with inanimate subject). For *gemere* said of localities cf. V. *A*. 12.334f. *gemit ultima pulsu / Thraca pedum*, *Arg*. 728 below *Rhodopes nemora* (!) *alta gemunt*. Attempts to define the case of *alis* are futile, firstly because all the parallels are also equivocal and moreover different in meaning (Lucr. 5.209 *valido* … *bidenti*, V. *G*. 1.46 *aratro*; Hor. *Epod*. 5.31 *laboribus*; Tac. *Ger*. 46.5 *agris*; *Arg*. 4.450 *fatis*), but also because a poet does not have to label a form grammatically once he has chosen it.

strata Ceres: cf. V. *A*. 2.306 (*torrens*) *sternit agros, sternit sata laeta boumque labores*, Ov. *Met*. 1.272 *sternuntur segetes*, Sen. *Phoen*. 561 *segetesque adultas sternis* (sc. Polynices), Stat. *Theb*. 5.392f. *messis amaro / strata gelu*. The participle also takes the first position in the line in V. *Ecl*. 7.54, Luc. 3.390 and 10.123, and (in pentameters) Ov. *Fast*. 6.316, *Her*. 10.106. Metonymically *Ceres* stands for 'bread' in 254 above, 3.5 and 5.216; only here in the *Argonautica* does it denote the crops in the fields (as in V. *G*. 1.297).

motuque: neither *motoque* (most mss.), to be combined with *praepete*, both denoting Boreas, nor *motusque* (some later mss. and earlier editions; still printed by Kramer), in which construction *praepete* would also go with (understood) Boreas, are impossible. But *moto* looks redundant in combination with *praepete*, and *motus* does not combine well with *niger*. Therefore *motuque* (two mss. from the 15th century; first printed by Maserius) is rightly preferred by Courtney, Ehlers, Liberman, Spaltenstein and Dräger. Thus we have the parallelisms *nemus—pontus*; *ingemit—niger*; *rapidis alis—motu sub praepete*.

praepes as a term of augury means 'flying straight ahead'. From there it came to denote 'flying': V. *A.* 5.254, 6.15. Parallels for the meaning 'fast' in combination with words corresponding to *motu* are found in Plin. *Nat.* 7.4 *praepetes volatus* (strictly speaking a pleonasm), Sen. *Phaed.* 1061 *praepeti cursu*, Stat. *Theb.* 6.298 *praepete cursu*, *Ach.* 2.113 *gradu … praepete*.

niger … pontus, the sea darkened by a strong wind, appears in Ov. *Met.* 11.500 *Stygia … nigrior unda*, *Tr.* 1.4.5 *quantis nigrescunt* (s.v.l.) *aequora ventis*; cf. Hor. *S.* 2.2.16f. *atrum … mare*, *Carm.* 3.27.23 *aequoris nigri fremitum*. Different because not referring to a storm is Lucr. 3.829 *in nigras lethargi mergitur undas*. Boreas himself is called *niger* in Stat. *Theb.* 8.411.

1b. *the usual abode of Boreas* (579–596)

579–581

> aequore Trinacrio refugique a parte Pelori
> stat rupes horrenda fretis, quot in aethera surgit
> molibus, infernas totidem demissa sub undas.

The ecphrasis on the island of Aeolus has been regarded (Langen, Colton 1966, Ferguson on Juv. 1.8) as an indication that Juvenal in his first satire has VF in mind, also in view of his references to a *lucus Martis* (7f.) and the capture of the Golden Fleece (10f.). It is true that his words *Aeoliis vicinum rupibus antrum / Vulcani* present a clear similarity to the text of VF. On the other hand, all names and nouns are just what one would expect in this connection, and the very fact that Juvenal presents these items (among others: he also mentions Telephus, Orestes, Aeacus and Monychus) as hackneyed themes should make us wary of connecting them with one particular author.

A geographical ecphrasis such as VF has here, and also in 2.628ff. and 8.217ff., is often introduced with *est (locus, nemus)* etc. at the beginning of the line; cf. Austin on V. *A.* 2.21 *est in conspectu Tenedos* and Bömer on *Met.* 3.28 and 11.229. By substituting *stat* for *est*, beginning a line but not the sentence, the poet at once directs our gaze upwards. Earlier and similar examples of *stat* in first position in the line are not easy to find; Ov. *Am.* 3.1.1 is hardly an ecphrasis. In 8.217 VF uses the verb with less effect, describing an island in a river delta instead of a towering cliff as here. Outside geographical passages, *stat* in VF opens a line in 10 out of 19 instances, a sentence within a line twice, both line and sentence equally twice (2.343 and 532).

aequore Trinacrio: Trinacria was another name for Sicily, referring to its triangular shape (see Williams on V. *A.* 3.384 *Trinacria … in unda* and Bömer on Ov. *Fast.* 4.420). VF has the name as a noun in 2.31f. *omnis anhelat / Trinacria.* The local ablative is used loosely: the 'Volcanic' islands are of course not 'on' the coast of Sicily, but 'not (very) far from' it. Which part of the 'Sicilian sea' is meant appears from the specification *refugi … Pelori.*

a parte means 'on the side (of)' from early prose authors on (OLD s.v. *pars* 13b). Pelorus was the name of the promontory forming the northeast corner of Sicily (Ov. *Met.* 5.350, 13.726f.; cf. *Fast.* 4.479). *refugi* seems the only instance of this adjective used in a topographical sense (OLD 2). VF clearly combined two Virgilian expressions: *A.* 3.411 *angusti rarescunt claustra Pelori* and ib. 536 *refugitque ab litore templum* (note the corresponding positions of *refugit / refugi* and *Pelori*). Only in the latter passage does the verb mean 'to lie a little way back from the shore' (Williams), whereas the former describes the phenomenon that on approaching a seemingly uninterrupted coastline one gradually perceives a strait that was previously hidden from sight; cf. 284f. above. This is expressly mentioned in connection with the same locality in Just. 4.1.18: *quo cum accesseris, discedere ac seiungi promuntoria quae antea iuncta fuerant arbitrere.* See also Lucr. 4.397ff. *exstantesque procul medio de gurgite montes / classibus inter quos liber patet exitus ingens / insula coniunctis tamen ex his una videtur.* VF is referring here to the same phenomenon, and in replacing Virgil's verb *refugit* by an adjective he also changes the underlying meaning.

Boreas was previously mentioned in connection with Cape Pelorus in V. *A.* 3.687f. *Boreas angusta ab sede Pelori / missus adest* (the wind, not the god, coming from Pelorus instead of approaching it as Boreas does in VF) and Ov. *Met.* 13.726f. *ad Arctos / aequoris expertes spectat Boreamque Pelorus* (neither the god nor the wind, but the direction).

rupes: Langen (and Courtney on Juv. 1.8) take the noun as referring to the island of Vulcan, the *altera tellus* denoting the home of Aeolus and the winds. This would be in accordance with the usual role of the pronouns, *illam* indicating the former mentioned and *has* the latter. However, it seems doubtful whether the poet started his ecphrasis with an island he only notes in passing as a side issue, calling his principal interest an *altera tellus*. Perhaps *illam* refers to the second island as being 'remote' from the story proper?

There is also some uncertainty with regard to the identification of the islands. The largest of the so-called 'Aeolian' or 'Liparaean' islands, all volcanic in nature, was Lipara itself. Hiera or Thermessa (mod. Vulcano) was associated with Vulcan, and Strongyle (mod. Stromboli) with Aeolus (there were four more), according to Strabo 6.2.10 and Pliny *Nat.* 3.94. Therefore the island to which Boreas flies as the abode of Aeolus would be the last named (so Courtney on Juv. 1.8, mentioned above). However Eden, on the strength of V. *A.* 8.416f. *Aeoliamque … Liparen* takes Lipare as the island of Aeolus, in Virgil as well as in VF. But *Aeoliam* could be used in an unspecific sense, the whole group being called 'Aeolian' (OLD s.v. *Aeolius* 2), not implying that Lipare was actually the island containing the cave of the winds. Anyhow, our poet does not mention the name of either island, so there is not much point in asking about it.

horrenda fretis: 'inspiring fear into the seas' (which again better suits the abode of the winds and storms than a volcanic island).

quot … undas: the idea of corresponding depth and height is first attested in Homer: *Il.* 8.16 (Tartarus: depth compared to height, as in Hes. *Th.* 720). Virgil reversed the direction: *G.* 2. 291f. (= *A.* 4.445f.) *quae quantum vertice ad auras / aetherias tantum radice in Tartara tendit.* He compared the height of the oak (*aesculus*) to the depth of its roots, while keeping the name *Tartara.* In describing the latter (*A.* 6.577ff.) he reverted to the Homeric formula, multiplying the distance by two: *Tartarus ipse / bis patet in praeceps tantum tenditque sub umbras / quantus ad aetherium caeli suspectus Olympum.* Here VF transfers the comparison from the oak tree to the rock, replacing the adjective *aetherias* (*-um*) by the combination *in aethera* and *tendit* by *surgit* (the former word occurs in 576). In the next line *sub undas* takes the place of Virgil's *sub umbras*, which was inevitably but wrongly conjectured (by Parrhasius) in VF as well. More remarkable is the plural *quot … molibus*. It is true that Cicero used the same noun in describing the cliffs of Dover (*Att.* 4.16.7 *aditus insulae* (=*Britanniae*) *esse muratos mirificis molibus*; 'mock-poetic' according

to Shackleton Bailey), but they extend over a greater surface than the small Aeolian island, and anyhow *quot* sounds strange instead of *quantis*, which was Virgil's word. The correspondence of course requires *totidem* (from the Juntine edition), not *totiens* (mss.), a probable case of haplography (Loehbach 1872). Yet there is also a certain oddity in saying 'under as many waves' for 'as deep under water'.

infernas is not used elsewhere in the sense of 'below water-level', but there might be a connotation of 'infernal' caused by Virgil's *Tartara* (cf. *demittere Orco* V. *A.* 2.398, 9.527), and even of 'Tyrrhenian': Luc. 2.400 *inferni superique maris*. For *demissa* 'low' (here actually 'deep') cf. OLD s.v. *demissus* 1, from Lucr. 5.629 on. The combination *refugi* (579)—*demissa* (581) recalls *dimittunt* (*dem-*)—*refugit* in Virgil (*A.* 3.535f.)

582–587a

nec scopulos aut antra minor iuxta altera tellus
cernitur. illam Acamas habitat nudusque Pyracmon,
has nimbi ventique domos et naufraga servat
tempestas, hinc in terras latumque profundum
est iter, hinc olim soliti miscere polumque
infelixque fretum

nec … cernitur: the negation only relates to *minor* 'not smaller with regard to its rocks and caves'. Maurach 1983:115f. makes too much of this ('ungemein verrätselt'), apparently combining *minor* first with *scopulos* in its normal sense ('körperlich kleiner'), and then with *antra* as 'having fewer' ('ärmer'). But in the second case also *minor* simply denotes 'containing smaller' (not 'fewer') caves'. *minor* with an accusative of respect is very unusual. Commentators refer in the first place to Juv. 8.4 *umerosque minorem.*, where Housman and Courtney present different views on text and interpretation. However, because both there and in Sil. 3.42 (*frontemque minor*) the noun in the accusative denotes a part of the body, the parallels with the phrase in VF are only partial, which makes it stand isolated.

The adverb *iuxta* is used attributively: *iuxta sita* (K/S 1.218f.).

altera: as noted above, the group in fact consists of seven islands, but the poet is only interested in two of them (and Virgil in *A.* 8.416ff. only in one).

tellus seems a somewhat exaggerated qualification for a small island. Here too VF follows Virgil's example. The close correspondence is illustrated by the echoes (Virgil first) *iuxta* 416 (as a preposition!) -582; *Aeoliam* 416 (as an adjective!) -576; *antra* 419–582 (also in 576); *tellus* 422–582.

illam … Pyracmon: for *illam … has* see note on 580. The first-named Cyclops is new in this connection. Homer has the name ('indefatigable') twice, once for a Trojan (*Il.* 2.823. 16.342) and once for a Thracian ally of the Trojans (ib. 2.844, 6.8). Virgil has a Greek named Acamas hidden in the wooden horse (*A.* 2.262). Apparently VF found the name appropriate for a hard-working blacksmith. The mss. of the *Argonautica* have the form *Acamans*, but the first edition has *Acamas*. Thilo prints this form, rightly in view of the Virgilian parallel (cf. Serv. ad *A.* 4.481 *nullum nomen Graecum 'ns' terminatur*), and so does Liberman. Courtney, Ehlers, Spaltenstein and Dräger keep the transmitted form in this case, but not in the next, where the mss. have either *Pyragmo* or *Pyragmon*. This name was invented by Virgil for a Cyclops, along with Brontes and Steropes, ousting the former Arges (*A.* 8.425, with Eden's note). Apart from VF (whom Eden does not mention), Statius used the name in *Theb.* 2.599 *lasso mutata Pyragmone …/ fulmina* (a solo performance, no other Cyclopes being mentioned) in the text of Klotz-Klinnert. Hill prints *Pyracmoni*, introducing the Greek dative form, later mss. and editors having *Pyracmone*. In the *Aeneid*-passage Mynors (OCT) reads *Pyragmon*, but in the commentaries by Fordyce, Gransden, Eden and Williams the form is *Pyracmon*. In view of the etymology ('fire-anvil') this form is clearly preferable. The mss. in VF have *Pyragmo*. Generally speaking there is little reason to drop the Greek *-n* in Latin transcription, and since ἄκμων is the basic form, it seems best to print *Pyracmon* (as Courtney, Ehlers and Liberman do).

nudus applies to Acamas as well, as in the Virgilian tricolon. Cf. V. *G.* 1.58 *Chalybes nudi ferrum* (sc. *mittunt*); the meaning of course is 'stripp-ed', as in V. *G.* 1.299 (see Mynors).

has … tempestas: 'in the other one clouds, winds and shipwrecking storms dwell as their home'. By attraction to the predicative *domos* the author writes *has* instead of *hanc* (sc. *rupem* or *tellurem*). The combination of *venti* (*-tus*) and *nimbi* is Virgilian: *G.* 1.455 *vento nimbisque*, *A.* 3.196 *venti* -198 *nimbi*); cf. *A.* 1.51 *nimborum in patriam* () *domos*), ib. 80 *nimborumque … tempestatumque*). Ovid has (*Met.* 3.300) *nimbos inmixtaque fulgura ventis*.

For *domos* cf. V. *G.* 1.371 *Eurique Zephyrique … domus*, *A.* 1.140 *vestras, Eure, domos* and Ov. *Met.* 3.596 *ventorumque domos*. VF too has *ventorum … domos* (8.323).

naufraga … tempestas: in the active sense ('ship-wrecking') the adjective is already present in Horace (*Carm.* 1.16.10 *mare naufragum*), Tibullus (2.4.10 *naufraga … unda maris*) and Ovid (*Fast.* 4.500 *Nis(a)ei, naufraga monstra, canes*); the first two instances are the only occurrences in each

author. In V. *G.* 3.542 *naufraga corpora* it is rather passive; since it can also be seen as representing '*naufragorum corpora*', there is a parallel in Sil. 13.541 *naufraga porta*. Neither active nor passive is Ovid's *simulacra … naufraga* (*Met.* 11.628), equivalent of *simulacra naufragii* (Bömer). VF has the adjective in a passive sense in 8.360. The less frequently occurring *navifragus* seems to be used only in the active sense: V. *A.* 3.553 *navifragum Scylacaeum*, Ov. *Met.* 14.6 *navifragum … fretum*, Stat. *Theb.* 5.415 *navifragis … saxis*.

servat: not just 'stays in or about' (OLD 3), but 'with the implication of maintaining the position of the establishment', as Fordyce notes on V. *A.* 7.52 *sola domum et tantas servabat filia sedes*.

latum … profundum: at first sight a surprising combination of two different dimensions, but in fact not so strange in view of the common use of substantival *profundum* = 'sea'. The combination is first attested in Sen. *Her.F.* 1109 *latique patens unda profundi*, later in Stat. *Theb.* 5.283 *tu lato patrem committe profundo*. Cf. note on 574 above and Romeo 42f.

est iter: in Ter. *Ph.* 66 *iter illi in Lemnum ut esset* the sense is 'he had to travel', as in Cic. *Mil.* 27 *iter … Miloni esse Lanuvium*, whereas here the expression means 'they (can) go'. Cf. Cic. *Ver.* 5.160 *sibi recta iter esse Romam* and Hor. *S.* 1.9.16 *quo nunc iter est tibi*. V. *A.* 11.17 *nunc iter ad regem nobis murosque Latinos* is comparable.

olim: picked up by *tunc* 587 … *cum* 588 and *donec* 591.

miscere polumque … fretum: used proverbially in Lucr. 3.842 *non si terra mari miscebitur et mare caelo*; cf. further Liv. 4.3.6, Juv. 2.25 and 6.283f., and Otto s.v. *caelum*. This is also to a high degree the case in V. *A.* 12.204 *non si tellurem effundat in undas*. In a more literal sense the two Virgilian models are *A.* 1.133f. *iam caelum terramque meo sine numine, venti, / miscere … audetis* and ib. 5.790f. *maria omnia caelo / miscuit*. There is of course also a hint at the strange expression in *A.* 1.124 *magno misceri murmure pontum* 'the sea mixed with noise'; cf. ib. 4.160 with *caelum* for *pontum*.

infelix: 22 instances in the *Argonautica*. Here it is taken in an active sense of 'bringing ruin' in TLL 7.1.1363.11, paraphrasing 'sc. naufragum'. However it seems much better to interpret it passively as 'suffering', as in those instances where the adjective is coupled with geographical names: *Mantua* (V. *G.* 2.198), *Thessalia … tellus* (Luc. 7.847), and in VF *Haemus* (727 below), *Cithaeron* (5.81), *Thybris* (6.406). After all, the sea is the victim, not the cause, of the havoc wrought by the storms: Luc. 5.584–588. Prop. 3.7.13 *infelix Aquilo* is different in that it denotes the very wind which is there active.

587b–590

neque enim tunc Aeolus illis
rector erat, Libya cum rumperet advena Calpen
Oceanus, cum flens Siculos Oenotria fines
perderet et mediis intrarent montibus undae

tunc: in Virgil there is no reference to a former time when the winds were not yet under Aeolus' regime. Their liberty is only presented as hypothetical: *A.* 1.58f. *ni faciat, …/… ferant* (cf. ib. 61 *hoc metuens*, clearly a precautionary measure). VF uses the assumption of the initial freedom of the winds as an explanation for the separation of Africa from Italy (see below). Aeolus being called *rector* is an isolated instance; in Virgil he is *rex*: 1.52, 62 (cf. *regni* 78), as in VF 592 below (and in 604). *rector* is not unusual to denote Neptune: 188 above (*rector aquarum*); Ov. *Met.* 1.331, 4.798, 11.207, Luc. 4.111., Stat. *Ach.* 1.61.

advena … (Oceanus): 'that was not there before'; Apul. *Mun.* 34 *illas etiam quae prius fuerint continentes, hospitibus atque advenis fluctibus insulatas.* This goes further than calling rivers *advena* (coming from another country or region): *Thybris* Ov. *Fast.* 2.68 and 3.524 (*Tiberis* Prop. 4.1.8); *Nilus* Ov. *Fast.* 5.268. Cf. Stat. *Theb.* 4.239f. *terris, Alphee, Sicanis / advena*, whence Claud. *Rapt. Pros.* 2.60f. *advena …/ Alpheus*. In Claud. 28.496 *advena Nereus* denotes the sea at high tide.

Libya … rumperet: the (correct) idea that Sicily once formed a continuous landmass with Italy, as Spain did with the African mainland at the present Strait of Gibraltar, is widespread in Latin literature; cf. 2.619f. It is attested from Virgil on: *A.* 3.414f.; then Ov. *Met.* 15.290ff., Luc. 2.435f., ib. 3.60f. (where see Hunink for other instances), 9.415f. Prose authors referring to it include Sen. *Nat.* 6.30 (quoting Virgil, l.c.), Plin. *Nat.* 3.86, Just. 4.1.1. VF is the only one to represent the separation as a result of the violence of the sea caused by the free-ranging winds, whereas other authors only mention the sea itself (with the exception of Sil. 14.12 *expugnante Noto et vastantibus undis*). In fact the changes are of a geological nature, dating from the tertiary period.

Libya … rumperet: 'tore loose from Africa'. The verb is in other instances combined with *ab* to denote a separation (V. *A.* 3.639f., Ov. *Ars* 3.707f., *Her.* 6.27). Other authors use different verbs: *abscidit* V. *A.* 3.418, *abstulit* Ov. *Met.* 15.292, *solveret* Luc. 2.436, *scidit* ib. 3.61, *avolsa* Plin. *Nat.* 3.86, *discidit … perrumpens* Sil. 14.16, *diremptam* Just. 4.1.1. Only Claudian took over *rumpere*, even with the simple ablative: *Rapt. Pros.* 1.147 *socia ruptam tellure trisulcam*; cf. ib. 144 *rupit confinia Nereus* and 145 *abscissos … montes*.

Calpe: the name of one of the 'Pillars of Hercules', mod. Gibraltar. It occurs in Latin literature first in Prop. 3.12.25 (unless (*Ismara*) *capta* is read there); later in Luc. 1.555 and 4.71, Sen. *Her.O.* 1240 and 1569, Sil. 1.141 and 644, 3.102, 7.434, 9.320, Juv. 14.279; prose authors include Plin. *Nat.* 3.3.7 and 6.1, Solin. 23.13, Mela 1.27.

Oenotria: the Oenotri were an ancient tribe in south Italy. Later the name was used for '(the) Italian(s)' in general. While the adjectival form is already found in Virgil (*A.* 1.532 (= 3.165), ib.7.85), no earlier instances of the noun in Latin are known (in Greek the name is recorded from Hdt. 1.167 on). Serv. on *A.* 1.532 has *Oenotria … dicta est*, and in Claudian the noun occurs in 22.262, 26.146.

flens: the nearest parallels for parts of nature weeping for the loss of someone or something are V. *Ecl.* 10.13 *illum etiam lauri, illum flevere myricae*, *G.* 4.461 *flerunt Rhodopeiae arces*.

Siculos … fines: the noun is qualified with geographical epitheta from Lucretius on: 6.1116f. *in Achaeis / finibus*; then in Virgil (*A.* 3.440 *finis Italos*, immediately after *Trinacria*; also ib. 5.82 and 7.334; ib. 6.345f. *finis …/… Ausonios*). Cf. Cat. 64.3 *fines Aeeteos*. Spaltenstein's idea of taking *fines* as 'boundary' is impossible: separation creates rather than 'loses' borders.

mediis … undae: Burman's suggestion *latrarent* is not bad in itself; compare V. *A.* 7.588 *latrantibus undis* (also in Sil. 3.471 and 5.397). The verb is already used in a similar context by Accius (*trag.* 569f.) and later by Lucan (6.66), Statius (*Ach.* 1.451) and Claudian (*Rapt. Pros.* 1.150). But we expect an event rather than a situation, and VF does not have *latrare* (6.112 *latratu*, but not in connection with waves). One of the reasons Burman adduced for his conjecture was his doubt concerning *intrare* governing a dative, which construction, as he rightly states, is not attested before Silius. Even there some instances might be construed as containing an ablative, but clear cases are 13.814 *intravitque casae* and 9.289 *intravit caelo*. There is, however, no need to assume a dative here: Langen, noting that in all other (five) instances in VF the verb takes an accusative, supposed an ablative absolute. It seems easier to take *mediis … montibus* as an ablative denoting the 'route by which': 'through the midst of the mountains'. The action of the sea swept by the uncontrolled winds interrupted the once continuous range of the Apennines, and created the Strait of Messina.

591–594a

> intonuit donec pavidis ex aethere ventis
> Omnipotens regemque dedit, quem iussa vereri
> saeva cohors; *in monte chalybs iterataque muris
> saxa domant Euros.

intonuit: the verb may mean (TLL 7.2.26.53ff.) 'to thunder' in or over a given locality, taking the ablative, or 'to thunder at, against' someone, with a dative. The first construction must be assumed with reasonable certainty in Cicero's *Marius* (20.12 Büchner) *partibus intonuit caeli pater ipse sinistris* (perhaps even 'from'), as in *Arg*. 4.414f. *intonat alto / insurgens caelo genitor* and ib. 2.365f. *Eurus / intonat Aegaeo*; see Poortvliet. The other possibility is exploited in the line discussed here and in Sil. 14.298 *armis intonat urbi*. Hor. *Epod*. 2.51f. *Eois intonata fluctibus / hiems* is unclear in this respect, and Stat. *Silv*. 4.3.160f. *renatae / Tarpeius pater intonabit aulae* 'thunders in his resurrected palace' (Coleman, who does not comment on the case-form) is remarkable. The place and form of the verb as it is used here recall Virgil's storm: *A*. 1.62 *imposuit*, ib. 90 *intonuere poli*.

donec: five other instances in the *Argonautica* of anastrophe with this conjunction are listed by Contino 41 n.66.

pavidis … ventis: a clear case of prolepsis; until then they were a *saeva cohors* (Schubert 115). The words are probably governed by *regem dedit* as well as by *intonuit*.

ex aethere in spite of its position between *pavidis* and *ventis* clearly belongs to *intonuit*; cf. V. *A*. 7.141f. *hic pater omnipotens ter caelo clarus ab alto / intonuit*.

Omnipotens: an adjective in the line quoted last, and ib. 1.60 (cf. 62 *regemque dedit*). It is used substantively, as here, in V. *A*. 4.220, 10.615, Ov. *Met*. 2.505 and 14.816.

vereri is the appropriate word to denote reverence (and obedience) towards the gods (OLD 1a).

Line 593 contains two problems, one concerning the text and the other the interpretation. The mss. reading **cohorvis* results in agreement only about the first element, *cohors* being unanimously printed. This is probably correct, also in view of 703 below *clausa cohors*. The noun is used to denote incorporeal beings in Hor. *Carm*. 1.3.30f. *nova febrium / … cohors* and Stat. *Theb*. 10.114 (dreamlike shades) and 12.56 (the shades of fallen warriors). In the present passage we need not even take it as incorporeal, the winds being clearly personified: this army is inclined to mutiny. But what to make of the next word? Carrio, referring to

his codex, printed *in monte* and was followed by subsequent editors, including Heinsius, Thilo, Schenkl and Langen and Dräger. From the florilegia or excerpta came *tum monte*, first defended by Loehbach 1876 and then taken over by Courtney. Finally, Sudhaus' suggestion *vix monte* was preferred by Kramer, Ehlers and Spaltenstein, whereas Liberman obelizes *in*. Doubts concerning *tum* are caused first by the already large number of words containing the element 'time': *tunc* 587, *cum* 588, *cum* 589, *donec* 591, *cum* 594, *tunc* 595; moreover it seems doubtful if *tum* can introduce a sentence with a (real) present after a series of preterite forms, with the meaning 'from then on'. On the other hand, *vix* lays a rather inordinate stress on the difficulty of Aeolus in controlling the winds (see note below on *nequit*). It seems therefore best to reinstate *in* (which is also more probable in semiuncial script: *in* ⟩ *ui* rather than *tu* ⟩ *ui*).

So 'in (that) mountain' the winds are subdued with the help of steel (*chalybs*), which probably denotes chains here as in Luc. 6.797. It then corresponds to Virgil's *vinclis* (*A.* 1.54), which VF in his turn has in 602. They are obviously placed in the *iterata muris / saxa*, which dictionaries (OLD and Georges) rightly interpret as 'a double wall of stone'. *iterare* is sometimes a poetic equivalent of *duplicare*; TLL (7.2.549.76) cites Sen. *Tro.* 626 *iterabo metum* and Stat. *Theb.* 12.774f. *qua subtemine duro / multiplicem tenues iterant thoraca catenae*. In the latter passage, as in *Theb.* 4.174 *nexilis innumero Chalybum subtemine thorax*, the *subtemen* is identical with the *thorax*. This type of ablative, denoting 'consisting of', also seems present in V. *A.* 6.549 *moenia … triplici circumdata muro* 'the ramparts (not "the houses in the town") enclosing in the form of a threefold wall'. Here in VF the ablative *muris* is used in a similar way, only the walls are not threefold but simply 'double': two layers of stone. Since this prison is a cave, Virgil's *antro* (*A.* 1.52), it lies 'within the mountain' (*in monte*), and so do the chains (*chalybs*).

domant: the only instance of the verb with 'winds' for object (TLL 5.1.1947.76); Virgil has (*A.* 1.54) *premit* and *frenat*. A prison is subject in Sen. *Ag.* 1000 *virginem carcer domet.*

Euros: from V. *A.* 1.140 *vestras, Eure, domos*. The plural, denoting 'winds' in general, is attested from Lucan on: 6.265 *se tollentibus Euris* (TLL 5.2.1079.10ff.).

594b–596

cum iam cohibere frementum
ora nequit, rex tunc aditus et claustra refringit
ipse volens placatque data fera murmura porta.

prohibere (mss.), still defended by Langen as a synonym for *cohibere*, is not the appropriate word: it should mean either 'to exclude' (OLD 1) from a locality or 'to restrain' (ib. 4 and 7) from an action, whereas Heinsius' conjecture *cohibere*, rightly preferred by Courtney, Ehlers, Liberman, Spaltenstein and Dräger, means 'to confine' (OLD 3). The convincing parallels, though not adduced by Heinsius himself, are in Ovid: *Met.* 14.224 *Aeolon Hippotaden cohibentem carcere ventos*, ib. 15.346 *sive leves imis venti cohibentur in antris*. The combination of *cohibere* and *ora* occurs in Sen. *Tro.* 517 (Fletcher 1987).

frementum is from Virgil: *A.* 1.56 *circum claustra fremunt.* Here it denotes primarily the roar and rumble of the winds, whereas in 608 the accent is rather on their voiced complaints. *ora* is a *pars pro toto* for the winds, but is still significant for their utterances ('*frementum ora*' for '*frementes ore*').

It is not easy to reconcile *nequit* 'he is not able to' with the immediately following *ipse volens* 'of his own free will' (and with the emphatic *rex*). Possibly the poet means nothing more than that Aeolus, once the pressure of the winds gets too strong, does not need authorization to release the gates and may do so at his own discretion. As an alternative one might think of *negat* instead of *nequit*: VF uses this verb even in cases where no one else is present to urge a different course of action: 3.736 *solisque negat decedere silvis* (Hercules, being alone). But the combination *cum … cohibere … nequit* occurs in Lucr. 3.441 (sc. *corpus animam*).

aditus et claustra (for the latter cf. V. *A.* 1.56) constitutes a hendiadys 'the bolted doors', though the gates are rather an *exitus* for the incarcerated winds. *aditus* as 'entrance, doorway' (OLD 4) occurs, also in the plural, again in 5.396, but in view of *refringit* we have to take it here in the material sense of 'gate, door'. This is of course partly due to the accompanying *claustra*. *refringit* in its turn is traditional in comparable contexts from Ennius' famous line on (*Ann.* 267 *belli ferratos postes portasque refringit*); cf. Liv. 23.18.2 *claustra refringere* and in a figurative sense Cic. *Mur.* 17 *cum … claustra ista nobilitatis refregissem.* Here however this rather radical way of opening gates does not seem called for; maybe this is one of Norden's 'epische Floskeln'.

ipse volens: 'of his own free will', not because he is forced or ordered to do so (see note on *nequit*). The emphatic combination is recorded

in prose (Sal. *Iug.* 76.6) and in Virgil (*A.* 6.146 and, even more forceful because of the addition of *sponte sua*, *G.* 2.500f.). VF repeats it in 2.324, 4.484 and 7.10.

placat: a natural word for 'to make the winds calm (*placidus*)'; cf. Prop. 1.17.7 *placatae … procellae*, V. *A.* 2.116 *sanguine placastis ventos*, ib. 3.115 *placemus ventos*. Elsewhere it is the sea which is 'calmed': *aequora* V. *A.* 1.142, Ov. *Met.* 11.432, 15.723, *maria* V. *A.* 3.69f., and here it is the winds' sounds.

datā … portā: a variation on V. *A.* 1.83 *qua data porta ruunt*, resulting in an unusual pattern *-ā -ă -ă -ā*. The expression itself looks like a development from such combinations as *locum*, *aditum* etc. *dare* (OLD 15b).

murmur(a) quite often denotes the noise caused by winds, first in Lucr. 6.197 (discussing the winds) *magno indignantur murmure clausi*, probably one of VF's models in view of *ferarum* 198 and *fremitus* 199 (cf. ib. 1.276 *saevitque minaci murmure pontus*). Virgil followed (*A.* 1.55f.) with *illi indignantes magno cum murmure montis / circum claustra fremunt*; cf. ib. 124 *magno misceri murmure pontum*. Then Ovid has (*Tr.* 1.2.25) *fremunt* (!) *immani murmure venti* (see Luck) and was the first to combine the noun and adjective: *Tr.* 1.11.7 *inter fera murmura ponti* in a similar context. Silius carried this torch further: 7.256 *saevi fera murmura venti* (cf. ib. 1.469). In a different context *fera murmura* appears in Var. *Men.* 493 and Prop. 4.4.61; then in VF 5.651 and Sil. 3.305. See also Clausen's note on V. *Ecl.* 9.58 *ventosi … murmuris*.

1c. *Boreas reports to Aeolus* (597–607)

597–600

> nuntius hunc solio Boreas proturbat ab alto.
> 'Pangaea quod ab arce nefas', ait, 'Aeole, vidi!
> Graia novam ferro molem commenta iuventus
> pergit et ingenti gaudens domat aequora velo.

With *hunc* the poet returns from the description of Aeolus' realm to the story proper, referring back to 575f. with *solio … ab alto* (the throne of Aeolus) for *Pangaea … ab arce* (where Boreas had been posted) and *nuntius* for *speculatus*. For *nuntius* added to a name ('acting as a messenger') cf. V. *A.* 5.664f. *nuntius … Eumelus*; also *Arg.* 2.540 *nuntius … Telamon*.

solio ... ab alto occurs twice in the *Aeneid*: 8.541 *solio se tollit ab alto* and 11.301 *solio rex infit ab alto*.

The verb *proturbare* occurs once in Virgil (*A.* 9.441) and twice in Ovid (*Met.* 3.80 and 526); it is called 'vorwiegend prosaisch' by Bömer on the former passage. Since the usual sense 'to drive forth' is too strong here, OLD (c) assumes an isolated instance of a meaning 'to cause to depart hurriedly (from)'. Even this, however, seems to go rather far: Aeolus would surely have remained where he was for the time necessary for Boreas to deliver his report. Perhaps 'makes him jump (startled) from his high throne' will do. There are no other instances registered of the combination *proturbare ab*.

Pangaea ... ab arce: repeated from 575. Here *vidi* replaces *speculatus*.

With *quod ... nefas* Boreas characterizes the expedition of the Argonauts as sinful and an example of human hubris, in keeping with the sentiments expressed most forcefully in Hor. *Carm.* 1.3 (especially l. 26 *per vetitum nefas*) and Sen. *Med.* 301ff. For the topic in general see Heydenreich 1970. Boreas is excused in assuming a transgression of the bounds set to humankind: even his 'king' Aeolus does not know better.

Graia ... iuventus: the nationality of the trespassers being irrelevant, it seems that the adjective at most stresses the exploring character of Greek civilization, if that.

novam ... (molem): 'the first ever'. The notion 'strange, unheard of' (OLD 3) seems present as well. Of course the adjective itself had not much to recommend it to the Roman establishment with its horror of *res novae*. The noun *molem* meaning 'ship' is first attested in Acc. *trag.* 391, where it also refers to the Argo as is made clear by Cicero, who quotes this passage (*N.D.* 2.89). Later it occurs in the same sense in Virgil (*A.* 5.118, where *ingenti mole* is a descriptive ablative qualifying *Chimaeram*) and Lucan (4.445 and 453); in VF 127 above and 2.353 (with the genitive *ratis*). In Prop. 4.6.19f. *moles / pinea* refers to both fleets in the battle of Actium, and in Liv. 37.15.2 *demersas moles* to the preceding *demersis navibus*.

commenta: as Langen notes, the verb here means both 'to devise, invent' and 'to construct, fabricate' in a material sense. This latter element may be implied in parallels such as Suet. *Nero* 34.2 *solutilem navem ... commentus est* and Sen. *Ep.* 90.14 *qui serram commentus est*, but only here is the second element brought out by the addition of *ferro* (TLL 3.1887.45).

pergit: in a local sense, unlike 31 above, but in both instances there

is no element of continuity, as opposed to 531 above. The Argo 'moves onward' (OLD 1); cf. 745 below.

ingenti … velo: not just a synecdoche; the sail itself is great, and its use shows that the winds are favourable, which contributes to Boreas' anger. The ablative modifies in the first place *domat aequora*, but probably *gaudens* as well.

domat aequora: but the winds themselves are controlled (594)! For the verb denoting the conquest of the sea cf. 75 above *domito … ponto*; further 5.299 *domitis … undis*, Prop. 2.26.52 *hic deus* (sc. Boreas) *et terras et maria alta domat*, Sen. *Phaed.* 307 and perhaps *Med.* 2.

gaudens: this will indeed change after the winds have been unchained. (621 *trepidantibus*, 626 *murmure maesto*, 633 *flentes*).

601–602

> nec mihi libertas imis freta tollere harenis
> qualis eram nondum vinclis et carcere clausus.

libertas (est mihi) with an infinitive in the sense of *licet* is very rare. The only clear parallel is Prop. 3.15.4 *et data libertas noscere amoris iter*, since in the same author 1.1.28 *sit modo libertas quae velit ira loqui* the use of the infinitive is probably caused by *velit*. Liv. 5.6.17 *ea demum Romae libertas est non senatum … non disciplinam vereri militiae* is different, because of *ea*: this is an 'ironical definition' (Ogilvie ad l.), whereas in Juv. 14.230, also adduced in TLL 7.2.1317.61ff., the text is uncertain.

imis … harenis: the combination occurs also in Man. 5.435. In other passages too, forms of *imus* are used to the same effect, for instance in Virgil's description of the storm *totumque* (*mare*) *a sedibus imis / una Eurusque Notusque ruunt* (*A.* 1.84, cf. ib. 125f. *imis /… vadis*). Furthermore V. *A.* 2.419 and 7.530 *imo … fundo*, *G.* 3.240f. *ima … unda /… nigramque … harenam* and Ov. *Met.* 11.499 *cum fulvas ex imo vertit harenas*.

harena itself frequently denotes the bottom of the sea; instances are V. *A.* 9.714 *nigrae attolluntur harenae*, Luc. 2.694 *dum spissis avellitur uncus harenis* and VF 2.428 (TLL 6.3.2527.26ff.).

freta tollere: cf. V. *A.* 1.66 *et mulcere dedit fluctus et tollere vento*, ib. 103 *fluctusque ad sidera tollit* and especially Hor. *Carm.* 1.3.16 *tollere seu ponere vult freta*. VF has (2.508) *Orion … mare tollit.*

Some editors, including Thilo, Langen and Liberman (Courtney hesitates), punctuate after 601 and take 602 as an exclamation of the well-known type (*e.g.* V. *A.* 2.274). However, there is hardly a problem in connecting a *qualis*-clause with a personal pronoun in a different case-

form: Cic. *Fam.* 1.9.20 *meque tum denique sibi esse visum rei publicae, qualis fuissem, restitutus*, or indeed without explicit reference to a preceding pronoun: V. *A.* 6.270f. *quale … est iter* (the noun pointing back to *ibant* 268). It seems far more forceful to combine the lines into one sentence, opposing *libertas* to *clausus*.

For *vinclis et carcere* cf. V. *A.* 1.54 *vinclis et carcere frenat.* Virgil by his choice of the verb accentuates the shackles, VF rather the prison.

claudere in the sense of 'to confine, enclose' (TLL 3.435.64ff.) is often combined with *carcere*: Ov. *Met.* 4.663 (the winds), *Pont.* 1.6.37, Man. 2.93, 5.662, [Sen.] *Oct.* 682, Apul. *Met.* 4.24; but in V. *A.* 1.141 it is the prison itself which is 'closed': *clauso ventorum carcere.*

603–607

> hinc animi structaeque viris fiducia puppis
> quod Borean sub rege vident. da mergere Graios
> insanamque ratem! nil me mea pignora tangunt.
> tantum hominum compesce minas, dum litora iuxta
> Thessala necdum aliae viderunt carbasa terrae!'

The combination *hinc … quod* 'for the reason that …' is attested in several passages, but in some of them it expresses 'inference' (OLD s.v. *hinc* 8b), not 'cause' (ib. 8a) as here. Parallels given in TLL (6.3.2806.60ff.) are: Var. *L.* 5.68 *hinc quod Luna in altitudinem et latitudinem simul it Diviana appellata*; Prop. 4.6.67 *Actius hinc traxit Phoebus monumenta, quod …*

The plural *animi* meaning 'courage, confidence' is used both in prose (Cic. *Off.* 3.47 *nostra res publica … Cannensi calamitate accepta maiores animos habuit quam umquam rebus secundis*) and in poetry, *e.g.* Ov. *Met.* 10.656 *adiciunt animos iuveni.* The combination with *fiducia* occurs in Caes. *Civ.* 2.4.3, *B. Afr.* 48.4, Liv. 45.31.10.

struere with 'a ship' for the object is repeated in 5.294 *puppem quam struximus ipsae* (= Pallas and Juno), but there seem to be no other instances. In Sen. *Ben.* 4.11.3 *ignoto naufrago navem … et damus et struimus* the meaning is different, as is also made apparent by the word order ('nous donnons … un navire tout équipé', Préchac in the Budé edition).

Borean: the Greek form of the accusative is the normal one (K/H 430).

sub rege: the combination is fairly frequent, mostly with an adjective, pronoun or proper name added; the only other exception to this appears to be Sen. *Ep.* 33.4 *non sumus sub rege.*

da mergere Graios: the combination of *dare* with an infinitive is quite frequent in classical poetry. It often, but not always (see Williams on V.

A. 5.248), means 'to grant, concede', in Virgil for instance in *A.* 1.66 *et mulcere dedit fluctus et tollere vento.* In the imperative it occurs in V. *A.* 5.689 *da flammam evadere classi*, 6.66f. *da …/… Latio considere Teucros*, 11.789 *da … hoc … aboleri dedecus*, and, followed by an infinitive and object closing the line as here, in *A.* 6.697 *da iungere dextram* and 12.97 *da sternere corpus*; the last instance is closest in meaning to VF's *da mergere Graios*. Whereas Lucan and Statius use the combination of *da* with an infinitive sparingly (two and three instances respectively), Silius has it no less than nine times, three of which show the metrical pattern at the end of the line.

mergere Graios: cf. V. *A.* 1.69 *submersasque obrue puppes*. The verb is used to denote the sinking of ships (Ov. *Met.* 11.557, *Ars* 3.390, *Tr.* 5.11.13) or the drowning of men (V. *A.* 6.342, Ov. *Met.* 11.569, Luc. 3.688) or both, as here and Ov. *Met.* 14.240.

insanam … ratem: the adjective seldom qualifies nouns which denote things constructed by men. Cicero provides a good parallel: *Mil.* 53 *insanas … substructiones* (cf. ib. 85 *substructionum insanis molibus*), which was listed by Quintilian (*Inst.* 8.6.41) among the metaphors. Certainly the suggestion there, as here, is that the persons responsible for these constructions must be mad. In Ov. *Her.* 1.6 *obrutus insanis esset adulter aquis* the epithet is both 'suggestive of the madness of Paris and his enterprise' and 'a reference to the conventional wildness of the elements' (Knox ad l.). This implies an interesting reversal in that *insanus*, more than once used to denote that wildness (OLD 4), here is a characteristic of the very ship which will be endangered by the elements. Statius in his storm goes one better when he speaks (*Theb.* 5.373f.) of the *insana arbor* (= mast) of the Argo. Since the epithet there cannot refer to the size of the object nor to the mental state of its constructors, it probabaly means 'behaving (swaying) madly' (as a result of the storm).

For *ratem* see note on 2.

nil … tangunt: Sabellicus' *pignora* for mss. *pectora* has found almost unanimous approval from Heinsius on. The use of this noun to denote 'offspring' was in the Augustan poets explained by the combination with another word meaning 'child(ren)': Prop. 4.11.73 *nunc tibi commendo communia pignora natos*, Ov. *Met.* 5.523f. *commune est pignus onusque / nata mihi tecum*, *Her.* 6.121f. *prolemque gemellam / pignora … bina.* The Flavians apparently thought this superfluous: apart from this passage we have Stat. *Theb.* 5.432 *Ismarios, Aquilonia pignora, fratres* (also the sons of Boreas!), *Ach.* 1.127 *ubinam mea pignora, Chiron?* The verb *tangere* as 'to touch, effect' (OLD 8) is not uncommon, but in most cases the subject is a state of mind. For this reason and because of the metrical pattern

it seems that VF here follows the example of Ovid: *Her.* 2.89 *nec te mea regia tanget*, ib. 5.81 *nec me tua regia tangit.* Another instance of a non-mental subject is Ov. *Her.* 7.11f. *nec te surgentia tangunt / moenia*, and of the metrical pattern *Met.* 2.293 *nec te mea gratia tangit.* The sons to whom Boreas refers are Calais and Zetes (468f. above). His unconcern is not very impressive since they are able to fly (4.501f.) and can take care of themselves in case of a shipwreck.

tantum: Langen calls the combination of this word with an imperative instead of *modo* 'praeter consuetudinem', but instances are fairly numerous: only one in Virgil (*A.* 6.74), but 13 in Ovid (two in Lucan, four in Statius, two in Silius). Fletcher 1987 even notes a parallel in Cicero: *Fam.* 6.12.5.

For *compesce minas* cf. Sen. *Her.O.* 1456 *compesce diras, genitor, irarum minas* and Sil. 4.125 *sed compesce minas* (no other instances recorded in TLL 3.2062.46). In both these cases, but not here, the threats are made by the person (or animal) addressed. *hominum* has more than a tinge of contempt.

dum … Thessala: Burman takes *iuxta* attributively 'the nearby coast' as subject, together with *nec … aliae … terrae*, whereas Langen thinks it is an adverbial predicate '*dum litora Thessala iuxta* sc. *sunt*', as Liberman does. There is a third possibility, mentioned by Spaltenstein and Dräger: *iuxta* as a postposition, the subject to be derived from *hominum*: 'as long as they are near the coast of Thessaly'. In all four certain instances of prepositional *iuxta* in VF it is used in anastrophe, which would also be the case here: 2.193; 5.187, 457; 6.50. On the other hand we have *iuxta* used attributively in 4.424 *Thyneaque iuxta / litora*, 5.572 *oraque iuxta*, and predicatively in 5.393f. *ipsaque iuxta / moenia* sc. *sunt.* All in all Langen's interpretation is the easiest one (which does not mean much in VF).

viderunt … terrae: the use of *videre* with localities for subject 'to witness' is widespread, even in classical prose; OLD 11b gives instances from Cicero on. In Virgil we have *G.* 1.490 (*Philippi*), *A.* 12.542 (*Laurentes … campi*), ib. 645 (*haec terra*). In *A.* 6.873 Tiberinus is the deity rather than the river (Austin).

2. The storm itself (608–658)

2a. *after Aeolus has set the winds free, they commence their onslaught on the Argo* (608–617)

608–613

dixerat, at cuncti fremere intus et aequora venti
poscere. tum validam contorto turbine portam
impulit Hippotades; fundunt se carcere laeti
Thraces equi Zephyrusque et nocti concolor alas
nimborum cum prole Notus crinemque procellis
hispidus et multa flavus caput Eurus harena.

dixerat, at: see note on 568 *dixit et.* The conjunction appears only in the S tradition, left out in LV as a result of haplography.

cuncti … venti: the adjective is separated from the noun by the first predicate as in 6.100f., 249f., 505f., 7.117, 8.298f. (ANRW 2462).

fremere … et … poscere: Romeo 272f. gives other instances of two or more 'historic' infinitives.

fremere expresses both the sound as such (cf. Lucr. 6.581, Ov. *Tr.* 1.2.25, Luc. 9.320) and the sentiment behind it, in this case of approval (OLD 2b), as in V. *A.* 1.559 (= 5.385) *cuncti* (!) *simul ore fremebant.* From inside the cave (*intus*) all the winds join in Boreas' indignation.

aequora poscere: a brachylogy for 'they asked for (= to be admitted to) the sea'. For the accusative with *poscere* see note on 99. The line ending *aequora venti* occurs in V. *A.* 5.763 (and cf. ib. 1.43 *aequora ventis*).

tum: the asyndetic combination of a perfect (*impulit*) with a (historic) present (*fundunt se*) is very unusual. In Virgil the sentence to be compared (*A.* 1.82ff.) is different, since the clauses there are connected by *ac*. The other instances cited in K/S 1.117 A. 1 do not contain an asyndeton either, with the exception of V. *A.* 10.453, where however *apparat* comments on and elucidates *desiluit*, not denoting another event. The very fact that our VF passage is the only one mentioned in K/S l.c. containing both tense-shift and asyndeton should make us wary. Perhaps we should consider the possibility of reading *cum* instead of *tum*. There are eight instances in the *Argonautica* of *cum* as the first word of the second foot.

validam … portam: this correction of *validam contortam* (all mss.) now seems to be generally accepted, and there is no reason to doubt its correctness, although the other possibility *valido … contortam* is in itself

possible; see *Mnem.*1989:431ff. *validam* was first put forward by Burman under reference to his 'cod. Coki', but he added 'sed tunc *contorto* legendum esset'. After the first editions opted for *valido contortam*, Thilo was the first to print *validam contorto*. We should not, with Langen, take *turbine* as denoting the pivot on which the door turns, equivalent of *cardo*: if VF just wanted to say that Aeolus opened the door, *impulit* is much too strong a word for this action, and *contorto turbine* meaning 'so that the pivots revolved' seems otiose. The correct interpretation was given by Renkema (and silently taken over by Liberman): *turbo* is a whirlwind hurled by Aeolus against the gate, which is thereby flung open. *(con)torquere* has some kind of a missile for object in V. *A.* 2.50ff. (with *validis*!), 11.284 (with *turbine* here in the sense of 'whirling motion', OLD 4) and 12.266, and with a force of nature in V. *A.* 9.670f.: as Jupiter there hurls his own weapon, so does Aeolus here. VF has *intorto turbine* ('a whirling hurricane') in 4.452 and makes a 'strong door' the object of *impulit* again in 2.272f. *impulit acri / tum validas stridore fores*. He clearly varies on V. *A.* 1.81f. *cavum conversa cuspide montem / impulit*, where Aeolus pushes open the door with the butt-end of a spear (Austin); apparently VF thought a whirlwind was a more appropriate instrument for Aeolus. Note that Aeolus is not reported to answer verbally to Boreas' complaint, whereas of course in Virgil he had to reply to Juno's words. There, however, the winds have nothing to say: they simply rush out as soon as the opportunity is given.

Hippotades: only here in VF. Aeolus, son of Hippotes, was mentioned in Hom. *Od.* 10.2 and 36 and AR 4.778. Virgil has (*A.* 11.673f.) a certain Amastrus Hippotades, a Trojan killed by Camilla, whereas in Ovid the patronymic is used in *Met.* 4.663 (*clauserat Hippotades aeterno carcere ventos*), 11.431, 14.86, 224 (*Aeolon Hippotaden cohibentem carcere ventos*), 15.707.

fundunt se carcere: Virgil has here *ruunt* (*A.* 1.83), which verb in VF follows l.616 below *ruit*. The expression *se fundere* 'to rush out' is found in V. *A.* 12.122 and recurs in *Arg.* 2.661. *effundere* is sometimes combined with *carcere* (*-ibus*) in the sense of 'starting-box' (V. *G.* 1.512, *A.* 5.145), which notion here is neatly coupled with that of 'prison'. Without that element *carcer* denotes the place where the winds are confined in Ov. *Fast.* 2.456, Luc. 5.609, Stat. *Silv.* 3.2.42, Juv. 5.101 and 10.181 (and the passages in Ovid cited on *Hippotades* above). In Sil. 1.590 *atque ubi se terris glaciali fundit ab Arcto* (sc. *Boreas*) there is no *carcer* involved.

laeti: this detail is not mentioned in Virgil's storm description in *A.* 1, but cf. *A.* 2.417f. *Zephyrusque Notusque et laetus Eois / Eurus equis*.

Thraces equi: the winds as such are nowhere else called 'horses', but cf. the Virgil passage cited in the preceding note and Hor. *Carm.* 4.4.43f. *Eurus / per Siculas equitavit undas*. The reverse metaphor seems older: *h. Hom.* 5.217. *Thraces* refers to the traditional abode of the winds in general (Hor. *Carm.* 1.25.12, where see Nisbet-Hubbard, ib. 4.12.2) and especially Boreas (Hor. *Epod.* 13.3, Ov. *Ars* 2.431). In this way VF suggests the activity of Boreas without explicitly stating that he too broke loose from the *carcer* (which he did not, being outside; Friedrich 80, n. 1).

All four winds appear (as here) in Hom. *Od.* 5.295f., 331f., Ov. *Tr.* 1.2.27–30, Sen. *Ag.* 476ff., Luc. 5. 569–572, and Sil. 17.246–255, whereas Ovid in *Met.* 11.474–572 and Statius (*Theb.* 5.335–421) do without names. Virgil starts with two names (*Notus* 85 and 108, *Eurus* 85, 110, 131), later adds *Aquilo* (102) and mentions *Zephyrus* only at the end (131), whereas VF concentrates all four right at the start (Burck 1978:11 clearly overlooks *Eurus*, which he finds only in 639). Zephyrus is not usually associated with tempests or unfavourable winds, but VF follows Homer's cluster.

nocti concolor: the adjective takes a dative from Ovid on: *Met.* 11.500 (in the story of Ceyx) *concolor est illis* (= *harenis*) sc. *pontus*; cf. Stat. *Theb.* 5.365f. *tenebras, quis protinus unda / concolor*. For winds called 'dark' see Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* 1.5.7 *nigris … ventis* and Poortvliet on *Arg.* 2.365 *niger … Eurus*. The South wind in particular is characterized in this way 6.494 *fuscis … Notus … alis*; Virgil already had (*G.* 3.278) *nigerrimus Auster*, Lucan (5.608f.) *atrum … Notum* and (9.320) *niger … Auster*.

alas: the accusative of respect is followed by *crinem* 612 and *caput* 613. Wings are already attributed to winds in Cic. *Arat.* 241 *horrisonis Aquilonis … alis*, Ov. *Met.* 1.264 *madidis Notus evolat alis* (cf. ib. 6.703 *excussit pennas* sc. *Boreas*), and then in Sil. 17.248f. (in his storm) *nigrantibus alis /… Boreas*.

nimborum cum prole: not 'all the sons of the storms' (Mozley); a *nimbus* is not a storm but a rain-cloud, and these are brought (forth) by the South wind: Hor. *Carm.* 1.7.16f. *Notus neque parturit imbres / perpetuo* (and *Orph. h.* 82.3, cited by Nisbet-Hubbard ad l.). So we should translate (with Liberman) 'with his offspring (consisting) of rain-clouds'. Other instances where Notus is associated with rain are Ov. *Met.* 1.264 (cited above) and 266 *barba gravis nimbis*, Luc. 5.608f. *imbribus atrum /… Notum*, Sen. *Ag.* 481 *gravis nimbis Notus*.

crinemque procellis / hispidus: the word order makes it almost certain

that this qualification belongs to Eurus, not to Notus. This results in an impressive tricolon crescendo: the first two winds are confined within a half line, Notus has one line, and the impact of the gushing storm is expressed by the line and a half attributed to Eurus.

hispidus: since it is modified with *crinem*, it cannot mean 'covered with hair, etc.' (OLD 1). In view of the meaning 'unkempt, tangled (of terrain)', ib. 2b, Mozley's translation here hits the mark: 'his hair dishevelled with the blasts'. There are no other instances of the adjective (which is not very widely used) with an accusative of respect. It is elsewhere construed with an ablative denoting the material by which someone is *hispidus*: Plin. *Nat.* 9.9 *squamis … hispido corpore*, Sil. 5.440f. *squalore hi(n)c hispida diro / et villosa feris horrebant pectora saetis*, Apul. *Met.* 4.31 *caerulis barbis hispidus*. In Claud. *Rapt. Pros.* 1.70f. however the ablative seems to denote rather the external cause, as here: (*Boreas*) *glacieque nivali / hispidus*.

The line ending *crinemque procellis* resembles Virgil's *creberque procellis* (*A.* 1.85; the *Africus*, also a South wind).

multa flavus … harena: V. *A.* 7.31 *multa flavus harena* (sc. Tiberinus). The accusative of respect, here third in succession and again denoting a part of the body, occurs earlier in combination with *flavus* in Ov. *Met.* 6.118 and 9.307 *flava comas*. Eurus is mentioned in comparable contexts V. *A.* 1.85, 110, 131, 140; Luc. 5.608 (and possibly ib. 569). In Ov. *Met.* 11.481 *eurus* is printed by Anderson (in the Teubner edition) in lower case, understandably since Ovid does not present or portray his winds individually.

harena: the sand is stirred up from the sea-bottom by the violence of the storm, as in Ov. *Met.* 11.499 *cum fulvas ex imo vertit harenas* (sc. *pontus*), see Bömer, to whose parallels Luc. 5.604 can be added, and cf. V. *A.* 1.84 *totumque* (sc. *mare*) *a sedibus imis / una Eurusque Notusque ruunt.*

614–617

> induxere hiemem raucoque ad litora tractu
> unanimi freta curva ferunt. nec sola tridentis
> regna movent: vasto pariter ruit igneus aether
> cum tonitru piceoque premit nox omnia caelo.

induxere hiemem: TLL s.v. *induco* distinguishes the notions of 'i.q. producere' (7.1.1233.68ff.; this passage 76) and 'i.q. attrahere, superducere' (ib. 1235.64ff.). Instances of the first shade of meaning include Plin. *Ep.* 2.17.7 *venti* (!) … *qui nubilum inducunt*, whereas the second is rep-

resented by three passages from storm scenes: Ov. *Met.* 11.498 *inductas … nubes*, ib. 549 *inducta piceis e nubibus umbra* (cf. also 2.307), Sen. *Ag.* 487 *atrum rebus induci chaos*. In VF the verb probably partakes of both nuances, since the storm (*hiemem*) implies both darkness and clouds: 'the winds bring the storm over the sea'.

The tense-shift *induxere—ferunt* (cf. note on *tum* 609), not involving an asyndeton, is explicable because *induxere* denotes the beginning of the storm and *ferunt* the ensuing situation.

rauco … tractu: the noun denotes an 'action of causing things to move in a particular course, direction, etc.' (OLD 2) and is used in this sense in the description of a storm by Lucan (5.565f.) *longo per multa volumina tractu / aestuat unda minax* and Seneca (*Ag.* 468) *tractuque longo litus ac petrae gemunt* (where the ablative denotes cause, not manner as in Lucan and VF). The combination *tractu … ferunt* equates 'trahentes ferunt' or 'trahuntque feruntque', but the nominal form makes the addition of an adjective possible. As may be seen from the parallels, this adjective is very frequently *longus*, also in other meanings of the noun (see OLD 4, 5, 6, 8). VF clearly preferred a more telling epithet, accentuating the sounds that accompany the storm. In Hor. *Carm.* 2.14.14 *rauci fluctibus Hadriae* a sea is called 'raucous', in V. *G.* 1.109 *raucum … murmur* and in Luc. 5.218 *rauca gemit* (sc. *pontus*) the sound itself, and in Stat. *Theb.* 5.291 *litore rauco* the locality where the noise is heard. VF seems original in applying the adjective to a noun denoting an action.

ad litora: in the same metrical position as V. *A.* 1.86 *vastos volvunt ad litora fluctus*; it is primarily governed by *ferunt* but possibly also by the verb inherent in *tractu*.

unanimi: expanding on Virgil's *una* (1.85) 'together' and in explicit opposition to Ovid (*Met.* 11.491) *bella gerunt* and Lucan (5.646) *discordia ponti*; in these passages the winds have no common purpose as here, they simply take their freedom and struggle among themselves.

freta curva: 'the curving waves' as in Ov. *Met.* 11.505 *curvum … aequor*, Luc. 5.458f. *aequora … / curva*, Stat. *Theb.* 5.374f. *curvas / … aquas*. The adjective in this sense is probably developed from *curvatus*, as in V. *A.* 3.564 *curvato gurgite*, whence Stat. *Theb.* 11.437 *curvatis … fluctibus* and Sil. 1.472 *curvatis … undis*, 15.155 *curvata … unda*. But V. *G.* 4.361 *curvata … unda* describes a different, non-natural phenomenon (see Mynors).

By printing *Tridentis* both Courtney and Ehlers seem to suggest that the trident here stands for Neptune himself. One would like to see a parallel for this metonymy. The phrase does not mean more than 'the reign of (= characterized by) the trident', as is seen by Liberman and

Dräger. Cf. Sil. 17.242 (at the beginning of the storm scene) *tum, penitus telo molitus* (sc. *Neptunus*) *regna tridenti / intima*. For *movet* cf. V. *A.* 1.135 *motos … componere fluctus. vasto … caelo*: in this sentence four elements of the storm are compactly expressed: rain (*ruit*), lightning (*igneus*), thunder (*tonitru*) and darkness (*piceo; nox*).

pariter should not be combined with *cum* but with the preceding phrase: the sea disturbs not only Neptune's realm but equally the sky.

vasto: erroneously taken as qualifying *caelo* by Burck (11. n. 20); it belongs to *tonitru*. OLD 3c gives several more instances of the adjective coupled with nouns denoting sounds; in Virgil *A.* 1.245 *vasto cum murmure montis*, 10.716 *vasto clamore*.

ruit suggests that the sky 'comes down in torrents', as in V. *G.* 1.324 *ruit arduus aether* (taken over by Lucan 2.290 in describing a cosmic catastrophe). For the wording cf. also V. *A.* 1.129 *caeli … ruina*, 8.525 *ruere omnia visa repente*, *Arg.* 8.334 *crebra ruina poli caelestia limina laxat*, and for the idea, the storm passages in Ovid (*Met.* 11.517) *inque fretum credas totum descendere caelum* and Silius (17.252) *in classem ruere implacabile caelum*.

The sky is qualified as *igneus* because of the lightning illuminating it, as is clear from the examples V. *A.* 1.90 *crebris micat ignibus aether* and Ov. *Met.* 11.520 *caret ignibus aether*. But the 'technical' meaning '(the aether) consisting of fire', as in [Tib.] 3.7 (= *paneg. Mess.*).22 and Sen. *Nat.* 6.16.2, may have been present as well in the poet's mind (Nordera). Silius took over Virgil's verb and VF's adjective *ruptoque polo micat igneus aether* (1.135).

piceo: with eight occurrences, a favourite word with VF (see Nordera's discussion of this passage), first attested in V. *G.* 2.309 (with *ruit* in the preceding line). VF almost copies his own line in 2.517 *piceo necdum* (or *nox tum*?) *tenet omnia caelo*. For the adjective, here in pointed contrast to *igneus*, cf. further Ov. *Met.* 11.549f. *inducta* (cf. *induxere* 614) *piceis e nubibus umbra / omne latet caelum*, Sil. 5.37 *pressum picea inter nubila caelum* (a clear echo of VF). It is hard to decide, maybe even pointless to ask, whether *piceo … caelo* is (exclusively) instrumental 'night covers everything with a pitch-black sky' or local 'night covers everything in the sky, which thereby becomes pitch-dark' (thus Langen).

For *premit* (OLD 17 '(of darkness, etc.) To cover, hide, overshadow') cf. in storm scenes Ov. *Met.* 11.521 *caecaque nox premitur tenebris hiemisque suisque* and Sen. *Ag.* 493 *premunt tenebrae lumina* (= eyes), hardly a 'zufällige sprachliche Verbindung' (Bömer on the former passage). The verb varies on Virgil's *incubat* (*A.* 1.89).

2b. *the first effects on the Argo* (618–621)

618–621a

> excussi manibus remi conversaque frontem
> puppis in obliquum resonos latus accipit ictus,
> vela super tremulum subitus volitantia malum
> turbo rapit.

excussi … remi: in V. *A.* 9.476 *excussi manibus radii* shock makes Euryalus' mother drop her shuttles, whereas here it is the physical force of the gale which knocks the oars out of the rowers' hands. In nautical contexts Virgil also has (*A.* 1.115) *excutitur … magister* and (ib. 6.353) the extremely daring *excussa magistro* (sc. *navis*), but in the exactly corresponding passage (*A.* 1.104) the oars are broken: *franguntur remi*. VF construes the verb with the simple ablative again in 4.413 *excussi crinibus hydri*, and Statius has (*Theb.* 9.486) *excussumque manu tegimen*.

The rest of the sentence instructively shows how an expression can be varied by later poets. Here the general idea is that the ship's side is exposed to and battered by the wind. Virgil soberly says (*A.* 1.104f.) *prora avertit* (sc. *se*) *et undis / dat latus*. In Ovid (*Met.* 11.507) this becomes *saepe dat ingentem fluctu latus icta fragorem*: now the ship is the subject, the side (*latus*) 'accusative of respect' with *icta* ('hit on the side'), the object of the finite form (*fragorem*) denoting the crashing sound of the waves in a pseudo-periphrasis (*dare fragorem* not being equivalent to *frangere* as *saltum dare* equals *salire*, OLD s.v. *do*[1] 25). Next comes Lucan, who writes (3.628; not in 'the' storm scene) *(ratis) /… per obliquum crebros latus accipit ictus*. Instead of *dare* we have *accipere*, and the participle *icta* is replaced by the noun *ictus*. The side of the ship is mentioned in a prepositional clause, *obliquum* being introduced to denote the position of the ship with regard to the direction of the winds. Finally the changes made by VF are more subtle: *in obliquum latus* seems to modify primarily *conversa*. This verb in the sense of 'to turn' takes an adjunct denoting direction which here too is needed: the ship 'turns her prow (*frontem*, V. *A.* 5.158) to the side'. For the retained accusative after the 'middle' participle *conversa* cf. V. *A.* 12.172 *conversi lumina* 'directing their gaze', and for *(con)vertere in latus* Ov. *Her.* 21.198 *in dextrum vertor* (or *versor*) *cum venit ille latus*. There seem to be no instances of *ictum accipere in* with an accusative. Livy describes the same phenomenon more soberly (28.30.10) (*navis*) *cum infesta rostro peteret hostium navem, obliqua ipsa ictum alterius rostri accipiebat*.

resonos: 'resounding blows'. As Langen notes, the epithet usually qualifies either the locality where the sounds are heard (as in Luc. 7.480 *excepit resonis clamorem vallibus Haemus*) or the sounds themselves (Ov. *Met.* 3.496 *resonis iterabat vocibus*). Only in VF does the noun denote the cause of the sounds; in Sil. 3.348 *resonas … plaudere caetras*, equally listed in OLD 2, the adjective is a (proleptic) qualification of the sounding object, not of the thing causing the sound, as here.

vela … rapit: 'a sudden squall flaps the sails fluttering over the trembling mast', both *tremulum* and *volitantia* being used proleptically. Virgil does not relate a comparable event; VF follows Ovid (*Met.* 11.470 *vela … spectat summo fluitantia malo*) and Lucan (5.595f. *turbo rapax fragilemque super volitantia malum / vela tulit*). Keeping *turbo* and *rapax / rapit* in the same position he replaced *fragilem* by *tremulum* (which Lucan had in another maritime context 2.621 *ut tremulo starent contentae fune carinae*) and changed *rapax … tulit* into (*subitus …*) *rapit*, making the diction more graphic in both cases. The line contains a double and chiastic alliteration *v-—su-—su-—v-*. In 4.262 VF takes over Lucan's *turbo rapax* (in a different sense). For *vela … rapit* cf. 645f. below *rapta … / vela notis*.

2c. *the reactions of the crew are described at some length* (621–637)

621b–624

qui tum Minyis trepidantibus horror
cum picei fulsere poli pavidamque coruscae
ante ratem cecidere faces antemnaque laevo
prona dehiscentem cornu cum sustulit undam.

qui tum … etc.: for exclamations of the type 'what were his (her, etc.) feelings, when …' cf. note on 291 above *quis tibi, Phrixe, dolor*. The line discussed here seems to be the only one with a noun in the dative; in all former instances it is a pronoun. The (sailors') state of mind, usually expressed with *animus* etc., is here made explicit by the noun (*horror*) and the participle (*trepidantibus*).

cum … poli: there is no need to read with Heinsius *spissi* instead of *picei* to avoid iteration of the adjective; repetition of the same word did not bother Latin poets (cf. three instances of *plenus* in 230–235 above). The opposition between *picei* and *fulsere* serves to illustrate the bright flashes of lightning against the dark sky. The verb, here replacing Virgil's *micat* (*A.* 1.90), denotes lightning in *A.* 4.167 *fulsere ignes*.

The line shows a marked alliteration *pi-—po-—pa-* and a strong personification in that the ship itself is called *pavida* (it was *laeta* in Jason's alluring words in 170f. above). Cf. *trepidus* qualifying vehicles in 6.154 (*plaustris*) and ib. 401 (*currus*), and for the idea 2.588 *terruit unda ratem.*

coruscae … faces: the adjective qualifies nouns meaning 'lightning' in Hor. *Carm.* 1.34.6 (*igni*), *Epic. Drusi* 321f. (*fulminibus*), Ov. *Fast.* 6.635 (*igne*); cf. *Arg.* 6.55f., Stat. *Theb.* 1.216f., *Silv.* 1.5.6f., Sil. 6.605f., 15.143f., 712f. With *faces* it occurs in Luc. 3.498f. and Sil. 8.650f. Its use with the metaphorical *fulguribus* in Lucr. 5.295f. suggests that it was well established by then as a qualification of 'lightning' in its literal sense; cf. also V. *G.* 1.328f. *corusca / fulmina molitur dextra* (where see Mynors' discussion). For *fax* meaning 'lightning' see note on 569 above. *cadere* is said of lightning as in Lucr. 2.215 and 6.297, V. *G.* 1.487.

antemnaque … undam: this improbable phenomenon, which seems to be mentioned only here in Latin literature, presents the yard-arm dipping into the water on one side (port) as a result of the ship listing, and then rising again, taking some sea-water with it into the air. Apart from the situational hyperbole the diction is bold (see note below on *undam*). Still more novel is what Statius makes of it: *Theb.* 5.373ff. *puppemque insana flagellat / arbor et instabili procumbens pondere curvas / raptat aquas.*

laevo … cornu: for the noun denoting the yard-arm see note on 312. The use of the singular is exceptional; cf. Stat. *Silv.* 3.2.9f. *antemnae gemino considite cornu, / Oebalii fratres.*

prona: an odd word to describe sideward movement, since its usual meaning is 'forward', and occasionally 'downward' (as in Cic. *Tusc.* 1.42 *nihil … habent haec duo genera proni et supera semper petunt*); this last notion of course is present here as well. The nearest parallel seems to be [Tib.] 3.7 (= *Paneg. Mess.*).42 (*libra*) *prona nec hac plus parte sedet nec surgit ab illa.*

dehiscentem … undam: the expression is taken from V. *A.* 1.106 (cf. also ib. 5.142) and occurs again in *Arg.* 2.587f. Seneca has (*Ag.* 499) *dehiscens pontus*, where see Tarrant for further references to the same topic. Here the diction is complicated in that *undam* in combination with *dehiscentem* denotes 'wave', but with *sustulit* 'sea-water', a not too felicitous blend of meanings. For *cum* taking sixth place in the sentence cf. 82 above.

625–629

> non hiemem missosque putant consurgere ventos
> ignari, sed tale fretum. tum murmure maesto:
> 'hoc erat inlicitas temerare rudentibus undas
> quod nostri timuere patres? vix litore puppem
> solvimus et quanto fremitu se sustulit Aegon!

non … ignari: it has been observed that this cannot have been the first storm the Minyans ever saw, and that Jason had anticipated it (197; Langen). There is some truth in this (cf. also 151f., 265f., 306, 330f.), but actually being in a storm for the first time at sea is not quite the same as watching it from the land.

consurgere is probably to be connected only with *ventos*, not with *hiemem* (as Mozley and Liberman take it); it seems better to translate with Spaltenstein '(they did not believe) that this was a storm, that' (explicative *-que*) 'winds arose because they were set free'. *consurgere* is said of winds in V. *A.* 5.20, *Aetna* 307 (also a line ending *consurgere ventos*), Plin. *Nat.* 2.114; it is not attested with *hiem(e)s*. Schottus' *iussosque* is not bad, but not necessary either; for *missos* cf. V. *A.* 1.125 *emissamque hiemem*.

ignari: their ignorance, set off by the run-on, causes them to ask (630f.) if it can get even worse.

sed tale fretum: 'that this was just the nature of the sea', *i.e.* not an event caused by special circumstances. By ascribing this essentially true assumption to ignorant people the poet suggests that storms are not a natural phenomenon, which serves him well since he will not have to report any other tempest during the rest of the voyage: Neptune will see to that (642ff.).

murmure maesto: cf. Luc. 1.607 *maesto cum murmure*, [Sen.] *Oct.* 923 *maestum fundere murmur*. For the 'collective monologue' cf. Eigler 19–23. Lipscomb 44f. notes that VF has four more 'collective speeches': 2.113f., 4.327ff., 5.17ff. and ib. 550ff.

hoc … patres: the sentence is probably to be construed as in 8.160ff. and in V. *A.* 2.664ff.: 'was this the reason why our parents feared …?'; (cf. OLD s.v. *timeo* 4). Austin ad l. cites two similar passages in Plautus. Alternatively (Spaltenstein, Dräger) we could think of 'was this the desecration our parents feared?'.In view of the *Aeneid*-passage and Prop. 2.24.17 (also cited by Austin) *hoc erat … quod me gaudere iubebas?* it seems preferable to take the sentence as a question, not a conclusion as is commonly done; cf. also 630f. *hocine …?*

inlicitas … undas: referring back to 197 *inlicitas temptare vias*. In Stat.

Theb. 1.223 *ire per inlicitum* (used substantively) it is reversely the sea that encroaches on the land.

temerare: because in 197 (quoted above) the verb is *temptare*, this was inevitably proposed here as well. But this verb is more appropriate with *vias* than with *undas*, containing as it does an element of 'attempting' (see note on 197), and moreover *temerare* is well attested in several parallel places: 801 below (*temerato litore*; this combination also in Luc. 3.194 with reference to the expedition of the Argonauts!), Plin. *Nat.* 14.5.52 (*maria*), Sen. *Med.* 614 (*ponti iura*). Cf. further Hor. *Carm.* 1.3.24 *non tangenda … vada* and Pedo *poet.* 22 *et sacras violamus aquas*.

rudentibus: an unparalleled synecdoche for 'ships', the more remarkable because this is the only occurrence of the noun (properly 'ropes, hawsers') in the *Argonautica*. Cic. *Tusc.* 5.40 *rudentibus apta fortuna* (translated from Plutarch) seems to come closest.

There is no obvious reason for the emphatic *nostri* or for the verbal and metrical correspondence with Luc. 5.501 *quod iussi timuere fretum*.

vix … solvimus: it is normal for the verb to govern nouns denoting 'ship' (OLD 4b), but the simple ablative (*litore*) for the place of departure seems unparalleled. There is a marked similarity (four words in common) to Stat. *Silv.* 5.1.242ff. *sic ubi magna novum Phario de litore puppis / solvit iter iamque innumeros utrimque rudentes / lataque veliferi porrexit bracchia mali / invasitque vias*, where *solvere iter* is Statius' contribution to poetic syntax.

vix … et: cf. V. *A.* 5.857f. (OLD s.v. *vix* 3b), where see Williams.

quanto … fremitu: the noun is already used to describe the roar of the (stormy) sea in Cicero (*Tusc.* 5.116, *Fin.* 5.5); also in Hor. *Carm.* 3.27.23 *aequoris nigri fremitum* (cf. V. *G.* 2.160). For *fremere* in this sense cf. Luc. 4.101 and *Arg.* 4.687.

se sustulit: there seem to be no other instances of this expression with 'sea, waves' etc. as subject, but cf. *tollere* 601 (and note).

Aegon: this designation for the Aegaean Sea only occurs in Flavian poetry: in VF again 4.715 and in Stat. *Theb.* 5.56 and 88.

630–632

> hocine Cyaneae concurrunt aequore cautes,
> tristius an miseris superest mare? linquite, terrae,
> spem pelagi sacrosque iterum seponite fluctus!'

hocine … mare: rightly printed by Courtney, Ehlers, Spaltenstein and Dräger (not by Liberman) as a disjunctive question; cf. 759f. below.

Langen takes *hocine* in the sense of *tali*: 'will we find the Symplegades in such a turbulent sea?'. It seems better to interpret (with Mozley, Liberman and Spaltenstein) *hocine* in a geographical sense: 'is this the sea in which the Symplegades are wandering?', *i.e.*: 'is this the worst that can happen to us or are we to expect still greater dangers?' (but they must know that they cannot have arrived at the Cyanean rocks already, so the answer is implied). Knowledge of the Clashing Rocks was present in Thessaly (59f.) and would with reasonable certainty have reached the Argonauts. The alliteration is strong: in 630 (a golden line) *Cy—con—cau*, 631 *t—m—m—t-*, 632 *sp—sa—se-*. For the form *hocine* see note on 151 *hacine*.

Cyaneae ... cautes: in 60 above the name is used as a noun (see note). In adjectival form it recurs in VF 2.382 (where see Poortvliet) and 8.193 with *montes* (as in Stat. *Theb.* 11.438), 4.638 and 658 with *rupes*, 5.482 with *fragores* and 7.41f. again with *cautes* (as in Luc. 2.716). For *concurrunt* cf. note on 59.

tristius: in the sense of 'harsh, grim, savage' (OLD 7) this adjective does not often qualify nouns denoting 'sea'. Ov. *Her.* 18.143 comes closest with *freta tristia* (in the story of Phrixus). Cf. also Mart. 7.19 (on the Argo).3f. *quam nec Cyaneae quondam potuere ruinae / frangere nec Scythici tristior ira freti.*

superest: cf. V. *A.* 5.615f. *heu, tot vada fessis / et tantum superesse maris!*, with a dative as here (*miseris—fessis*). In the meaning 'to remain (to be) faced' (Goodyear on Tac. *Ann.* 1.67) VF has it again in 5.236.

linquite ... pelagi: the reading in the first editions *linquite terras / spe pelagi* is not impossible in itself (the imperative used in a sarcastic way as for instance in V. *A.* 4.381 *i, sequere Italiam ventis, pete regna per undas*; cf. also Juv. 12.57f.). But the following imperative *seponite* is not to be interpreted that way and the mss. tradition is not too difficult to understand. Yet the use of *terrae* for its inhabitants goes farther than in earlier authors; in Virgil it occurs in the dative form (*A.* 6.869 *ostendent terris hunc tantum fata*); in Sen. *Her.F.* 250f. *sensere terrae pacis auctorem suae / abesse* and *Arg.* 1.607 the lands are the subject of the phrase, whereas here they are addressed (and only here put in opposition to the sea). Also *spem linquere* for *deponere* is exceptional; TLL 7.2.43f. '(negligendo, destituendo'). In Sil. 13.287 it means 'to forsake, betray' someone else's hope.

seponite ... fluctus: the only, but at the same time decisive, parallel is Sen. *Med.* 339 *mare sepositum* (Costa: '*sepositum* suggesting a thing apart, unsullied by human contact'). This is accentuated by *sacros* 'sacred,

sacrosanct' (OLD 5); cf. especially Sen. *Suas.* 1.4 *sacrum quiddam terris natura circumfudit Oceanum.* Although the epithet could be taken proleptically, a causal interpretation seems more natural. *iterum* of course does not modify *seponite*, but *sacros* or (preferably) the thought as a whole 'so that the former situation is established again'.

633–635a

> haec iterant segni flentes occumbere leto.
> magnanimus spectat pharetras et inutile robur
> Amphitryoniades.

iterant: remarkable after *iterum* in the preceding line. The repetitive aspect of the verb is rather weak here, even more so than in 29 above. TLL 7.2.549.9ff. ('referre … inde vi attenuata fere i.q. dicere') gives several other instances from Plautus to Statius. The parallel Stat. *Theb.* 5.694 *sic meritam Hypsipylen iterant* is notable because the preceding line ends with *occumbere leto.*

segni … leto: the adjective contains a strong suggestion that this kind of death is undignified (because it is impossible to take heroic action against it). This idea is more frequently expressed with *ignavus* (Ov. *Met.* 8.518, Luc. 4.165, Stat. *Theb.* 7.742, Sil. 9.512 and 14.607). In the only parallel where drowning is meant (Ov. *Tr.* 1.2.51) the adjective is *miserabile.* For *segnis* in similar contexts cf. Liv. 40.4.14 *segnior mors* (one of two ways of suicide), Luc. 9.849 *segnia fata*, Tac. *Ann.* 14.58 *segnem mortem*, and VF 6.290 *segnius* (adv.).

flentes: the subject of the accusative and infinitive may be omitted here as in 7.574f. *qui modo virgineis servari cantibus Idas / flebat* (K/S 1.700f.), but of course we could read *flentes se occumbere* with haplography of *s* (for *se* elided in VF cf. 701 below, 2.218, 8.109 and 387). With the accusative expressed the verb is not uncommon in classical poetry from V. *Ecl.* 3.78 on. It is impossible to ascertain the case of *leto* since *occumbere* is sometimes construed with a dative as in V. *A.* 2.62 *certae occumbere morti* (where see Austin, who cites the present passage among the parallels), sometimes with an ablative, as in Luc. 4.165 *ignava* (!) *occumbere morte.*

magnanimus is the epithet of Hercules, as in Luc. 4.611 *magnanimum Alciden.* For *Amphitryoniades* see note on 375. The combination with *pharetras* shows that here he is looking at his club (*robur*), not at his strong body; cf. V. *A.* 8.220f., Sen. *Her.F.* 1117ff., Stat. *Silv.* 3.1.34f. (in the last two instances *pharetrae* also occur), ib. 4.6.42, *Theb.* 4.163. VF has it again in this sense 2.534 *nodosi roboris ictus*; contrast 561 above,

where it means 'strength'. For the role of Hercules in the *Argonautica* see note on 35, 107ff. The poetic plural *pharetrae* (probably 'quiver and arrows'; Ov. *Met.* 1.559, 4.306 and 308) recurs in 661 below, 3.663, 4.30, 5.425, and should probably be assumed in Stat. *Theb.* 7.353 as well. For the prosody see Korn on 4.30.

inutile robur recalls V. *A.* 2.510 *inutile ferrum.* The fact that Hercules is singled out as being powerless in the circumstances serves to illustrate the general despondency of the Argonauts, silently including Jason, who in VF's account does not speak at all during the storm as Aeneas did.

635b–637a

miscent suprema paventes
verba alii iunguntque manus atque ora fatigant
aspectu in misero toti,

miscent expresses on its own the reciprocity of the (presumed) 'last words'. In other passages this character of the verb is brought out either by means of a preposition (*inter* or *cum*) or by the meaning of the noun (*sermones, oscula*), or both. Exceptions are Luc. 3.354 and Stat. *Theb.* 11.535f. (after V. *A.* 12.720), all with *vulnera.*

suprema: OLD 4 'performed, experienced, etc., for the last time in one's existence (*i.e.* when dying)'. VF's *verba* is simple compared with combinations like *supremo ore* (*-ma voce*) in Ovid (*Met.* 8.521, *Tr.* 3.3.87; *Her.* 2.97).

paventes: Virgil in his version of the storm nowhere expressly mentions the obvious; *frigore* (*A.* 1.92) comes closest.

iunguntque manus: earlier with *dextram* (*-as*); OLD 4, TLL 8.361.37ff. With *manus* in Ov. *Met.* 9.314, *Ars* 2.254. In Luc. 1.117 an element of *manus* 'troops' may be present as well. Cf. further Sen. *Thy.* 558, *Nat.* 2.16.

ora fatigant: for a long time this expression has been taken as referring to kisses (thus Langen and TLL 6.1.349.48). It rather denotes an intent gaze (cf. *Mnem.* 1989:434), as in Sen. *Ep.* 8.1 and 58.25 *oculos ... fatigatos* and [Quint.] *Decl.* 12.8 *oculos fatigavi.* Cf. also Ov. *Met.* 11.547 (Ceyx) *inque domum supremos* (!) *vertere vultus.* However in VF the men do not look at their homeland, but at each other (*miscent*; *iungunt*). So there is a tricolon: words—handshakes—looks. For *os* 'implying the gaze' OLD 10 gives numerous examples. Liberman rightly translates 'épuisent leurs yeux'.

aspectu in misero: the noun denotes that which is seen, not the act of seeing; cf. Cic. *Phil.* 2.73 *auctionis … miserabilis aspectus* and Tac. *Hist.* 4.72.2 *legionum miserabilis aspectus*, like *spectaculum miserum* (as *e.g.* in Cic. *Ver.* 2.1.76).

Very probably *toti*, whether after *aspectu* (Beck in his review of Harles' edition, see Courtney LV and Liberman CXIII) or, preferably, after *misero* (Köstlin 1886), is the correction for mss. *tota* (cf. *Mnem.* 1989:433). Langen's parallels, including *totus in illis* (Hor. *S.* 1.9.2) and Ovid's *in prece totus eram* (*Fast.* 6.251), are fairly convincing. Liberman, still printing an obelized *tota*, hesitates to accept Köstlin's correction because 'VF does not have elisions of *-u* before *in*' (p. 168), but on that ground he should rather have obelized the uniformly transmitted *aspectu in*; anyway his objection does nothing to disprove Beck's solution *aspectu toti in misero.*

2d. *the ship takes in water and is in imminent danger* (637–641)

637b–641a

cum protinus alnus
solvitur et vasto puppis mare sorbet hiatu.
illam huc atque illuc nunc torquens verberat Eurus,
nunc stridens Zephyris aufert Notus. undique fervent
aequora,

The transition from the panic of the sailors to the actual damage caused to the ship is made within the sentence. Likewise in 641 the subordinate clause with *cum* introduces the next element of the story, namely the intervention of Neptune. This rather unusual procedure creates the effect of a close-knit series of fast moving events.

cum protinus is a new variation on *cum subitus* (641; *-o*, *repente*) etc., probably on the analogy of *protinus ut.* VF repeats this combination in 4.222. Note that V. *A.* 3.416 is different in that *protinus* there denotes spatial continuity, not temporal immediacy. For the metonymy *alnus* 'ship' see note on 203.

solvitur seems to denote nothing more than that the ship takes water. Ordinarily this would mean its destruction, as in 8.358 and in Ov. *Met.* 11.664, *Tr.* 1.2.2, *Pont.* 1.4.17, but here Neptune as the 'deus ex mari' will come to the rescue. Other ways to describe the same phenomenon are *laxis … compagibus …/… rimis … fatiscunt* (V. *A.* 1.122f.), *labant cunei /…/ rima patet* (Ov. *Met.* 11.514ff.), *victis compagibus* (Luc. 5.596, with *alnus* again).

sorbet: V. *A*. 3.422 (Charybdis) *sorbet in abruptum fluctus*, [Sen.] *Oct*. 319 (*ratis*) *pressa dehiscit sorbetque mare*, Sen. *Nat*. 6.6.2 (*navigia*) *aquam sorbeant*; OLD 3c. Lucan has (3.261) *Tigrim subito tellus absorbet hiatu*.

vasto … hiatu: in Sen. *Dial*. 6 (= *Consol. ad Marc*). 17.2 (*Charybdin*) *magno hiatu profundoque navigia sorbentem* the noun denotes the gaping mouth, but in Plin. *Ep*. 5.6.37 (describing a fountain) (*aqua*) *expulsa in altum in se cadit iunctisque hiatibus et absorbetur et tollitur* openings are described through which water passes. The noun is not common in similar contexts, but cf. Ov. *Tr*. 5.12.27 *rimis … dehiscit* (sc. *cymba*) and Sen. *Ep*. 30.2 *navigio dehiscenti*. Conversely, water itself is said to 'gape' (see note on 624 above).

The ablative could be seen as '(locally) through' or (causally) 'as a result of'. Probably neither the author nor the reader would have felt any real distinction here.

illam huc atque illuc torquens: cf. V. *A*. 1.116f. *illam ter fluctus ibidem / torquet agens circum*. A wind is the subject of the verb in Stat. *Theb*. 1.350f. *Auster /… tenebrosa volumina* (clouds?) *torquens*. In a figurative sense Cicero has (*Cael*. 13) *versare suam naturam … atque huc et illuc torquere ac flectere*. The adverbs are also coupled in Lucr. 2.131 (*nunc h. nunc i*.), V. *A*. 4.363 (*huc illuc*), Hor. *Carm*. 4.11.9 (*h. et i*.).

verberat: used with 'wind' as subject in Lucr. 1.271 (object *corpus* Q^2 or *pontum* Mar.) and Sen. *Ep*. 83.7 *vento silvam verberante*.

nunc … Notus: the winds are playing with the vessel (cf. Hom. *Od*. 5.331f., Luc. 5.597–620). *Zephyris* here has to be taken as a dative governed by *aufert* 'the South wind takes the ship away from the West wind'. Thus VF changes Virgil's ablative *stridens Aquilone procella* (*A*. 1.102), omitting again (cf. 639) the North wind. In Luc. 5.569ff. the Zephyrs are again in the plural (and there the South winds as well) against sg. *Notus*.

stridens is here, as in V. *A*. 1.102 (cited above), used to denote the shrieking of the storm; likewise in Luc. 9.113 (as the context shows) *stridensque rudentibus Eurus*. Elsewhere the sound is heard in more favourable circumstances, for instance 2.585 *stridentes aurae* (see Poortvliet), Stat. *Ach*. 2.20 *Noto stridente*.

undique: 'on every side or surface, all over, all round' (OLD 2b). *fervent*: TLL 6.1.593.1ff. ('… fluctuare, aestuare, spumare, maxime de mari, aquis, ventis') gives as the first instance Pacuv. *trag*. 416 *fervit aestu pelagus*; furthermore Lucr. 6.442, V. *G*. 1.327, Ov. *Met*. 11.549, 14.48, Luc. 5.234, Sen. *Ag*. 561, *Med*. 942.

2e. *sudden intervention by Neptune* (641–650)

641b–646

cum subitus trifida Neptunus in hasta
caeruleum fundo caput extulit. 'hanc mihi Pallas
et soror hanc' inquit 'mulcens mea pectora fletu
abstulerint; veniant Phariae Tyriaeque carinae
permissumque putent. quotiens mox rapta videbo
vela notis plenasque malis clamoribus undas!

cum subitus: a frequent combination (K/S 2.339f.); see note on 637 *cum protinus* and Poortvliet on 2.477.

The remarkable use of *in* (*hasta*) seems to be the final stage of a development from 1) clothing (*e.g.* V. *A.* 7.167 *ignota … in veste*) and 2) armour (as in V. *A.* 11.710 *paribusque resistit in armis*) through 3) weapons, first of an army (Enn. *Ann.* 506 *sequuntur in hastis*), then of an individual hero (V. *A.* 5.37 *horridus in iaculis*), to 4) a single spear, where *in* denotes 'leaning on' (*Arg.* 4.281, 8.133) and finally 5) cases where the preposition means hardly more than 'with', as here and 5.462 below. Statius excludes the notion of 'leaning on' by writing *in hasta / eminet* (*Theb.* 4.221f.) and *aeria … in hasta* (*Theb.* 7.669, where see Smolenaars). Cf. *Mnem.* 1989:434f.

For the adjective *trifidus* see Bömer on Ov. *Met.* 2.325. There seems to be no other instance of it qualifying the trident; apparently VF took the word from Ovid and used it as a variation on *Met.* 1.330f. *positoque tricuspide* ('Hapaxlegomenon', Bömer) *telo / mulcet aquas rector pelagi*. Claudian probably knew both poets: *Rapt. Pros.* 2.181 *trifida Neptunus cuspide*. When associated with Neptune, *tridens* seems to have been used only as a noun (OLD b). *caeruleum … caput*: in the model passage Virgil writes (*A.* 1.127) *summa placidum caput extulit unda*; in *G.* 4.352 he had the same phrase but with *flavum*. VF preferred the colour that was often associated with sea or river deities (OLD 3a). With regard to Neptune himself, the adjective occurs in Ov. *Met.* 1.275 *caeruleus frater* (but cf. already Cic. *N.D.* 1.83 *oculos … caeruleos esse Neptuni*), to his horses in Stat. *Ach.* 1.78 and to his trident in Sil. 14.13.

fundo (*extulit*): Virgil has *summa … unda*, which sounds more natural. TLL 6.1.1574.81 says: 'hic illic accedit ad eam significationem q.e. "profundum, altum mare"'; but in V. *A.* 2.419, a passage adduced there, it clearly still means 'from the bottom', as ib. 5.178 and 7.530, always with *imo* added (cf. *Arg.* 8.366). Nowhere else is someone said to raise his head 'from the bottom' instead of 'from the surface'. Therefore we have

here another instance of VF's brachylogical diction: '(coming) from the bottom he thrusts his head (above the waters)'.

Neptune had been mentioned or referred to in 188 (*rector aquarum*), 194–203 (in Jason's prayer) and 211ff. (the prophecy of Mopsus). The only other instance of direct speech by the sea-god is in 4.118–130 (Eigler 64–69). Here he acquiesces in the salvation of the Argo, provided that this will be a unique case: later ships will have to face all the dangers of seafaring, and future generations will have no reason to thank the Argonauts for their initiative.

The speech begins within the line, whereby the unexpected suddenness of Neptune's intervention is accentuated again.

hanc: in his agitation Neptune feels no need to add the noun. The anaphora adds to the effect: 'this one, and only this one'.

mihi … abstulerint: as in 640 the verb means 'to take away (here: safely)' and the dative must denote 'from me', which is unusual. One might compare Sen. *Her.O.* 1271f. *mihi / fletum abstulisti* (has caused to weep).

Pallas / et soror: Neptune has clearly heard the words of Mopsus 214–216: … *sic pectora fratris, / Iuno, tene, tuque o puppem ne desere, Pallas: / nunc patrui, nunc flecte minas*. While Juno was a full sister of Neptune (*soror*), Pallas was his niece (hence *patrui*). Strictly speaking *mulcens … fletu* belongs only to *soror*, and *pectora* (repeated from 214 above) could strenghten that impression. On the other hand *mulcens* etc. here denotes a mental, not a physical way of soothing, as is apparent from the parallels in Virgil: *A.* 1.197 *dictis maerentia pectora mulcet* and ib. 5.464 *mulcens dictis*. So we have to take *pectora* as 'heart', *fletu* as instrumental rather than denoting manner, and the participle as belonging to Pallas as well (216 *flecte minas*).

abstulerint … veniant: the first subjunctive is clearly concessive and the second optative, so in a way we have here a paratactic expression instead of *si modo veniant*.

For *Phariae* see Poortvliet on 2.318. The *Tyriae carinae* appeared in 17 above, whereas Egyptian vessels are implied by *Nilus* (20). There is hardly any significance in the fact that Greek ships are not mentioned here.

permissumque putent: this is what Jason thinks, or pretends to think, when he persuades Acastus to join the expedition: 169 *permissum est*. On the other hand he called travel by sea *inlicitus* (197); cf. 627 above. In *putent* the grammatical subject *carinae* stands for the sailors (or 'men, people' in general).

quotiens … *notis*: echoing Alcimede's despair in 330 *quotiens* … etc. *rapta* … *vela*: as had already befallen the Argonauts in 620f. *vela* …/ *turbo rapit*. Ehlers rightly prints *notis* not *Notis*; Neptune means the winds in general, not the South wind in particular. The same goes for *notos* 652 below, *notis* 4.106 and *noti* 6.411 (Ehlers is not consistent in this).

malis clamoribus: Heinsius was the first to suggest *aliis* for *malis*, in the sense of 'repeated, uttered again' (similibus eorum qui nunc audiuntur), referring to such passages as 2.382, 4.575 and 7.92. Shackleton Bailey 1977 also proposed *aliis*, but with a diametrically opposed meaning, namely 'different', no longer cheerful but despairing. Ehlers and Liberman took this over. However, there is nothing in the text to indicate 'joyful cries' from which the later ones would differ, and *aliis* with the meaning Heinsius gives would be rather otiose. (Heinsius himself put forward *aliis* simply as a suggestion, the way he often does, not as being preferable to the vulgate). In fact *malis*, though not attested elsewhere with forms of *clamor*, could well mean 'distressed' (cf. OLD 1 'unpleasant, distresssing, painful, …' and Dräger's 'von argem Geschrei'). Spaltenstein's 'detestable' (because the crying sailors were themselves responsible for their situation) is rather far-fetched. *clamor* is combined with *maestus* in Ov. *Met.* 8.447, Sen. *Her.F.* 1108, Sil. 3.437, 4.775, 10.402; with *tristis* in V. *A.* 12.409, Sen. *Apoc.* 12.3, Sil. 5.586, Amm. 28.5.6, and with *flebilis* in Liv. 9.7.4 and 22.60.1. If it were simply a conjecture *malis* would not immediately carry conviction, but it is not less acceptable than *aliis* and is in fact the mss. reading. Here it would denote despair rather than sorrow. Without epithet *clamor* is heard in a storm in V. *A.* 1.87 and Stat. *Theb.* 3.56f. Watt's suggestion *novis* (Delz-Watt 1998) gives good sense, but is rather far from the mss reading.

plenas … *undas*: the adjective is not usual in the sense of 'filled with sounds', but VF carries this use even further in 8.455f. *veluti nox illa sonaret / plena lupis*. The verb *implere* however is frequently used in this sense (OLD 1c; cf. 21 above). Ovid was the first to do this with 'waves' (over which, not on which, the sounds are heard) for the object: *Met.* 11.666 *impleruntfluctus*. VF follows him again in 4.665 *implevit pontum fragor*, 6.566 *implevit plangore lacus*.

Note that Neptune's declared reason for letting this ship pass is the personal intervention by Juno and Pallas, but at the same time the prospect of causing damage and drowning later on amply compensates for this complaisance.

647–650

> non meus Orion aut saevus Pliade Taurus
> mortis causa novae; miseris tu gentibus, Argo,
> fata paras nec iam merito tibi, Tiphy, quietum
> ulla parens volet Elysium manesque piorum'.

meus Orion: for Orion as Neptune's son cf. 2.507 (and Poortvliet ad l.) and 4.122f. (where see Korn). The originally long first vowel of his name (Hom. *Il.* 18.486 (Hes. *Op.* 615) and 488 (= *Od.* 5.274), 22.29) is sometimes shortened in Latin authors (*e.g.* V. *A.* 1.535, *Arg.* 2.62 and 4.123), but not in 2.508; cf. Bömer on Ov. *Fast.* 5.493. The setting of Orion in November was considered to be the beginning of the season when storms made navigation dangerous or impossible: Hes. *Op.* 618ff., AR 1.1201f., V. *A.* 4.52 and 7.719, Hor. *Epod.* 10.10, 15.7, *Carm.* 1.28.21, 3.27.17f.

saevus Pliade Taurus: the sg. *Plias* for the constellation mostly known as the Pleiades is not unusual in Latin poetry (OLD s.v. *Pleias* (etc.) 2 and Langen); in VF again in 2.357 and 406, 4.269 (in the last two instances it stands metonymically for 'storm'). The Pleiades too, when setting (in the morning) in November, signalled bad weather; their name was already coupled with Orion's in Hom. *Il.* 18.486 (cited above) and Hes. *Op.* 619. They were also called *Vergiliae* and located in Taurus (Plin. *Nat.* 2.110, Gell. 13.9.6). Since this larger constellation does not seem to be used in itself to suggest autumn storms, we will have to take the ablative as causal; 'Taurus violent by (the presence of) the Pleiades'. The epithet *saevus* qualifies Orion in V. *A.* 7.719. Statius probably alludes to the *Argonautica* passage in *Theb.* 4.120 *Taurum aut Pl(e)iadas … aquosas*.

mortis causa novae: for the thought compare Luc. 3.193ff. (where see Hunink): *mortale genus—miseris gentibus*; *fatis—fata*; *mors una—mortis novae*. Propertius (cited in note on 545 above) already has (3.7.31ff.) *fatis* and *miseras auximus … vias*. In Stat. *Theb.* 1.109 *mors una* means 'death which is ultimately one and the same for everyone', not (as in Lucan) 'one specific way of dying'. Used in the sense of 'additional to that already existing or present' (OLD 5) *novus* does not previously seem to be coupled with *mors* or *letum*. Neptune does not deny that there will be a *nova mors*, only that it will be caused by winter storms, for those had always existed but did not bring about shipwreck before navigation existed.

miseris … gentibus: cf. *miseris* 631 (*misero* 637) and 822 *cunctae quas misit in aequora gentes*; all seafaring nations will suffer.

fata paras: for the noun cf. Propertius and Lucan cited above and Sen. *Nat.* 5.18.8 *eamus in pelagus et vocemus in nos fata cessantia*. For the combination *fata parare* TLL (6.1.364.26ff.) gives only two more instances: Ov. *Met.* 14.213 *misero mihi fata parari* and Stat. *Theb.* 5.714 *mirandaque fata parabas*; the second passage shows that the meaning does not have to be sinister. (In V. *A.* 2.121 *cui fata parent* the construction is not clear.)

nec iam merito: the reading of practically all mss., *nec tam*, is defended by Köstlin 1880, Courtney and Spaltenstein, who print it, as 'ironical': 'for you who so deserve it'. There is however hardly any room for irony in this very serious context. *nec iam* 'no longer' does not imply that formerly the mothers left behind uttered good wishes (there were no such mothers), but conveys the meaning 'in future they will wish you ill'. In this interpretation too *merito* can be taken as the dative of the participle, but the adverb would be equally possible, also in view of Stat. *Silv.* 2.7.111f. *seu pacis merito nemus reclusi* (*-um*) */felix Elysii* (*-iis*) *tenes in oris* (see van Dam). In *Silv.* 2.6.98f. *quietem / Elysiam* Statius closely echoes VF's phrase *quietum /… Elysium.* It is noteworthy that Neptune lays the blame on Tiphys, not on Jason; from his immediate observation the helmsman looks more responsible than the man who initiated the journey.

For *ulla parens* cf. 324 above *si trepidis placabile matribus aequor.*

volet: the construction *velle aliquid alicui* 'to wish something for somebody' is not very frequent (if not coupled with *optare* as in Cic. *Clu.* 178 and 188), but ancient: Pl. *Rud.* 1045 *vobis* ⟨*volo*⟩ *quae voltis*, *Pers.* 489 *numquam … tibi … quod nolis volam*, Metellus Numidicus (ap. Gell. 1.6.8) *non plus velle nobis debent* (sc. *di*) *quam parentes*. Stat. *Ach.* 1.199f. (Thetis) *quae nato secreta velit …/… (volutat)* is different in that *velit* is rather 'to want, to choose' than 'to wish'.

manesque piorum: cf. V. *A.* 5.734f. *amoena piorum / concilia Elysiumque* (and of course the famous description in 6.637ff.). Here the name is short for 'a (peaceful) sojourn in …'. Probably *manes* here denotes the place where the shades remain (OLD 3) and *-que* is explicative. *piorum* is used pregnantly: the actions of Tiphys will be the cause of so many losses that he does not deserve a place among the *pii.*

2f. *assuaging actions by Neptune conclude the storm proper* (651–658)

651–654

haec ait et pontum pater ac turbata reponit
litora depellitque notos, quos caerulus horror
et madido gravis unda sinu longeque secutus
imber ad Aeoliae tendunt simul aequora portae.

For *ait et* see note on 568. *haec ait* closes a direct speech six times in VF, against nine passages with *sic ait*.

pontum … litora: another instance of the intricate word order VF adopts after the example of Virgil. Here the subject (*pater*) to both predicates (*ait* and *reponit*) is placed with the latter, which is separated from the former by *et*. 2.365f. *insequitur … et … Eurus / intonat* is comparable, where however the epithet *niger* appears with the first predicate.

reponit: not usual for *ponit* (OLD 9) as 'makes calm (again)'. Silius has (14.623) *cum se maria alta reponunt*. The combination with (*turbata*) *litora* constitutes a kind of zeugma, the original sense of 'putting down' being absent here. Note the alliteration *po-—pa-—-po-*.

depellitque notos: the verb is not used elsewhere with 'winds' for the object. As a subject of the verb they appear in Luc. 10.242 (*Zephyri*) *ab occiduo depellunt nubila caelo* (the same line ending in Tib. 1.2.49 (*saga*) *tristi depellit nubila caelo*). As in 646 *notos* stands for the winds in general, not specifically the South wind.

quos … secutus: after the storm itself has died down, the wash of the waves it has caused still continues for some time. Langen objects to *unda* because 'it cannot be separated from the sea', but he seems to take *secutus* as 'accompanying' (ventorum comites), whereas it clearly (*longe*) means 'following in its wake', as does the rain. The ruffled surface of the sea (OLD s.v. *horror* 1b) is expressed by the combination of (*caerulus*) *horror* and (*madido gravis*) *unda* (*sinu*) for *horrida unda*. The noun in this sense occurs in Luc. 5.446 (*pontus*) *non horrore tremit* and ib. 564f. *niger inficit horror / terga maris*. Clearly influenced (four almost identical words) by V. *A.* 3.194ff. *tum mihi caeruleus supra caput astitit imber /… et inhorruit unda tenebris*, VF added the colour 'dark blue' (in 7.563 *caerulei Boreae ferus … horror* construction and meaning are different). Statius has (*Silv.* 5.4.5f.) *occidit horror / aequoris*. For the adjective cf. Cat. 64.205f. *horrida contremuerunt / aequora* (where the verb may have contributed

something, Jupiter's nod causing the sea to move); see also ib. 270 *horrificans Zephyrus proclivas incitat undas*. In Hor. *Carm.* 3.24.40f. *horrida callidi / vincunt aequora navitae* the notions of 'ruffled' and 'terrifying' seem to have been combined, as in Stat. *Silv.* 3.3.160f. *horrida supra / aequora.*

madido … sinu: the collocation *gravis unda* is Ovidian (*Met.* 11.496, 656, *Her.* 19.23; all in contexts where a storm is described); cf. Sen. *Phaed.* 1020. The combination of *unda* and *sinus* is seen in V. *G.* 4.361f. *curvata … circumstetit unda / accepitque sinu vasto* (ib. 3.238ff. the nouns are more widely separated). While this combination is slightly pleonastic, the addition of *madido* seems downright otiose. Also in view of these parallels it seems hardly possible to take this with Wagner-Lemaire as '*nubes* (?) *undis gravidae*', which was rightly rejected by Langen but surprisingly revived by Liberman, followed by Spaltenstein and Dräger; but no one has adduced any parallel for *unda* to mean 'cloud'.

For *longe secutus* (Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.86) cf. V. *G.* 3.238 (cited above) *longius* (see Mynors).

Both elements (the ruffled sea and the still-falling rain) take the same direction, after the winds, which naturally return to their place of confinement. The traditional reading has been impugned since Carrio[2] in his 'Castigationes' remarked that his codex had *ab Aeoliae … aequore portae* (he himself preferred the vulgate). Graevius (in Burman's *Sylloge*, 4.446) suggested *aequore portas*, taking *simul* as *cum*, and later added *Aeolias*. He was followed by Harles, Weichert 1813 (who however interpreted *simul* as the adverb: 'una, iunctim') and Loehbach 1872. Langen too doubted the correctness of *aequora Aeoliae portae* and printed *ad Aeoliae tendunt simul aequore portam* (in which he was unwittingly anticipated by Schrader (ap. Clausen 1955) and followed by Kramer and Courtney). However Stroh, Damsté 1921 and Samuelsson 1930 defended the transmitted reading, which was printed again by Ehlers, Liberman, Spaltenstein and Dräger. They were probably right: the genitive *Aeoliae … portae* is construed with *aequora* as 'the sea of (belonging to, lying near) the Aeolian gate' (K/S 1.414 A.1).

Cf. Ov. *Met.* 4.486f. *postes … / Aeolii* and other passages where a place is called *Aeolius* by its association with Aeolus (Ov. *Met.* 1.262 *antris*; *Fast.* 2.456, Stat. *Theb.* 3.432, *Silv.* 1.1.92, 3.2.42, Juv. 10.181, all with forms of *carcer*).

For *tendunt* cf. 2.366 *tenditque ad litora pontus*; of course *simul* does not mean 'together with the *noti* (winds)', but simply '(waves and rain) together, in one company'.

655–658

> emicuit reserata dies caelumque resolvit
> arcus et in summos redierunt nubila montes.
> iam placidis ratis exstat aquis, quam gurgite ab imo
> et Thetis et magnis Nereus socer erigit ulnis.

emicuit reserata dies: the verb *emicare* denotes the sudden appearance of light (OLD 3), as in Sen. *Nat.* 2.57.1 *fulgurat cum repentinum lumen emicuit*, Apul. *Mun.* 15 (321) *emicatque lux clara*. Daylight (which *dies* must mean here, OLD 2a) is the subject here, whereas in 4.97 (*Sol) emicuit* is followed by *traxitque diem* (see Korn ad l.). Silius after his storm scene imitates with *ecce serenato clarum iubar emicat axe* (12.637).

reserare from 'to unbar' came to mean 'to open (a place), to make visible, uncover' (OLD 4). The diction of Lucr. 1.11 *reserata viget genitabilis aura Favoni* may well have inspired VF. Furthermore Seneca has (*Tro.* 354) (*Calchas*) *arte qui reseras polum* and Statius followed in *Theb.* 5.479 (after Jason's stay on Lemnos) with *vix reserata dies*. A late echo may be found in Boeth. *Consol.* 1.3.7ff. *si … Boreas …/… clausam reseret diem, emicat … Phoebus*. Synonyms in this meaning are *recludere* (*e.g.* V. *G.* 4.52 (*Sol*) *caelumque aestiva luce reclusit*) and *aperire* (for instance Ov. *Fast.* 1.681 *caelum ventis aperite serenis*). As Langen notes, the return of light may close either night (winter, etc.) or a cloudy spell (storm, etc.).

resolvit: the action of 'clearing the sky' is ascribed to the rainbow, which is in fact no more than a concomitant phenomenon. In other instances it heralds rain (*imbrifer arcus* Tib. 1.4.44, Stat. *Theb.* 7.427 (where see Smolenaars) and 9.405, *pluvius arcus* Hor. *Ars* 18). The verb itself is used in the sense 'to open' (derived from 'to loosen') like *reserare* with such objects as *litteras* (OLD 1).

in … montes: whereas in Virgil (*A.* 1.143) Neptune simply *collectas … fugat nubes*, VF makes the picture more complete by having the clouds retreat 'to the mountain-tops', where they are supposed to be in fine weather.

iam placidis … aquis: 'from the waters now they are quiet again'. The combination of noun and adjective occurs previously in Ov. *Tr.* 3.4.16 (in a figurative sense) *haec mea per placidas cumba cucurrit aquas*; cf. also Stat. *Ach.* 1.230 *ad placidas … aquas*. Here the epithet echoes V. *A.* 1.142 *placat*. The ablative with *exstat* denotes the level from which someone or something 'stands out' here and in Ov. *Met.* 4.732 and *Tr.* 5.11.14 (*aquis*), Hor. *Epod.* 5.35 and Liv. 22.2.9 (both *aqua*); in other passages *ex* or *de* is added (*e.g.* Caes. *Gal.* 5.18.5; Ov. *Met.* 6.236). Alternatively an

ablative may be used to describe the projecting part (OLD 1b). The element *stat* stresses the equilibrium regained after the buffeting winds have disappeared (639 *torquens verberat*, 640 *aufert*).

gurgite ab imo: the normal meaning 'from the bottom of the deep' is found previously in Ov. *Met.* 6.364 and *Fast.* 3.591, later in Sil. 4.685. Clearly imitating our line, Statius writes (*Theb.* 5.371f.) *exstantem rostris modo gurgite in imo, / nunc caelo Tritona ferens*, where the ablative *rostris* probably denotes '(jutting out) from the bow' rather than 'with the bow' (see preceding note). Here *gurgite in imo* seems a typically Statian hyperbole. The passage in VF however (with *ab* for *in*) is different and somewhat difficult: the action cannot be object-oriented (the ship never having been 'on the bottom') nor very well subject-oriented, since we would hardly expect Thetis and Nereus to stand on the bottom and to push the ship from there. Probably *ab* means nothing more than '(keeping) away from'. As for *erigit*, there is no need to take it as 'to lift', since the ship has not sunk. The verb here appears to denote 'to hold up', as in Sil. 1.204 (the only instance quoted for this meaning in OLD 1e; Duff (in the Loeb edition): 'holds aloft'). Possibly VF modelled this use after the example of *tollere* as in V. *A.* 8.141 *Atlas … qui sidera tollit.*

et Thetis … et … socer: as members of Neptune's staff they take the place of Cymothoe and Triton in V. *A.* 1.144, understandably since Peleus is aboard. There is no need whatsoever for Courtney's *Pelei* instead of (mss.) *Nereus*: even without 403 (*Peleus fretus soceris*) it would have been fully clear whose father-in-law Nereus was. The two names in the nominative are in accordance with Virgil; Nereus is acting in his quality of *socer.*

magnis … ulnis: the noun sometimes replaces (forms of) *bracchia.* Other instances of lines ending on *ulnis* are Ov. *Met.* 9.652 (*teneris*; with *tollere* in the next line), Luc. 3.664 (in a naval battle), Sil. 17.312 (*ingentibus*).

3. After the storm (659–692)

The tumultuous sea-scene is peacefully rounded off with actions of thanksgiving by Jason, the crew's positive reactions and a sketch of the new and happier situation.

3a: 659–680: Jason in sacrificial attire pours wine from a golden bowl (a heirloom) in a libation (659–666) and says a prayer of thanks to the sea-gods in general and Neptune in particular (667–680)

659–666

> ergo umeros ductor sacro velatur amictu
> Aesoniamque capit pateram, quam munere gaudens
> liquerat hospitio pharetrasque rependerat auro
> Salmoneus, nondum ille furens cum fingeret alti
> quadrifida trabe tela Iovis contraque ruenti
> aut Athon aut Rhodopen maestae nemora ardua Pisae
> aemulus et miseros ipse ureret Elidis agros.
> hac pelago libat latices et talibus infit:

umeros … ductor: the retained accusative with this and similar verbs is quite normal, though mostly in forms of the perfect (Poortvliet p. 86f.). A parallel with *velare* is V. *G.* 3.383 *velatur corpora saetis*, whereas the verb governs *umeros* in Stat. *Ach.* 1.346. The combination with *amictu* is fairly frequent: Cat. 64.64 and 266, V. *A.* 3.545 (cf. ib. 405), 8.33, *Ciris* 250, *Culex* 75, [Tib.] 3.4.55, Ov. *Met.* 10.1, *Fast.* 3.363, *Ars* 3.179, Stat. *Silv.* 2.1.132, and later. *sacer* on the other hand is nowhere else attested in combination with *amictus*; Jason dresses as a priest for the solemn occasion. For *ductor* vs. *dux* see note on 164.

Aesoniam … Salmoneus: since Salmoneus was a brother of Cretheus, he was Aeson's uncle, but at the same time his grandfather, because Aeson was born of the marriage between Cretheus and his niece Tyro, daughter of Salmoneus. The bowl therefore was of a venerable antiquity. The adjective *Aesonius*, formerly applied to persons (31f. *iuvenem*, 240f. *ductor*), again later in the *Argonautica* qualifies objects as well: 3.285 (*cuspidis*), 6.653 (*hastae*), 7.17 (*urbes*). Probably Aeson had parted with this valuable object to serve as a gift for use by his son in diplomatic contacts.

munere gaudens: as this previous gift by Aeson is identified as a quiver (661 *pharetras*), so the metal of the *patera* appears to be gold (*auro*). The relative clause consisting of *quam … liquerat* passes into an independent one, of which the pronoun no longer forms a part (K/S 2.325 A.). For the line ending *munere gaudens* cf. Ov. *Ars* 3.655 and Stat. *Theb.* 12.54.

liquerat hospitio: Salmoneus had been visiting Aeson and gave him the *patera* as a present when leaving. This seems to be the only instance of *linquere* used in this sense. It is impossible to pin down the case of *hospitio*; the noun combines the notions of destination ('to his host', suggesting a dative), locality and time ('when leaving the place where he was hospitably received'), where an ablative is to be expected. Cf. TLL 7.2.1462.33f. 'hospiti eiusque domui'.

pharetras … auro: for the poetic plural *pharetras* and for the prosody see note on 634 above. *rependerat*: the verb is combined with *auro* in

Vell. 2.6.5, Sen. *Suas.* 6.3, Val. Max. 9.4.3, Plin. *Nat.* 35.55 (a rather prosaic series). In all instances the meaning is 'to give an equal or equivalent amount of gold in return'. This does not mean that the quiver itself was also made of gold, as Pius ('pharetras aureas') thought. Note that *auro repensus* Hor. *Carm.* 3.5.25 is different: there the verb means 'to redeem (with gold)'.

nondum … fingeret: this difficult clause has caused editors to propose conjectures, to assume a lacuna or to suppose we should mentally add *qualis erat*. Among the first group were Bährens (*tum* for *cum* and *qui trifida* for *quadrifida*), Sandström (*furor* for *furens*), Langen and Kramer (after de Clercq: *qui* for *cum*), Samuelsson (*confingeret* or even *confinxerat* for *cum fingeret*) and Courtney ('fort. *ut*', for *cum*). Schenkl supposed a sentence beginning with *ceu* was dropped after *furens*. Thilo finally, followed by Strand, assumed a pregnant construction based on the omission of *qualis erat*, but there appear to be no parallels for this. It seems best (cf. *Mnem.* 1989:435f.) to make the words *nondum ille furens* part of the temporal clause with *cum fingeret* etc. (of course without punctuation after *furens*): 'when he not yet in his madness fashioned an imitation of Jove's thunderbolt'. While *cum* may even take sixth position in a phrase (2.467), *nondum* is placed before the subordinating word again in 5.660 *maria et nondum qui nota subibat* (instead of *et qui maria nondum nota subibat*). There the negation affects only *nota*, whereas here *furens* and *fingeret* go together, both being negated. Liberman and Dräger endorse this interpretation. Of course it would detract from the respectability of the gift if it had been bestowed by a madman. *ille* could be used redundantly (K/S 1.626 A. 11), or preferably as referring to the later notoriety of Salmoneus (ib.622 A. 6).

fingeret neatly combines the notions of 'to make' and 'to imitate': he fabricated his own thunderbolt to rival Jupiter's. Cf. Manil. 5.94 (about Salmoneus) *dum fulmina fingit*, and note Virgil's *non imitabile fulmen* (*A.* 6.590, again about the same sinner), followed (593) by *non ille*, which would have contributed to VF's *nondum ille*.

alti … Iovis: almost every word underscores the ridiculousness of Salmoneus' behaviour: *alti* (which he himself was not), *trabe* (a tree-trunk), and *quadrifida*: he overdoes things, since the real thunderbolt is *trifidus* or *trisulcus* (see Langen's parallels). The adjective itself is Virgilian: *G.* 2.25, *A.* 7.509.

The structure of the sentence *contraque … agros* is difficult again, *ruente* (the mss. reading) being by the first editors replaced by *ruentem*, which resulted in either *contra* (sc. *Iovem*) *ruentem aut A. aut R.* (Pius) or *ruentem*

(*Iovem*) *contra aut A. aut R.* (as a second object of *fingeret*; Burman). The truth was seen by Heinsius and then universally recognized; he read *ruenti* as a dative dependent on *aemulus* (TLL 1.976.63ff.; first instance Pl. *Rud.* 240). The position of *aemulus* is somewhat awkward: rather far from *ruenti* and separating the two objects of *ureret* (*nemora* and *agros*).

For *ruere contra* cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3.4.55ff. *quid Rhoetus -que …/ Enceladus …/ contra sonantem Palladis aegida / possent ruentes?*, *Arg.* 3.706 *aspera nunc pavidos contra ruit agna leones?* and Stat. *Theb.* 8.504f. *me fulmina* (!) *contra / … ruere*. For the disjunction *contra …/ aut … aut* cf. K/S 1.588h.

Athon: obviously the first part of the line was taken from V. *G.* 1.332, where all mss. read *Athon*. This form was rejected (lately by both Thomas and Mynors) on the strength of Theocr. 7.77 ἢ Ἄθω ἢ in favour of *Atho* with equal shortening before the hiatus. Liberman and Spaltenstein assume the same for VF. But here again all mss. are unanimous, whereas Servius on the Virgil passage also reads *Athon*. So we would have to assume either that before VF wrote his work the originally written form (*Atho*) was replaced by *Athon* in all mss. of the *Georgics* that were available to Servius, or that the same thing occurred later to all mss. of VF. It seems hard to believe that such a concerted and systematical effort was made in antiquity. Virgil could very well have copied Theocritus in writing *Atho*, but as long as there is nothing to substantiate this claim we had better keep *Athon* with irregular shortening of the *-o-* in both authors.

The still-famous Mt. Athos forms the extreme point of Acte, the easternmost prong of the peninsula of Chalcidice; Rhodope is a mountain range in Thrace, somewhat more to the north. Apart from the passages in Theocritus and Virgil cited above, both names occur in Ov. *Met.* 2.217 and 222 respectively (see Bömer), but there they are separated by eleven other names. Both mountains are here selected to suggest the rough climate of Thrace when struck by the anger of Jupiter.

maestae … Pisae: the woods are called *ardua* 'high' as in Stat. *Silv.* 2.2.55, but surely here with another touch of irony. *Pisa* was not a town, but a region ('Pisatis') in Elis (V. *G.* 3.180, Ov. *Met.* 5.494). The Italian town now known under that name was called *Pisae* (V. *A.* 10.179, Luc. 2.401). The epithet *maestus* is used proleptically, as is *miseros* in the next line. A locality is called *maestus* again in 2.493; cf. Sen. *Her.O.* 187f. *maesta … silva*, *Thy.* 106f. *maestae … terrae*, Stat. *Theb.* 4.447 *maestusque Cithaeron* (and Tac. *Ann.* 1.61 *maestos locos*). For the same use of *tristis* see OLD 5f.

miseros … agros: Elis is here and in most other instances the name of the country (*agros*), but sometimes of its capital (V. *A.* 6.588f. *mediaeque per Elidis urbem / ibat ovans* (sc. Salmoneus). *ipse* stresses the absurdity of the king setting afire his own land. *agros urere* was common practice in ancient warfare (OLD s.v. *uro* 1b; for instance Liv. 22.31.2). For *miseros … agros* cf. Stat. *Theb.* 5.514 *miserae … robora silvae.*

hac … infit (cf. 193 above with note): the verb *libare* is used with wine as the object and the bowl as instrument from Virgil on: *G.* 2.192 *laticis qualem pateris libamus et auro*; in *A.* 12.174 *paterisque altaria libant* the altar, not the libation, is the object. Only the cup is mentioned in *A.* 7.245 *hoc pater Anchises auro libabat ad aras.* Conversely the instrument is omitted in *A.* 1.736 *in mensam laticum libavit honorem*, where the nature of the liquid is left undefined (see Austin on *A.* 1.686), as in Stat. *Theb.* 10.312 *sanguine permixti latices* (but with *et Bacchus* following immediately). In *A.* 5.77 finally, *hic duo rite mero libans carchesia Baccho*, bowls are the object and the wine is put in the ablative (though not an instrumental one here).

For the dative *pelago* cf. V. *G.* 4.381 *Oceano libemus*; in VF however there is an element of direction present as well. For *talibus infit* (from V. *A.* 10.860) see Poortvliet on 2.610.

667–669

> 'di quibus undarum tempestatisque sonorae
> imperium et magno penitus par regia caelo,
> tuque, fretum divosque pater sortite biformes,

Jason begins his prayer with an invocation to the sea-gods in general and Neptune in particular. The wording is inspired by such passages as V. *A.* 3.528 *di maris et terrae tempestatumque potentes* and ib. 5.235 *di quibus imperium est pelagi* (cf. ib. 6.264 with *animarum*). For the line-ending cf. V. *A.* 1.53 *tempestatesque sonoras.*

magno … caelo: the *regia* of the sea-gods, properly their palace, is here also their *regio* and their *regnum*; see note on 563 above. Like the *di caelestes* in heaven, so they live in the ocean and are its rulers. Both palaces/reigns are equal (*par*) in size (and by implication in importance). *penitus* in the first place denotes 'far in the depth', which is no doubt its primary meaning here too. The notion 'fully, completely' (modifying *par*) may be implied as well; TLL (10.1.1079.36ff.) even has it, together with Var. *L.* 8.64, as one of the 'exempla certiora', which goes rather far.

tuque: *-que*, not often coupled with a monosyllable (K/S 2.14.7), here specifies after a general expression (ib. 2.25.(3) b). *pater* is used in addressing Neptune from V. *A.* 5.14 on (*pater Neptune*). Cf. further in VF 2.605 (*pater … profundi*), 4.571 (*pater … maris*), Juv. 13.81 (*pater Aegaei Neptune*).

sortite: Cf. [Tib.] 3.5.22 *duraque sortiti tertia regna dei*, Ov. *Met.* 8.595f. *o proxima mundi / regna vagae … sortite tridentifer undae* and Sen. *Her.F.* 53 (*Ditem*) *paria sortitum Iovi*. The noun *sors* is also used to indicate one of the three realms of the world: OLD 4b).

divos … biformes: in the first place the Tritons are probably meant (half human, half fish); cf. further V. *A.* 6.286 *Scyllaeque biformes*.

670–676

seu casus nox ista fuit seu, volvitur axis
ut superum, sic stare *et opus tollique vicissim
pontus habet seu te subitae nova puppis imago
armorumque hominumque truces consurgere in iras
impulit, haec luerim satis et tua numina, rector,
iam fuerint meliora mihi. da reddere terris
has animas patriaeque amplecti limina portae!

In the following lines Jason mentions three possible causes of the storm: mere chance (luck, fortuity); a regularity in nature; an incidental action of Neptune, the addressed deity (cf. for a comparable triad Cic. *N.D.* 2.43 with Pease's commentary). In the poet's version the last explanation comes closest to the truth, only it is Aeolus who is the culprit, not his superior. So far everything is clear, but the wording of the second of these alternatives is not, as will be seen. For the phenomenon of multiple explanation see Smolenaars on Stat. *Theb.* 7.809–816.

seu … fuit: a clear echo of Luc. 5.627 (also in the storm scene) *non caeli nox illa fuit*. The metonymy of *nox* is double: since the storm did not occur at night, *nox* here stands for darkness (cf. 617 *premit nox omnia*), and this in turn for the storm in general. *ista* seems an instance of its least characteristic use '(w. little or no reference to second pers.)' (OLD 4).

For the impossible reading *staret opus* quite a few conjectures have been made (see *Mnem.* 1989:436ff.). It seems clear that we have to punctuate after (the second) *seu*: the parallelism (*ut … sic*) is between the regular rotation (*volvitur*) of the heavens and the (supposedly) regular alternation of storms and fair weather. The expression *axis superum* for *axis superus* is not attested elsewhere (cf. *sub aetheris axe* V. *A.* 2.512,

aetherium … axem Ov. *Met.* 6.175), but could be explained by the fact that Jason is addressing Neptune and here refers to his fellow deities above. If the mss. reading remains close to what VF wrote, *stare et opus* (Caussin, but already suggested by Bosscha ap. Schenkl 1883) would still be the best bet: *opus habere* is attested in Cic. *Leg.* 2.6, Ov. *Am.* 3.3.40 (not, it is true, with an infinitive, but the use of infinitive-constructions was greatly extended by and after Virgil). While moreover *et* could stand for *etiam*, the opposition *stare—tolli* is evident: for the former cf. V. *Ecl.* 2.26, for the latter 601 above. Still, it has to be admitted that *opus* is not the word which first comes to mind if one wants to denote 'a characteristic'. Madvig's *stare loco*, taken over by Langen and Mozley, is in itself possible, but still leaves us with *habet*, which is now left without any object. For the predicate Watt proposes (Delz-Watt 1998) *amat*, which is certainly attractive, but VF has this verb only in participial forms. Perhaps the corruption lies deeper (see Liberman). Note that *vicissim*, which at first sight means '(to be motionless and in vehement motion) in turns', could also be combined with *sic* denoting 'in its turn', accentuating the parallelism between sea and sky; cf. Cic. *Part.* 2 *visne igitur, ut tu me Graeco soles ordine interrogare, sic ego te vicissim … Latine interrogem?*.

subitae … imago: for *nova imago* cf. *novam … molem* 599 above. The ship 'suddenly appeared' (OLD 1c); cf. Smolenaars on Stat. *Theb.* 7.409 ('a favourite in Latin poetry').

armorumque hominumque: not an instance of the 'epic' correlative use of *-que … -que* (for which see Austin on V. *A.* 1.18; K/S 2.36), since the two nouns are coupled with preceding *puppis* (K/S 2.30). The hendiadys *armorum / hominum* for *armatorum hominum* is a much clearer case than the famous *arma virumque*.

truces … iras: Ov. *Ars* 3.502 *trux decet ira feras*. For *consurgere in iras* see OLD 9 rather than V. *A.* 9.749 and 12.729 *consurgere in ensem*, quoted as parallels by Langen; *A.* 10.90 *consurgere in arma* comes closer.

impulit: the verb is construed with an infinitive from Virgil on (*A.* 1.9ff., 2.520); K/S 1.683.

haec luerim satis: 'may this (past) punishment (the storm, which is over now) suffice'. The perfect subjunctive sometimes expresses a wish referring to the past (K/S 1.183, Sz. 331). The notion of punishment, implied by the verb, is here expressed by means of the pronoun, which is very unusual. In Luc. 2.313 *quidquid … mores* denotes the offence, not the penalty, as Fantham thinks; this is expressed by *hac caede*. For *rector* see note on 188.

tua numina … meliora mihi: 'your divine powers more favourable towards me'. For the plural *numina* where only one deity is involved cf. V. *A.* 7.297 (Juno speaking) *mea numina*, Sen. *Phaed.* 73 *tua numina*. The 'better mood' of a god or goddess (not to be taken for granted, cf. Fraenkel, *Horace* 440f.) is again expected in 2.369 *divae melioris*, whereas the dative is Virgilian: *Ecl.* 5.65 *sis bonus o felixque tuis*, *A.* 12.646f. *vosque o mihi manes / este boni*.

There is a problem with regard to *fuerint*. Its coordination with *luerim* shows that it must be another perfect subjunctive expressing a wish, not a future perfect. Therefore all attempts at explaining it as another instance of *fuerit* instead of *erit* (as in Langen, *add.*) are vain. On the other hand, unlike *luerim* it does not contain the notion of past time. Samuelsson (1899:16) may be right in supposing that *fuerint* is used instead of *sint* through the influence of *luerim*. We could compare Ter. *An.* 463 *utinam aut hic surdus aut haec muta facta sit*, but since *factum* (*-am*) *esse* automatically results in *esse*, in VF *fuerint* is more remarkable.

da … animas: for the combination of *da* with an infinitive see note on 604 *da mergere Graios*. Jason feels his responsibility for his men; *reddere terris* 'to bring them safely back to land' (OLD 2). The combination recurs in 5.293 (cf. also 6.18f. *ea vellera terris / reddere*); in 171 above it is the other way around: *ratis … caram cum iam mihi reddet Iolcon*.

has animas: in the sense 'living being' *anima* is usually qualified by an adjective or similar (OLD 6b), as in 151 above (*animae faciles*) and 237 (*ingentes … animae*). Here this seems to be omitted because the meaning is '(bring them home) alive'; cf. Ov. *Met.* 6.539, where *animam hanc* means 'this (= my) life' and ib. 14.174 *anima haec*.

patriae … portae: for the custom of clasping a gate or door on arrival home cf. V. *A.* 3.351 *Scaeaeque amplector limina portae*. This was also done on taking leave: V. *A.* 2.490 *amplexaeque tenent postis* and *Arg.* 2.168 (where see Poortvliet). The situation makes it clear that both in Virgil (first passage above) and VF *limina* does not denote the threshold but rather the door itself (cf. *postis* in the second *Aeneid*-passage), so that *portae* becomes somewhat otiose.

677–680

tum quocumque loco meritas tibi plurimus aras
pascit honos, ubicumque rotis horrendus equisque
stas, pater, atque ingens utrimque fluentia Triton
frena tenet, tantus nostra condere per urbes.'

Both the wording and meaning of this sentence have been the subject of recently revived discussion.

Pius was the first to read *pascet* for mss. *pascit*, probably considering the first part of the sentence (*quocumque … honos*) as a promise within the prayer (as Langen expressly declared), and taking *quocumque* as an indefinite, not relative, pronoun. The resulting asyndeton (with *condere* 680) was silently accepted by subsequent editors. Langen, however, felt uneasy about this and suspected a deep-lying corruption. To avoid the asyndeton Delz (1976:99) then proposed *quantusque* for *ubicumque*; he was followed in this by Ehlers. Liberman in his edition prints (along with *pascet*) *ibi, quamque* for *ubicumque*. However, they fail to take into account the unmistakable mirror-passage in 5.204ff. (see *Mnem.* 1989:438ff.). There too a promise is made by Jason (in keeping with the often observed parallelism between b.1 and b.5) in closely similar words: *honos—dona*, *aras—arae*, *nostras … per urbes—tellure mea*, *horrendus—veneranda*, *pater—pater*, *tantus—quantus*. Since in b.5 Jason promises as great honours to Thetis as are already bestowed upon other deities, it is almost certain that in the first book also future greatness is equalled to already existing cults (only in this case the same god, Neptune, is the object of veneration). We must keep mss. *pascit* (referring to contemporary practice) and translate along these lines: 'Then [= after the wish expressed in the preceding sentence has been granted] wherever the most extensive offerings are made, as is deserved on altars dedicated to you, wherever you stand, father, redoubtable by chariot and horses, and a giant Triton holds the flowing reins, in the same dimensions your statue will be set up in my native country'. The word corresponding to *tantus* is to be found primarily in *plurimus* (and secondarily in *ingens* and perhaps *horrendus*). Note that in 5.207 too there is no exact counterpart to *quam magnus* and *quantus*. This explanation (without the support of the passage in b.5) was already given by Köstlin 1878:790 and is acknowledged by Spaltenstein and Dräger.

meritas … aras: Heinsius' obviously right correction for *meritis*. The participle seems to be used not so much actively ('thy well-deserving altars', Mozley; 'qui l'auront bien mérité', Liberman) for '*quae meruerunt*') or passively ('the altars you deserve'; *quas meritus es*) but rather instead of an adverb ('as you deserve'). Cf. Sen. *Her.F.* 899 and Sil. 3.219.

plurimus … honos: VF has *honor* nine times against ten instances of *honos*. The quantity of the second *o* (long in 5.68 *honos hunc*) here and in the remaining passages cannot be determined. The use of the noun to indicate 'honours paid to the gods in the form of offerings' is well-

known (OLD 2b); the combination with 'altars' is seen already in Virgil (*A.* 1.49, 3.118). *plurimus*: 'in largest quantities' (a real superlative); cf. *summus honor* 189 above.

pascit: while fire can be said to be 'fed' (Sen. *Her.O.* 577 *ture flammas*), here it is the altar which is 'nurtured' by the offerings; this looks like another Valerian novelty, unless *pascitur* is the correct reading in Ov. *Tr.* 4.4.64.

rotis stands for *curru* as in V. *A.* 1.147 (describing Neptune in action). *equis⟨que⟩*: cf. ib. 1.156 *flectit equos curruque volans … secundo.*

horrendus (*horren et* V, *horrerent* L, *horrendus et* S) seems a strange word to denote reverence. It usually qualifies deities or powers which are evil or acting in a negative way (Polyphemus V. *A.* 3.658 and 679, and Ov. *Met.* 13.760, Charon V. *A.* 6.298, Juno V. *A.* 7.323). The intermediate sense 'awe-inspiring' (as in V. *A.* 6.10 the Sibyl, ib. 7.172 the *tectum Pici*) must be assumed here too, but is then the only instance of the word used in a positive (or at least not negative) sense in combination with an 'Olympic' deity. We would rather expect *venerandus* (as in 5.207) or even *reverendus* (which is not attested in VF).

stas: *stare* said of the deity who is represented by his or her statue is quite common (OLD 4c). The model is Ov. *Her.* 2.67f. *inter et Aegidas media statuaris in urbe, / magnificus titulis stet pater ante suis.* For *pater* see note on 669.

ingens … Triton: 'a huge statue of Triton', who is clearly acting here as charioteer for Neptune. Cf. Ov. *Her.* 7.50 *caeruleis Triton per mare curret equis* (which passage is therefore not 'unique in Graeco-Roman art and literature' as Knox states ad l.).

utrimque: 'in both hands'. *fluentia … frena*: a variation on *undantia* (V. *A.* 5.146; cf. ib. 12.471) and *fluitantia* (Ov. *Ars* 2.433; Cf. Sil. 8.283). Elsewhere *fluere* describes 'flowing' clothes or hair (TLL 6.1.971.8f.).

For *tantus* see note on 677–680. There can hardly be any doubt about the correctness of Heinsius' *condere* instead of mss. *concede.* Admittedly there are no other instances recorded of *condere aliquem* as 'to set up a statue of someone', but *ponere* is used in that way (Hor. *Carm.* 4.1.19f.) and *statuere* even in the passive form in the very model passage quoted above, Ov. *Her.* 2.67. Moreover it is in keeping with the personalized use of *stas.*

nostras … per urbes: since apart from Iolcos (171 above) there would have been few towns in Thessaly where Jason could set up statues of Neptune, he seems to be acting here as spokesman for the Greeks in general.

3b. *the reactions of the crew to the prayer* (681–685)

681–685

> dixerat haec. oritur clamor dextraeque sequentum
> verba ducis. sic cum stabulis et messibus ingens
> ira deum et Calabri populator Sirius arvi
> incubuit, coit agrestum manus anxia priscum
> in nemus et miseris dictat pia vota sacerdos.

dixerat haec: in all other instances (4) of this combination in VF it is followed by a clause introduced with *-que* (2.567, 5.397, 6.737, 7.141). For asyndetic *dixerat* see note on 182.

oritur clamor: the verb is normally used (OLD 3b) with words denoting 'shouts, cries' (as here), but its original meaning 'to rise' facilitates the slightly zeugmatic combination of *clamor* and *dextrae*: the hands are raised. There now seems to be unanimity about accepting Pius' *dextraeque* (*dextraque* mss.) and keeping *sequentum*. The expression *verba ducis sequi* 'to react to the words of the leader' is probably taken from Luc. 2.596 *verba ducis nullo partes clamore sequuntur*, where the enthusiasm is absent (*nullo clamore*). The *dextrae* do not denote 'applause' as has been thought (*e.g.* Heinsius; Giarratano): the Argonauts raise their hands in support of Jason's prayer, as is clear from Claudian's imitation (of Lucan or of VF?) 3.116f. *orantem sequitur clamor cunctaeque profanas / porrexere manus*.

sic … sacerdos: this simile ('a delicate and convincing scene', Sturt 210) compares the reassuring sacerdotal actions of Jason to that of a priest praying for deliverance from ravaging heat in a rural setting. There is also some similarity to the calming effect of the *vir pietate gravis ac meritis* in V. *A.* 1.151, but VF transposes the scene from town and politicians to country and herdsmen. Within the simile there is an opposition between the Minyans and the countryfolk in that the latter are still oppressed by nature, whereas the Argonauts now are safe (it does not matter here that they will have to face other dangers later). Cf. Shelton 1974:19 and Barich 44. For *sic cum* cf. 704 below *haud secus … cum*, and for the construction of similes in this book in general see note on 319.

stabulis et messibus: both stock-breeders and crop farmers are victims of the oppressive heat. Since it is clearly the height of summer, *stabulis* here too denotes not 'stables' but 'pastures' as in 158 above (see note).

ingens / ira deum is a stronger expression than Virgil's *ira / magna deum* (V. *A.* 5.706f.); cf. Ov. *Met.* 1.166 *ingentes … iras* (of Jupiter). Bömer further refers to Curt. 8.1.31 and Sen. *Ep.* 18.15, to which add Stat. *Theb.* 6.538. The repetition of *ingens* after its occurrence in 679 again shows that Latin poets did not see anything objectionable in this.

Sirius: the connection between the 'Dog-star' and the scorching heat of midsummer (which was supposed to begin when Sirius rose about sunrise) is often mentioned in Latin (and Greek) literature; see Wijsman on 5.369. Here the devastating effects of Sirius' appearance are ascribed to the wrath of the gods, and in fact (explicative *et*) equated with it. Cf. V. *A.* 3.215 *pestis et ira deum.*

Calabri … arvi: the heat of summer was thought to be especially destructive for the pastoral region of *Calabria* (not the present 'Calabria', but the southeast part of modern Apulia, Ital. Puglia): Hor. *Epod.* 1.27, *Carm.* 1.31.5f. *aestuosae … Calabriae / armenta.* The latter passage shows that *Calabria* was chiefly seen as a country of herdsmen, and in fact *arvi* does not necessarily denote a ploughed field: *Arg.* 3.729 *Calabris redit armentarius arvis.*

populator: elswhere characterizing men or animals, but with the verb *populari* the subject is quite often inanimate (OLD 2); cf. Smolenaars on Stat. *Theb.* 7.382. The diction here recalls Sen. *Ag.* 832 *Arcadii populator agri* (the Erymanthian boar).

incubuit: for *incumbere* in contexts describing oppressive heat (caused by the sun or fever) cf. Lucr. 6.1143, V. *G.* 2.377, Hor. *Carm.* 1.3.31, Stat. *Silv.* 3.1.53 (with *Sirius* in the next line). See also *Arg.* 2.494 with *incubat.*

coit … in nemus: for *coire in* cf. Liv. 3.38.10, 6.3.6, Ov. *Her.* 19.167, V. *A.* 9.801 (*manus*); *coit … agrestum manus* recurs in 2.460f.; and for *anxia manus* cf. Stat. *Silv.* 5.3.262 *comitum manus anxia vidit.*

priscum: not a common qualification for a forest, the only other instance being Sen. *Her.O.* 1636. The ancientness of the woods heightens the solemnity of the occasion.

miseris: as sailors in general and the Argonauts in particular were called (150, 573, 631; cf. also 637 *misero* and 548).

pia vota: 'devout prayers'; cf. note on *pia iusta* 459.

dictat: the verb is used for the more usual *praeire*; OLD 3: 'to dictate a religious or sim. formula (for another to repeat)'. Cf. Juv. 6.391 (where see Courtney's note) and Sil. 10.447. The priest speaks the words of the formulaic prayer which the countryfolk have to repeat scrupulously.

3c. *the peaceful close of the episode, adjoining a pleasant simile after the preceding sinister one* (686–692)

686–689

ecce autem molli Zephyros descendere lapsu
aspiciunt; volat inmissis cava pinus habenis
infinditque salum et spumas vomit aere tridenti;
Tiphys agit tacitique sedent ad iussa ministri,

ecce autem: on V. *A.* 2.203 Austin remarks 'the formula … marks an unexpected disruption of action in progress'. This holds good in the other Valerian instances (2.587, 5.618, 6.575, 8.32), but not here: the weather is fine again from 655 on, so the favourable winds can hardly come as a surprise. It seems a somewhat strange way to indicate that the Zephyrs embody the answer of Neptune to Jason's prayer.

molli … lapsu: in Luc. 10.315 these words serve to describe the gently moving Nile (cf. Cat. 67.33 *molli … flumine Mella*). Nowhere else does the noun or the verb *labi* denote the soft movement of breezes. *mollis*, on the other hand, is not so unusual in this sense: Ov. *Fast.* 2.148 *a Zephyris mollior aura venit* (in a figurative sense also *Tr.* 4.5.20), Plin. *Nat.* 19.4 *mollissimo flatu* (but in Luc. 7.833 *ad mollem … Austrum* it is rather 'the south' which is meant), Sen. *Nat.* 5.16.5 *argestes fere mollis est.* The adjective was particularly appropriate for characterizing the Zephyrs: Ov. *Ars* 3.728, *Met.* 13.726, Sen. *Ag.* 433, Luc. 4.405. *descendere* tallies with *lapsu*; VF uses it again to denote breezes springing up in 3.652 and 7.25 (see Perutelli).

Zephyri were associated with spring (Hor. *Carm.* 4.7.9) and thereby with fine weather. Here they signal the end of *hiems* 'storm' and moreover they are blowing in the right direction for the Argo, which was eastbound.

aspiciunt: the context makes it clear that the *agrestes* are no longer the subject. The verb is not construed with an acc. and infinitive in Virgil, which is probably just accidental (OLD 1c).

volat: the verb regularly denotes the swift motion of ships (OLD 3). In Ov. *Her.* 6.66 *illa volat*, the pronoun refers to *Argo* (65). *inmissis … habenis*: the metaphor from horse-racing is applied to ships from V. *A.* 6.1 on (*classique inmittit habenas*) and in VF again in 8.139. It is used in connection with other actions or events as well: growth (Lucr. 5.787; cf. V. *G.* 2.364), fire (V. *A.* 5.662), the deluge (Ov. *Met.* 1.280).

cava pinus: for *pinus* denoting a ship see note on 457 above. The adjective qualifies ships (cf. Homeric κοῖλος) in V. *A.* 3.191 (*cava trabe*), Ov. *Her.* 18.8 (*cavas … rates*), Luc. 2.649 (*cavas … puppes*); cf. further Luc. 3.650 and Ov. *Met.* 11.524. But Prop. 4.6.50, also cited OLD 3d, is different (see Camps).

infinditque salum: Virgil made the step from *infindere sulcos* (*Ecl.* 4.33) in a literal sense ('furrows') to *infindunt sulcos* (*A.* 5.142) metaphorical 'cleaving the waters'. The diction of VF makes the sea itself (*salum*, for which see note on 195) the object; consequently the accusative is now 'external' (as it was already with *findere*, OLD 2).

spumas vomit: a combination of V. *A.* 1.35 *spumas salis aere ruebant* and *G.* 3.516 *mixtum spumis vomit ore cruorem* (of a felled bull; repeated with *crassum* for *mixtum spumis* in *A.* 10.349: a dying warrior).

aere tridenti: VF takes over Virgil's anachronism from *A.* 5.143 *rostrisque tridentibus*. In 'heroic' times ships had not yet three-pronged prows (see Eden on *A.* 8.690 and Poortvliet on 2.428, with further references).

The passage shows a marked variation in the use of connective words: asyndeton in 687 (*aspiciunt—volat*); both *-que* and *et* in 688; asyndeton at the beginning of 689; and polysyndeton in 691f.

Tiphys agit: since the propulsion of the ship is the task of rowers or wind, *agit* here means 'to steer', as in Ov. *Fast.* 1.500, Hor. *Ep.* 2.1.114 and perhaps V. *A.* 5.116. Shelton 1971:40 comments on the importance of Tiphys (cf. 481ff., 649ff., 5.13ff.), whose role is here compared to that of Jupiter.

taciti … ministri: of course the Minyans were not 'servants' or 'subordinates' to Tiphys or anyone else, but rather *socii*. The choice of the noun, denoting 'sailors' as in Petr. 123.234, establishes a link both with the preceding simile, the crew acting as 'priest's attendants' (OLD 2), and with the following one, where the forces of nature are indeed subordinate to Jupiter. The epithet *taciti* 'silent' in particular points back to the countrymen listening to the priest's words.

sedent ad iussa: 'ready to follow his instructions'. In contradistinction to 738 below, 4.465, 6.108 and 686, where *ad* expresses cause, here it has a final sense (OLD 32), as for instance in Stat. *Theb.* 7.19 *sedent ad iusta*, where see Smolenaars. Other parallels are Ov. *Am.* 1.6.19 *stares ad verbera* (with McKeown's note) and *Tr.* 2.310 *Veneris stantes ad genus omne*.

690–692

qualiter ad summi solium Iovis omnia circum
prona parata deo, ventique imbresque nivesque
fulguraque et tonitrus et adhuc in fontibus amnes.

In the final simile the language is simple and unobtrusive, in harmony with the situation sketched, in which peace and order are restored. While this means a marked contrast to the almost desperate atmosphere of the former, the link between the similes is underscored by corresponding structure: the priest rising above the countryfolk—Jupiter being master of nature (— Tiphys being 'master' of the ship). This purpose is also served by the subtle echo *anxia priscum* (684)—*omnia circum* (690). Only four lines separate the similes; the distance may be even shorter: 6.607–613f. (a cluster of three), 7.564–567, 8.21–32ff. (another cluster of three).

qualiter introducing a simile after the main clause is not Virgilian, but it occurs in Ovid (*Am.* 1.5.11, 1.7.58, *Her.* 9.128) and Lucan (1.151). Cf. Poortvliet on 2.458. In two out of the five other passages where VF has the word, the simile closes the episode, as here: 3.359ff. (another peaceful scene) and 4.195ff. For the construction cf. note on 319.

summus is used to qualify Jupiter from earliest times (OLD 12). It seems pointless to ask whether *circum* should be taken attributively ('everything around was ready') or adverbially ('everything was ready around'); probably the poet would have been hard put to answer such a question.

prona is the only word here which does not speak for itself. Neither OLD 6 'Inclined to (… an action)' nor ib. 6c ('favourable to someone') gives the required meaning, whereas 6b does ('disposed to act, eager, willing'), but without instances containing a dative form as here (*deo*). This, however, could be dependent on *parata* only (cf. for instance Cic. *Quinct.* 18). Luc. 1.392 *acceptum tam prono milite bellum* is comparable. It seems best to take *prona parata* not as an asyndeton bimembre, but as a predicative with the predicate: 'all forces of nature are eagerly ready for him'. In Ov. *Her.* 10.113 Ariadne calls the winds 'all too ready'.

The first five elements of the following list we could expect in connection with the sky-god. For the winds cf. for instance Stat. *Theb.* 1.207 and for the rains V. *A.* 5.693 and 696, 9.669. Jupiter is the sender of snow in Hor. *Carm.* 1.2.1f. *fulgura* are properly 'flashes of lightning' as opposed to *fulmina* 'lightning that strikes, thunderbolt' (OLD s.vv.). The connection of Jupiter with thunder and lightning is of course obvious.

fulgura occurs close to the mention of Jupiter in Stat. *Theb.* 7.406. There seems to be no difference in meaning or use between pl. *tonitrus* and *tonitrua* (Tac. *Hist.* 1.18, Plin. *Nat.* 35.96).

adhuc … amnes: this is the only surprising item in the enumeration. In Stat. *Theb.* 1.206 (cited on *venti*) there appear *summis cognati nubibus amnes*; clearly the author found an explication was needed. VF's *adhuc in fontibus* points the other way (down to earth) and therefore sounds stranger where the servants round Jupiter's throne are summed up. Burman refers to Pl. *Trin.* 940, where an impostor claims to have travelled *ad caput amnis qui de caelo exoritur sub solio* (!) *Iovis*. Of course not believing him, Charmides in his reactions does not comment on the alleged river (there was only one: 942f. *advecti sumus / usque aqua advorsa per amnem*). There seem to be no other instances of rivers or river sources being so closely associated with Jupiter. Yet the combined mention in Plautus and VF of river(s) and Jupiter's throne makes one wonder if they might have been somehow connected in the Roman mind.

adhuc in fontibus contributes to the general atmosphere of officers at ease awaiting orders for action.

Christensen *ALL* 15.165f. notes that this passage and Germ. *Arat.* 1.262 are the only two outside Ovid where a line containing -*que* three times is followed by one containing (another -*que* and) *et* (in both cases twice).

PART D

HOME AND PARENTS

700–850

In the final part of the book attention is focused on Jason's homeland again, culminating in the suicide of his parents. This is an impressively written episode and its place at the end of the book makes for a strong closure (cf. Adamietz 1976:28f.). Likewise the third and seventh books, but not the fifth, end on a sombre note. The rage of Pelias after discovering that Acastus had joined the expedition, and his murderous intentions, are absent from AR, but comparable actions of his are recorded in Diodorus (4.50) and Apollodorus (1.9.27). The reactions of the Thessalian tyrant are understandable, especially since he believes (or pretends to believe) that Jason will kill Acastus during the journey (716ff.). His criminal plans could also have been instigated by purely dynastic reasons, but the link with Acastus' decision and supposed fate contributes to the unity of the book. VF, however, clearly not wanting to make the transition from the sailing Argo to Iolcos with a simple *interea* as in 574, preferred to direct our attention to Thessaly by means of a suddenly-arising fear in Jason about the situation of his parents. This is not a very satisfactory decision, as has been noticed by Gossage (1969:94), Venini (1971^2: 610f.) and Barich 46. The first judges that Jason is 'allowed to appear stupid, or at least grossly improvident'; Venini speaks of 'ingenuità' and Barich finds it 'jarring'. Adamietz (l.c. 27f.) tries to maintain the unity of the narrative by pointing to connections with other passages and a similarity to the end of *Aeneid* 4, and Barich afterwards finds an excuse in the 'pathetic effect' aimed at by the poet. However, these considerations are not sufficient to establish a satisfactory reason for the suddenness with which Jason realizes the dangers of the situation at home. No good explanation can be found for Jason to be assailed by fear at this particular moment, other than the fact that the poet wishes this to happen. This is therefore a good example of external or author-oriented motivation as opposed to the usual internal and character-oriented.

The structure of the last part of the book is as follows.

1) a transition, since Jason is still the topic but his thoughts revert to Iolcos (693–699);
2) the furious reactions of Pelias (700–729);
3) Aeson and Alcimede consult the ghost of Cretheus (730–751);

4) having become aware of Pelias' intentions, Jason's parents plan and execute their suicide, preceded by a prayer with imprecations on Pelias (752–817);
5) Pelias' henchmen upon arriving at the scene kill Jason's younger brother (818–826);
6) the shades of Aeson anmd Alcimede enter the underworld; description of the pleasant abode of the righteous dead (827–850).

As noted above, the transition (693–699) is not very convincing. It is true that after the storm Jason has opportunity to think about his family, but he had before and even more so when, still ashore, he planned to cajole Acastus into joining the expedition.

1. *Sudden fear about his parents, left at home defenceless, overwhelms Jason* (693–699)

693–699

at subitus curaque ducem metus acrior omni
mensque mali praesaga quatit, quod regis adortus
progeniem raptoque dolis crudelis Acasto
cetera nuda neci medioque in crimine patrem
liquerit ac nullis inopem vallaverit armis,
ipse procul nunc tuta tenens; ruat omnis in illos
quippe furor, nec vana pavet trepidatque futuris.

VF again takes liberty with the construction by placing the object (*ducem*) within the (first) subject; moreover the first *-que* connects two qualifications of that subject (*subitus* and *cura omni acrior*), but the following one the two subjects (*metus* and *mens* etc.).

at subitus: the contrast (*at*) between the preceding peaceful scene and the panic in Jason's mind is clear, but *subitus* remains problematic: whence this sudden apprehension? In 3.301ff. Jason himself recalls portents foreboding his father's death, which obviously did not deter him from the expedition (Poortvliet on 2.1f.).

metus acrior: the adjective qualifies *metus* from Lucr. (6.1212) on; later V. *A.* 1.362, 3.682); TLL 1.360.69ff.

It is natural to feel care and concern (*cura*) towards one's loved ones (179 above *cura parentis* [Acastus speaking], 3.336 and 4.127 *cura suorum*, 5.19 *nostri cura*, etc.), but here the addition of *omni* seems to suggest that this sudden fear eclipses all his care and attention for the ship and the expedition: cf. 477 above *cura ratis*, 4.269f. *magistri / cura*, 5.364 *robur cura*

ducis magnique edere labores. The combination of *cura(e)* and *ducem* returns in 759 below with regard to Aeson.

mensque mali praesaga: taken from V. *A.* 10.843 *praesaga mali mens*, where it is a father (Mezentius) who has a foreboding about his son. *quatit*: the verb ('to upset') has 'fear' for the subject and a person (living being) for the object also in Vell. 2.110.6 *tantus … metus … ut … Caesaris Augusti animam quateret atque terreret*, Ov. *Hal.* 50 (*animalia*) *vani quatiunt … timores* (OLD 4). In 743 below the meaning is approximately the same: *quatiuntque truces oracula Colchos*.

quod: 'at the thought that'; the causal conjunction followed by a subjunctive sketches the images in Jason's mind, which will turn out to be only too justified.

adortus: the verb is used in the sense of 'to attempt to influence (by improper means)', OLD 2. Of the parallels given in TLL 1.816.40ff. only one is truly convincing: Nep. *Lys.* 3.2 *primum Delphicum* (sc. *oraculum*) *corrumpere est conatus; cum id non potuisset, Dodonam adortus est.* The participle is linked by means of *-que* to an ablative absolute (*rapto … Acasto*) which explains the nature of the action denoted by *adortus*. For this change in construction cf. Sz. 385 δ. For *rapto* cf. 154 above *abripiam*, for *dolis* see 485 (and *dolos* 714). While Virgil has both *dolo* (*A.* 2.34, 5.342) and *dolis* (*A.* 1.673, 2.196), VF only uses the plural ablative, again in 3.491 and 6.263 (where it denotes a material instrument: *viscoque … sequaci*).

crudelis: not towards his parents as Pius thought (they are not mentioned yet, and cruelty is not the same as negligence), and objectively not to Acastus either, who was no more at risk than the other Argonauts. Apparently Jason now discerns an element of cruelty in his behaviour, or rather realizes that Pelias could see it as such (which he does: *ferus* 716, *durus* 718). Certainly he now uses harsh language concerning his own actions: *adortus*, *rapto*, *dolis*. The adjective predicatively qualifies the subject (taken up by *adortus*), which is also the Agent of *rapto … Acasto*.

cetera: 'the rest'; in view of the following *nuda neci* this must refer to the people left behind, except Pelias (*regis* 694), and of course to Jason's own family in general. The use of the neuter is strange here and there appear to be no other instances of it. TLL 3.968.72f. cites our passage, paraphrasing with 'ceteros cognatos', without parallels.

nudus 'unprotected'. For its use with a dative denoting the source of danger, OLD 4b refers to Livy 21.21.10 *nuda apertaque Romanis*, where the dative is probably primarily construed with *apertus* (OLD s.v. 8b), and to our passage ('transf.').

medio … in crimine: in this context one is tempted to take *crimen* as 'danger' in the sense of *discrimen* (Heinsius proposed reading *medio in discrimine* as in 6.545), but lack of parallels prohibits this. The model is clearly V. *A.* 7.577 *Turnus adest medioque in crimine caedis et igni* (Fordyce: 'in the midst of the outcry at bloodshed and the blaze of passion'; Williams: 'in the midst of the charge of murder'). The noun here has been taken as 'crime', either Jason's against his parents, *i.e.* his leaving them unprotected (Pius) or Pelias' (Langen, Mozley, Spaltenstein), but Virgil's model makes the meaning 'accusation, reproach' more probable. This would refer to a supposed assumption on the part of Pelias that Aeson was also responsible for the abduction of Acastus (Maserius, Burman, Lemaire-Wagner, Liberman). Since Aeson was not yet *medio in crimine* (in whichever sense) when Jason left (*liquerit*), this is another instance of condensed diction: Jason left his father to be eventually 'in the midst of accusations' (or 'crime').

vallaverit: 'to safeguard' (OLD 3); but it is not clear how Jason could have protected his father with military means effective in his own absence (cf. 23); he had rejected comparable action in 71ff. *inopem* is used proleptically 'so that he was defenceless' (OLD 4).

tuta tenens: cf. V. *A.* 6.358 *iam tuta tenebam* (but there the safety is ashore, whereas Jason is out at sea). The opposition of course is to *inopem*, and *procul* insists on Jason being safe (because he is beyond Pelias' reach) and at the same time powerless to defend his father.

ruat: a potential subjunctive. The verb has *ira* for the subject in Sen. *Her.F.* 1167 (*in omnes*).

The reading of α *illis* (possibly caused by *omnis*, Courtney) could in itself equally well be replaced by *illos* (L and most editors) or *illum* (Kramer, Courtney, Spaltenstein). It is true that only his father could be suspected of complicity (*crimine*) by Pelias, but the king's revenge will in fact hit Jason's mother and brother as well, so the reading present in at least some mss. is preferable. For *quippe* cf. Austin on V. *A.* 4.218. Like Statius (and unlike Virgil) VF does not avoid this particle in mid-line (or even at the end of the line): four out of nine instances.

nec … futuris: there has been some discussion about the extent of the negation. Langen, taking *-que* as an equivalent of *aut*, thought it denied *futuris* as well: 'his anxiety was not about (something in) the future, because his parents were already threatened at that moment'. It seems better to restrict the negation to *vana*, taking *-que* for *sed* as Housman (on Manil. 1.876ff.) noted, followed by Strand, Mozley, Liberman and Dräger. One could also state that *-que* here equals *enim*: 'his fears were

not unfounded, but / because he shuddered at things that were really to happen'.

For *vanus* in connection with words denoting 'fear' cf. 8.408 *ut vanos, veros ita saepe timores* and Liv. 2.2.7 *vano … metu* (OLD 3b). In those cases the fear itself is declared 'groundless', whereas here the object of the fear is 'not illusory' (*i.e.* real), as in Liv. 7.17.4 *vana miracula paventes*: OLD 2a. Statius has an exact parallel in *Ach.* 1.941 *nec vana Thetin timuisse memento.*

trepidare 'to be anxious' may be construed either with an object in the accusative (OLD 4b) or with a causal ablative, as here; cf. 756 below *subitisque pavens*); earlier in Luc. 4.694 *hac … regis trepidat … Curio fama.*

2. *The rage of Pelias* (700–729)

After the reader's attention is directed again towards Thessaly, it is natural that events there start with Pelias' understandable anger at discovering that Acastus is now a member of the crew venturing upon the expedition which he meant to be ill-fated. He cannot know that his son joined the Argonauts of hiw own free will, although enticed by Jason. His grief at the disappearance of his son has something touching about it, but his assumption that Jason will murder Acastus shows him to be a typical tyrant, expecting the worst from other people. There is a clear parallel with the behaviour of Aeetes in the fifth and seventh books. Both rulers first try to eliminate Jason by exposing him to expected dangers with a wily speech, hiding their real feelings (cf. Pelias in 38 above *tranquilla tuens nec fronte timendus*, Aeetes in 5.520 *furiis ignescit opertis*), and when this fails, both show their rage (*saevit atrox Pelias* 700, Aeetes *effunditur ira* 7.34; cf. *trucis … tyranni* ib. 78). The fact that Pelias wants to take revenge on the absent Jason's elderly parents makes him the more despicable. For the structural resemblances to the end of *Aeneid* 4 (place of departure, last scene of the book, curses, suicide) cf. Adamietz 1976:28 n. 65.

700–703

> saevit atrox Pelias inimicaque vertice ab alto
> vela videt nec qua se ardens effundere possit.
> nil animi, nil regna iuvant; fremit obice ponti
> clausa cohors telisque salum facibusque coruscat.

The first two lines are conspicuously 'Virgilian' in origin: *A.* 9.420f. *saevit atrox Volcens …/… nec quo se ardens immittere possit* (see further below).

saevit: attention has been drawn to other passages where forms of the verb or of *saevus* occur (Shey 51: *saevus* 574; Eigler 24: *saeva* 492). However, the frequency with which VF uses the adjective in particular (more than a hundred times; ten instances of *saevire*) makes comparisons in this respect rather pointless. There might be a reference to 152 above *in solum num saeviet Aesona pontus?* as a case of tragic irony: the very measure that Jason took to prevent this from happening now turns out to be the reason that Aeson, at this moment *solus* (on his own, without defence), will have to suffer.

atrox on the other hand is very sparingly used by VF: the only other instances (both also in the nom. sg.) are in book 6 (644 and 662, beginning with *audet atrox*). Its choice is clearly influenced by Virgil's example (*A.* 9.420f., cited above). In the *Aeneid* Volcens is enraged as a result of his comrade Tagus having been killed, whereas in VF the epithet, although accounted for by the king's discovery of his son's disappearance, may also be characteristic of a tyrant.

inimicaque … videt: as Hardie in his commentary on V. *A.* 9.420f. remarks, VF adds a finesse to his model in that Volcens cannot see whence the danger that was fatal to Tagus comes (*nec teli conspicit usquam / auctorem*), whereas Pelias does see his supposed enemies, but is unable to reach them.

inimica: five times in the *Argonautica*, always in this form (f. or n. pl.). For the meaning (OLD 4 'belonging to an enemy or enemies') cf. particularly V. *A.* 9.315 *castra inimica.*

vertice ab alto: probably a mountain peak (OLD 3). Cf. 4.381 *ab excelso … vertice* and the somewhat similar line quoted in Sen. *Ep.* 77.2 *alta procelloso speculatur vertice Pallas.* There is a strong alliteration in the line: *atrox … ab alto*; *vertice … vela videt.*

The construction of *videt* switches from an object in the accusative to a (negated) subordinate clause, like *metuens* in 509 above. This peculiar variation with *videre* does not occur further in the *Argonautica*; for other types see note on 51f., 85f., 125f.

VF replaces Virgil's *se inmittere* by *se effundere*, which verb combines the notions of 'to rush forward' (usually of a crowd; OLD 8) and 'to let oneself go, not restrain one's impulses'. A good example of the latter is cited in OLD 9 *qui se in aliqua libidine continuerit, in aliqua effunderit* (Cic. *Parad.* 21); Pelias cannot control his emotion. Cf. 7.34 (cited above)

talique effunditur ira, implying speech as well (OLD 6b); see Stadler's note.

qua, replacing Virgil's *quo*, combines local and modal sense 'which way' and 'in what way'.

ardens: OLD s.v. *ardeo* 5b 'To be violently excited or passionate, rage, "burn", be fervent'. The ablative to be mentally supplied could be *dolore*, both as 'grief' and as 'indignation'. The participle is again one of VF's favourites: 30 instances (four other forms of *ardere*) in various meanings: literally 'burning' (*e.g.* 146 above), 'bright, brilliant' (400 and 488 above), 'savage, passionate' as here.

animi: probably 'rage' rather than 'courage' (Mozley): *saevit*, *fremit*. Bury (1893:398) remarks that *animi* and *regna* (royal power) are combined in a slightly zeugmatic way: Pelias' anger is ineffectual because his kingship is of no avail.

fremit: cf. *fremere* 213 above (with note) and 608. Note the repetition in 707 *infremuit manus* (cf. *cohors*) and 725 *fremens*. The combination *fremit clausa* amounts to *fremit se clausam esse*; cf. V. *A*. 2.377 *sensit medios delapsus in hostes*.

obice ponti: *obex* (a hapax legomenon in VF) often governs a genitive such as *saxi* or *montis* denoting the thing which is an obstacle. The line has (at least) two ancestors: V. *A*. 10.377 *claudit* (!) *nos obice pontus* and Luc. 10.246 *adversique obice ponti*.

clausa cohors: a clear echo of 593 *saeva cohors*; the winds too were 'shut in' (*claustra* 595) and 'growling' (*frementum* 594). The noun occurs again in 6.112 and (pl.) 7.637. In a similar situation Daedalus is *clausus … pelago* (Ov. *Met*. 8.185).

salum: after 195 and 688 above this is the third and last occurrence of the noun in the *Argonautica*.

coruscat: the verb, meaning here 'to … reflect flashes of light, glitter, flash, gleam' (OLD 3) is not frequent in VF: 5.304, used transitively 2.228, as a participle 4.670. Of the eight instances of the adjective *coruscus* two are particularly relevant here: in 486 above it qualified the now missing Acastus, whereas in 805 the other father, Aeson, predicts the return of his son *auro coruscum*. The use of torches (*facibus*) implies an evening scene, which is natural since the young prince's absence would have been noticed by now. In fact this is one type of Valerian 'breviloquentia', the mention of night being omitted. The combination of *facibus* with *telis* is also noteworthy: weapons do not set the sea aglow at night, but are in their turn illuminated by the torches. Therefore (in prose) *tela salumque* would be more 'logical'. There is again a strong alliteration in *clausa … cohors … coruscat*.

704–708

haud secus, aerisona volucer cum Daedalus ora
prosiluit iuxtaque comes brevioribus alis,
nube nova linquente domos Minoia frustra
infremuit manus et visu lassatur inani
omnis eques plenisque redit Gortyna pharetris.

haud secus etc.: one of the relatively few Valerian similes filling more than four lines. For the construction see note on 319 above. This simile is analysed by M.L. Ricci (1977:162–169). In the two versions in Ovid (*Met.* 8.183–235 and *Ars* 2.21–96) the accent is on the fatal outcome of Icarus' flight, whereas in VF the escape (successful for the time being) from the baffled onlookers is the point of comparison. Note that in Hom. *Il.* 18.590ff. Daedalus is mentioned but not the Labyrinth, and in V. *A.* 5.588–591 the building appears in a simile but without reference to Daedalus' flight. For details see below.

In l.704 the impossible mss. reading *ira* has been replaced by *Ida* since the Juntine edition of 1503; this form is printed by Courtney, Ehlers, Spaltenstein and Dräger. Carrio in his second edition (1566) was the first to prefer *ora*; he was followed by most editors, including Thilo, Langen and Liberman. This is certainly the preferable emendation (cf. *Mnem.* 1991:137–141), for the following reasons:

1) *aerisona*, as is universally acknowledged, refers to the noise made by the Curetes or Corybantes on Crete to drown the cries of the infant Jupiter.
2) In all ancient references to this myth (9 Greek, 5 Roman) this sound is never associated with Mt. Ida, but, if it is mentioned at all, rather with Dicte.
3) Ov. *Fast.* 4.207ff. (and its obvious echo in Stat. *Theb.* 4.789ff.) is only seemingly an exception, because it refers to Mt. Ida in the Troas, not to its Cretan namesake. For the syncretism which tended to identify the Cretan Curetes, the originally Phrygian Corybantes and the followers of Cybele cf. Bailey on Lucr. 2.598ff. and especially 633ff., Bömer on Ov. *Fast.* 4.179ff. and 5.111ff., Kl. Pauly 3.378ff. (Kureten), RE Suppl. XV 794ff. (Zeus), DNP 6.934f.
4) All other instances in VF of *Ida* and *Idaeus* refer to the mountain in Asia, not to the Cretan one.
5) It was not necessary for the poet to use the name of a locality such as Mt. Ida: the combination *volucer … Daedalus* made it imme-

diately clear to any reader that the reference was to Daedalus' escape from Crete.

For *haud secus* modifying the phrase *nube … pharetris* see note on 319 (construction of the simile).

The adjective *aerisonus* is not attested before VF, who has it again in 3.28 *aerisono de monte*; this time the mountain 'ringing with bronze' must be the Phrygian Mt. Ida, from where Cybele sees the Argo approaching. Whereas *aerisonus* occurs in Statius as well, referring to rivers (*Theb.* 1.265 and 4.298), there is a clear echo of our passage in Sil. 2.93 *aerisonis Curetum advectus ab antris*; the fact that there *Dictaeos* immediately follows is another argument against *Ida* in the text of VF. On compounds ending on *-sonus* cf. 74 *armisonus* and 364 *undisonus*. Later VF has *horrisonus* (2.583) and *aegisonus* (3.88).

volucer: this adjective, also used in connection with Mercury (Ov. *Fast.* 5.88) and Iris (*Arg.* 7.186), occurs in one of Ovid's versions of Daedalus' escape, namely *Ars* 2.45 *remigium volucrum*. VF goes one better in applying it to Daedalus himself.

prosiluit: also in 310 above (see note) and 7.216 as the first word of the line. In the sense 'to leap forward (from the land)' the verb occurs in Ov. *Fast.* 2.471 and in *Arg.* 8.21, both persons (Dione and Ino respectively) jumping into the water as Daedalus here into the air.

iuxtaque comes: the reference to Icarus is almost obligatory. Shelton 43 sees a parallel between Icarus and Acastus, but whereas the fate of the boy was tragically different from his father's, no such thing can be said of Acastus vis-à-vis Jason, his elder companion. As Ricci observes, VF here took over the noun from Ov. *Met.* 8.213 *comitique timet* but deferred the following simile to 7.375ff.

brevioribus alis: cf. 3.486 *passus … iniquos* (from V. *A.* 2.724 *non passibus aequis*). Ovid used the comparative form in describing the construction of the wings (*Met.* 8.190).

nube nova: whereas there might be a hint of the shadow projected on the earth by the flying couple (Lemaire-Wagner), the primary meaning of the noun seems to be 'a swarm (of flying creatures)', OLD 5. It is however remarkable that here this 'cloud' consists of only two persons as opposed to a great number of bees (V. *G.* 4.557; *Arg.* 1.396) or birds (V. *A.* 7.705 (*volucrum*!), 12.254, Stat. *Silv.* 1.6.76). The Harpies (4.495) were at least three in number (ib. 500). In Stat. *Silv.* 3.4.13, adduced as a parallel by Liberman, a real cloud is meant. *nova* suggests the amazement of the spectators of this strange phenomenon, as in the

model passages Ov. *Ars* 2.77f., *Met.* 8.217ff. In VF there is also a hint of their frustration (*frustra*) at not being able to recapture the escaping person(s). The adjective is used in Ov. *Ars* 2.68 and 75 from the point of view of the flying couple (*novum … iter*). Cf. in Silius' version of the story of Daedalus (12.95) *superosque novus conterruit ales*; he also took over (ib. 90) VF's *linquere*, which does not appear in the Ovidian passages. *domos*: this noun is used (in the sg.) to denote the Labyrinth (V. *A.* 6.27, Ov. *Met.* 8.158, Sen. *Phaed.* 649). Here, however, the meaning seems to be more generally 'the earth as inhabited by mankind' (Langen, Mozley).

Minoia: the adjective in V. *A.* 6.14 qualifies *regna*, in Ov. *Fast.* 3.81 *Creta*. VF has it once more: 7.279 *Minoia virgo* (= Ariadne). With *nube nova*, *Minoia … manus* and *frustra / infremuit … inani* alliteration is again very marked.

infremuit: this compound occurs much less frequently than *fremere* (702); in VF it is a hapax legomenon. It is first attested in V. *A.* 10.711 qualifying a wild boar as in Luc. 1.210; in Sil. 11.245 a lion. By suggesting those fierce animals the rage of the 'Minoan band' is stressed.

lassatur: the verb is construed with an ablative denoting the cause of tiredness from its first occurrence on (Tib. 1.9.55 *furtivo … usu*). Cf. for the passive (or middle) voice Luc. 9.296 *primum litoreis miles lassatur harenis*, where of course there is also an element of locality, and 419 above.

visu … inani: they can only look, not being able to do anything about it. The adjective, meaning 'vain, futile' (OLD 13), echoes *frustra* as *manus* points back to *cohors* 703 and *plenis … pharetris* to *telis* ib. (and, as noted above, *infremuit* to *fremit* 702). In 3.661 *vacuos cur lassant aequora visus* the weariness is also caused by steady looking out to sea, but *vacuos* is different from *inani* here in that it denotes 'not seeing anything', as opposed to 'seeing but in vain' as here. As Shelton 44 notes, the recurrence of the adjective in 710 *inania signa* insists on the fact that there too Pelias 'sees' things (those that remind him of his son), but is unable to change the situation.

omnis eques: all mss. except K have *equis*. The correct reading, already ascribed to 'nonnnulli' by Pius, was first printed in the Aldine edition. The combination ('every horseman') is first attested in Ov. *Fast.* 4.293, further in *Epic. Drusi* 202 and Mart. 8.50.7.

plenis … pharetris, subtly contrasting *inani*, stresses the fact that they have not been able to shoot even one arrow at the flying couple.Cf. *vacuis pharetris* Tac. *Ann.* 12.13.

redit Gortyna: the only instance in VF of this verb with a simple accusative (elsewhere *ad*, *in* or a dative are used), but see next note. *redit*, strictly speaking said of the Cretans only, in fact applies to Pelias as well, since in the next scene he is in his palace.

Gortyna: according to OLD and most commentators this would be the only instance in Latin literature of the ancient name (*Gortyn*), in the accusative, of this famous Cretan town; in all other passages the forms are derived from younger *Gortyna* (Luc. 3.186, Sil. 2.101, Mela 2.113, Vitr. 1.4.10, Plin. *Nat.* 4.59 and 12.11) and once *Gortynis* (Sen. *Tro.* 821, unless we should read *Gyrtone* there). Probably, however, we should assume a nominative here too, the name of the town being used to denote its inhabitants. (Spaltenstein mentions this possibility but does not opt for it.) In that case each predicate would have its own subject: *infremuit / Minoia manus*, *lassatur / omnis eques*, *redit / Gortyna.*

709–711

quin etiam in thalamis primoque in limine Acasti
fusus humo iuvenis gressus et inania signa
ore premit sparsisque legens vestigia canis

quin etiam: after sketching Pelias' rage on the beach the narrator now goes on to describe the father's sorrow in the palace. This grief is certainly genuine, though as a typical tyrant Pelias wrongly surmises wicked intentions on the part of Jason (716–719).

in thalamis primoque in limine: clearly inspired by V. *A.* 2.469 *vestibulum ante ipsum primoque in limine Pyrrhus* (Austin: 'theme with … variation'; therefore not a hendiadys proper). The plural *thalami*, denoting 'a chamber', is 'often used in sg. sense' (OLD), also in VF.

(fusus) humo was first printed in Carrio², who does not attribute it to his 'vetus codex'. It comes nearer to *homo* (mss.) than does *humi* (which occurs with the same participle in 8.93 *humi fusis*). Both combinations are attested elsewhere: *f. humo* Ov. *Met.* 10.210 (meaning not 'stretched out' but 'poured', see Bömer), Stat. *Theb.* 1.407; *f. humi* V. *A.* 6.423, Ov. *Met.* 8.530, Sen. *Her.F.* 1082, Stat. *Silv.* 2.1.170. In the finite forms *humi* occurs with *fundit* (V. *A.* 5.78, again 'pours out') and *fundis* (ib. 11.665), whereas in V. *A.* 1.193 *fundat* mss. are divided.

gressus: according to OLD this is the only instance of the word being used in the sense of 'footprint' (*vestigia* in the next line) or perhaps rather 'a place where someone has walked' (cf. TLL 6.2.2327.2f. 'pertinet ad vestigium quod gradiendo relinquitur'). *inania signa*: not 'pictures,

images' as Pius and Lemaire/Wagner took it, but 'traces' (OLD 6: 'a visible sign of the former presence or movement in a place of someone or something …'), maybe footprints still visible or objects left behind. For the adjective see note on 707: Pelias sees 'only' traces without the possibility of getting his son back.

ore premit: 'he kisses'. For *ore premere* in the sense of 'embracing, kissing' TLL (10.2.1170.35ff.) cites *Epic. Drusi* 34 *ore premam* (at the end of the line) and Ov. *Met.* 10.292. In a quite different meaning of the verb ('to chew') the combination appears in Ov. *Met.* 5.537f. (Proserpina) *grana / presserat ore suo*. Here in VF the not unusual combination of the verb with *vestigia* (OLD s.v. *premo* 15b) may have been present in the poet's mind. This noun is here construed with *legens* as in V. *A.* 9.392f., Ov. *Met.* 3.17 (where see Bömer), Luc. 8.210 (with *sparsa*!), Stat. *Theb.* 9.171. OLD (s.v. *lego*^{2} 7) 'to follow the track of'; here not in a literal sense because there is no moving person to be 'followed'.

sparsis … canis: although Acastus is depicted by his father as too young for action (53f. above), he is called a *iuvenis* by Jason (153) and later participates in battle (6.720). His father's age is advanced (23 *iam gravis*). The picture of the grieving father as an old man is appropriate for evoking a degree of sympathy. For *cani* used substantively 'grey hairs', also in prose, cf. OLD s.v. *cani*. With forms of the participle *sparsus* we have Liv. 39.13.12 *crinibus sparsis*, Ov. *Met.* 3.169 *sparsos … capillos*, [Ov.] *Ep. Sapph.* 73 *sparsi … capilli* (and of course *sparsos … crines* 293 above).

712–715

> 'te quoque iam maesti forsan genitoris imago,
> nate,' ait 'et luctus subeunt suspiria nostri
> iamque dolos circumque trucis discrimina leti
> mille vides. qua te, infelix, quibus insequar oris?

For the following words of Pelias see Lipscomb 38f. and Eigler 1988:23–32. They constitute a monologue not addressed to anyone in particular and to a high degree characterized by pathos. The speech is split into two parts, separated by (722f.) *dixit … terribilis*, as in V. *A.* 4.659f. *dixit et* …. VF repeats this break in 7.449–451. By stressing Pelias' state of mind the monologue also prepares for his next acts of cruelty against Jason's parents.

te quoque: for Pelias this means of course 'as your image is now present in my mind' (*sicut me … filii imago*). The reader, however, may also think

(*sicut Iasonem*) of Jason's concern and anxiety about his parents (693–699). There is further an echo of 150ff., where Jason in a monologue (but an interior one: *secum*, as opposed to *ait* here) expresses his wish that not only Aeson but Pelias as well will suffer from his son's absence. For *forsan* see note on 170 above.

genitoris imago … (subeunt): after V. *A.* 2.560 *subiit cari genitoris imago*. Other combinations of *subire* and *imago* are V. *A.* 10.824 *patriae subiit pietatis imago*, Ov. *Fast.* 2.753f. and *Tr.* 1.3.1, and in VF again in 4.188 (OLD s.v. *subeo* 12). For *nate* cf. 320 above in Alcimede's complaint. This vocative occurs only once more in the *Argonautica*: 4.125 (Neptune to Amycus); in all instances the element of sorrow is dominant.

The following phrase is not too clear. Is the genitive *luctus … nostri* an 'objective' one, expressing '(your) sighs because of my grief' (*i.e.*: '*suspirasne luctum meum?*') or a defining one '(my) sighs as an expression of my sorrow' (*i.e.*: '*subiitne te imago mea suspirantis ob luctum?*')? In the first case *subeunt* would be used zeugmatically, since with *imago* as subject it means 'to suggest itself' (OLD 12), but with *suspiria* 'to come over (someone)', OLD 11. This however seems only possible with emotions etc. for subject. Moreover *suspirare* with an object means 'to utter with a sigh' or 'to sigh for' (OLD 1c), not 'to sigh because of …'. It is therefore preferable to take *luctus suspiria nostri* as an elaboration of *imago*: if Acastus is supposed to see with his mind's eye his grieving father, it would be natural for him to assume that Pelias would sigh because of his sorrow (Mozley: 'the vision of thy mourning father and the sigh of my grief'; Liberman: 'ton père malheureux à qui le chagrin fait pousser des soupirs'). *luctus* is not too strong a word, since Pelias does not expect to see his son again as he will be killed by Jason. If the sound *-u-* is supposed to express moaning and mourning, here we have a clear case: *luctus subeunt susp-* …

dolos … discrimina: the 'plots' lead to the supposed life-endangering situations; they are not identical. The run-on makes it probable that *mille* applies to both nouns. While the trickery cannot be denied (*dolis* 485), the dangers Acastus will be exposed to are the same as the other Argonauts will incur (*eadem … pericula* 153). Since *discrimina* obviously means a dangerous situation (OLD 5) its combination with *leti* is equivalent to *pericula mortis*. Silius has (12.266) *discrimine leti*, whereas in Man. 4.570 Housman read *discrimine mortis*. In l. 37 above (where see note) *discrimine ponti* is different in that the genitive there denotes the locality which will cause the danger, not the possible result of the perilous situation, as here.

trux is not a usual word to qualify *letum* or *mors*. The choice of the adjective suggests that it reflects on Jason, the supposed author of Acastus' death.

infelix is again in 8.160 parenthetically used to address an absent child that has left parents and fatherland, to wit Medea.

qua … quibus … oris: a variation on V. *A.* 9.390f. *Euryale infelix* (!), *qua te regione reliqui / quave sequar?*. There it is not clear (nor important) whether the second *qua* also qualifies *regione* or has to be taken adverbially. In VF the more general *qua* 'by what road' is followed by the more specific *quibus … oris* (also an ablative of the 'route by which'). Moreover the two verbs in Virgil (*reliqui*; *sequar*) are here reduced to one, which was inevitable since Pelias had not 'left' his companion. The compound verb *insequi* often means 'to pursue (in a hostile manner)', which obviously does not apply here, where the sense is just 'to follow'. There are more instances of this (Cic. *Att.* 2.19.3, Caes. *Civ.* 1.60.2 and 2.38.3), but it is rather unusual for the verb to have the connotation 'with the intention to overtake', which is clearly present here. The subjunctive is partly dubitative, partly potential.

716–721

> non Scythicas ferus ille domos nec ad ostia Ponti
> tendit iter, falsae sed captum laudis amore
> te, puer, in nostrae durus tormenta senectae
> nunc lacerat. celsis an si freta puppibus essent
> pervia, non ultro iuvenes classemque dedissem?
> o domus, o freti nequiquam prole penates!'

Scythicas … domos … ad ostia Ponti: Langen gives several parallels for prepositions governing two nouns and placed with the second one after a connective conjunction (with *ad* for instance in Stat. *Theb.* 8.384 *iamque hos clipeum, iam vertit ad illos)*. This could be the case here too, but on the other hand instances of *domos* with adjectives (especially those derived from proper names) without prepositions occur occasionally: K/S 1.483f. Since *ostia Ponti* denotes the mouth of the Black Sea as in 2.574 (where see Poortvliet), the sequence begun with *Scythicas … domos* could be taken as a simple hysteron proteron, but is seems preferable to interpret it as a case of gradation: 'not to the dwellings of the Scythians, no, not even as far as the entrance to the Black Sea'. In that case *ad* would carry some weight of its own. For *ostia Ponti* cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 1.45 *ostium Ponti* (referring to the Argonauts' expedition). VF has only the plural *ostia*, twice (2.597 and 5.440) with

regard to the mouth of the river Phasis in Colchis. *Scythicas*: for the frequent confusion of Colchians and Scythians see notes on 2 and 43 above.

ferus ille: Pelias had used the same adjective to characterize Aeetes (43 above). The other instances in VF of *ferus* qualifying a man are 5.553 (Aeetes again; see Wijsman) and 6.287 and 303 (the 'barbarian' Gesander). In view of Pelias' own suspicions and subsequent behaviour the epithet is rather appropriate for himself. VF has the cognate *ferox* only three times (all in the nom. sg.) as against 19 instances of forms of *ferus*.

tendit iter: the expression is both Virgilian (*A.* 1.656, 6.240, 7.7) and Ovidian (*Met.* 2.547, *Tr.* 1.10.36).

falsae … amore: as Eigler 25 notes, these words show Pelias' full awareness that his son joined the expedition of his own accord, not forced by Jason: Acastus is *captus* but not *captivus*. The meaning of the participle oscillates between that registered in OLD s.v. *capio* 17b 'to take a hold of, delight, charm, captivate' and ib. 21b 'to take a hold of, afflict, overcome (of feelings, states of mind)', but in Pelias' view an element of ib. 20a 'to take in, delude' would have been present as well. The combination with *amor* is attested from Cicero on (*Clu.* 12 *amore capta*); cf. Ov. *Met.* 4.170 *cepit amor Solem* (with *cupido*, but not in an erotic sense, already Enn. *scen.* 257). It is true that longing for fame (*laudis amore*) was what enticed Acastus to join the Argonauts (*famae* 178). For *laudis amor* cf. V. *A.* 5.394, 7.496, *Ciris* 1, Hor. *Ep.* 1.1.36. This renown is called *falsa* because in Pelias' eyes it will never be realized (OLD 6 'non-existent … illusory'). The combination *falsa laus* further occurs in Cic. *Man.* 10, Phaed. 4.25.24 (pl.), Sen. *Thy.* 211f. The importance of the epithet is accentuated by its position after the caesura and before the conjunction *sed*.

te, puer: this third apostrophe after *nate* (713) and *infelix* (715) heightens the pathos and is repeated by the poet in 824 with regard to Aeson's younger son (Eigler 30); cf. *lacerat* (719)—*diripiunt* (825). Although forms of *durus* abound in the *Argonautica* (35 instances), it is not applied to typical tyrants such as Pelias himself, Aeetes, Laomedon or Amycus. The meaning required here ('harsh, pitiless') is registered in OLD under 6, but cf. also Ov. *Met.* 5.244 listed ib. under 5.

in tormenta: 'with the intention to torture (me)'. For final *in* cf. K/S 1.566 c and OLD 21; for *tormentum* with a genitive denoting 'person or part affected' see OLD 4. The specific combination *in tormentum* is found in Sen. *Con.* 1.5.5.

nostrae … senectae: the noun is used '(in a quasi-concrete sense, implying an aged person, animal. etc.)' OLD 2b. VF has it in like manner again in 809 (there too Pelias himself is meant in Aeson's curses), 3.302 (Aeson), 4.475 (Phineus; again with *nostrae*), 551 (Phineus), 8.280 (Aeetes). There are five passages where it occurs in the more 'normal' sense of 'old age' (among which in 77 above), which is also the meaning in the three instances of *senectus*.

nunc lacerat: Pelias works himself up to a frenzy in which he imagines that Jason is at this very moment killing Acastus and in a brutal way, too. He had falsely referred to a *lacera … umbra* of Phrixus (49) and the verb is used again in Aeson's curses (*laceretque senem* 813).

celsis … dedissem: even if Acastus were not killed by Jason he would have been doomed, because the expedition, in Pelias' view, has to end in disaster. He here openly concedes his malicious intentions towards Jason (cf. *leti vias et tempora* 32, *ira maris vastique … discrimina ponti* 37). The implication is that Acastus should have realized this. *an* is often used as here to reinforce a preceding statement by rejecting an opposite possibility (K/S 2.519.3). That statement is here first and foremost contained in *falsae*: Acastus' striving for fame was vain, because this would never have been realized (even without the supposed murder by Jason), for the voyage would have ended in a catastrophe anyway.

celsis: a standard epitheton of ships (Austin on V. *A.* 1.183 and 2.375). In VF it occurs again as such in 5.9 and 214.

(freta …) pervia: but they were accessible for the first time now (l.1 above). The adjective is found in the first book only (also in 127 above). Pelias knew full well about the Symplegades (and the dragon too): 59f. above.

ultro: 'of my own accord'. It is not clear whether to *dedissem* we have to supply '*Iasoni*' or '*tibi*'. In the former case Acastus could have been one of the *iuvenes*; otherwise the king would have entrusted the command to his son, for his statement that Acastus was too young for this (53f.) need not be true. Anyhow, Pelias here speaks as if obtaining the Golden Fleece was his main objective, whereas in reality it was just a pretext to get rid of Jason.

o … penates: with these words Pelias expresses his despair about the future of the royal family. He implies that there are no other sons to succeed him. The correct reading *penates* for mss. *nepotes* was proposed by Balbus and subsequently adopted by all later editors. The same mistake in 3.13 was corrected by Gronov.

domus is coupled with *penates e.g.* in Ov. *Tr.* 4.8.9 and Liv. 44.39.5, *proles* with *penates* in Stat. *Silv.* 4.7.29f. (where see Coleman). Mozley, printing *penates*, translates 'o spirits of mine ancestors' (*parentes*, the form appearing in the editions of 1498, 1501 and 1523). The repeated *o* recurs in 2.113 and 4.30, in the same metrical pattern.

freti … prole: the venerable word *proles* had been used before with regard to Acastus by Pelias himself (53 *proles mea*) and by the narrator (162 *regia proles*); it will be applied to Jason's younger brother in 771 below (*altera proles*). There seem to be no parallels for the combination *fretus … prole* but there is a similarity in sound to *felix prole* (V. *A.* 6.784; *Arg.* 5.383).

722–725

dixit et extemplo furiis iraque minaci
terribilis 'sunt hic etiam tua vulnera, praedo,
sunt lacrimae carusque parens!' simul aedibus altis
itque reditque fremens rerumque asperrima versat.

dixit et extemplo: as in V. *A.* 2.376, but not used there as it is here to constitute a transition from despair to feelings of revenge. As Barich 15f. notes, the interposition of the narrator's words between the first part of Pelias' speech and his closing threats lends weight to this change. For other temporal adverbs see note on 576 *continuo*. Without the adverb a comparable effect is achieved in V. *A.* 4.659 *dixit et …* (Eigler 26). For *furiis* cf. Thuile; anyhow the noun is already used, especially in the plural, as an equivalent of *furor* 'frenzy, fury' in Virgil (OLD 2). It was combined with *ira* in V. *A.* 12.946 (in the last speech of Aeneas in the poem), also with *terribilis* as the first word of the following line. VF couples the nouns again in 7.160f. *conversaque in iram / et furias*, and in 8.2 he has *furiaeque minaeque*. Here *minaci* qualifies *ira*, for which there is but one parallel: Sen. *Ag.* 597. Less uncommon is *vultu … minaci* as in 5.519, where see Wijsman.

sunt … parens: these words are a cruel inversion of V. *A.* 1.461f. *sunt hic etiam sua praemia laudi, / sunt lacrimae rerum* (Eigler 27). The *praemia* have turned into *vulnera* ('wounds' to be inflicted by the speaker) and the tears are not those that have been shed but will be caused by Pelias' revenge. Whereas in Virgil *etiam* modifies *hic* 'even here', in VF it has to be connected primarily with *tua*: 'I will not be the only one to suffer, but you too'. *vulnera* combines the notions of 'opportunity for wounding' (OLD 1c) and 'a mental or emotional hurt' (ibid. 3).

praedo: in all four passages where this word occurs in the *Argonautica* it is Jason who is qualified in that way: here, in 7.50 by Aeetes (see Perutelli), in 8.151 by Medea's mother and ib. 267 by her brother Absyrtus. Although Acastus had joined the Argonauts voluntarily, there is some point in the choice of the noun, since the poet himself compares Jason to a hunter (489ff.) robbing a tigress of her cubs.

lacrimae: here too *tuae* or *tibi* has to be mentally supplied. The noun therefore takes over from *vulnera* the notion 'future (tears), an opportunity to make you weep'. This threat, still rather vague, is then made explicit by the following *carusque parens*. This combination recurs in 2.293 *care parens*, spoken to Thoas by his daughter Hypsipyle (and cf. 8.12 *pater, non carior ille est* (Medea speaking) and 6.570f. *caro … patri*). Note the variation in Pelias' speech in describing the father-son-relation: *genitoris* (712)—*nate* (713)—*puer … senectae* (718)—*prole* (721)—*parens* (724). The meaning of *lacrimae* is clearly 'misery, cause for tears' also in Prop. 4.1.120, Ov. *Fast.* 3.482, Stat. *Theb.* 3.116.

aedibus (altis): the only instance of the noun in VF.

itque reditque; again in 8.331 (the Argo); cf. 7.229 *qua redit itque dies.* In the first instance of this particular expression (V. *A.* 6.122) 'the first *-que* is connective, not correlative with the second' (Austin). Norden ad l. calls it 'eine poetische Variation der wohl dem Leben angehörigen asyndetischen Verbindung *it redit*', as it appears *e.g.* in Hor. *Ep.* 1.7.55, Ov. *Fast.* 1.126. The identical formula furthermore occurs in Tib. 2.6.46, Ov. *Tr.* 5.7.14, Stat. *Theb.* 1 102 and 8.49, Sil. 13.561, Mart. 1.48.2 and 6.10.8. For similar combinations such as *redit itque* (mentioned above) and *fertque refertque* see Bömer on Ov. *Met.* 2.409 and Langen. The only novelty of VF is the addition of the participle *fremens* (see 702 above). Pelias paces grumbling up and down in his palace.

rerumque asperrima: since this was first printed in the Juntine edition no one ever returned to mss. *regum*. The meaning is 'the most cruel / savage / pitiless (OLD 9a) of actions', the genitive accompanying this type of superlative being naturally 'partitive'. *versat* echoes Pelias' former thoughts (32 above) concerning *leti vias et tempora*, the verb meaning 'to turn over in the mind, ponder, debate' (OLD 3). It governs nouns denoting 'cruel punishment' in Sen. *Dial.* 3 (= *De Ira* 1).17.5 *crudelitatem ac nova genera poenarum.* The growling and snarling effect of the many r's in this line (Scaffai 1986^2:259) is certainly not accidental.

726–729

> Bistonas ad meritos cum cornua saeva Thyoneus
> torsit et infelix iam mille furoribus Haemus,
> iam Rhodopes nemora alta gemunt, talem incita longis
> porticibus coniunxque fugit natique Lycurgum.

For various reasons this is a rather difficult simile (see Langen, Bussen, Ricci). In the first place the most natural way of pointing out the parallel would be '(Pelias) raged in like manner as Lycurgus (in the myth)'. Instead the relation within the comparison has been inverted: 'as Pelias was out of control, so raged Lycurgus'. Then the correspondence between the two is indicated by *talem* alone, nothing in the phrase denoting the element 'as; like' (see note on 319); and to make things even more complicated this decisive word is placed not earlier than in a principal sentence following a temporal one. Finally, the person to whom Pelias is compared is made the object of that sentence, whereas a subject would be expected as in 'talis furit Lycurgus'. The structure therefore is: '(as Pelias raged in his palace,) in such a condition was Lycurgus when his wife and children fled before him, after Bacchus had vented his wrath by driving him crazy'.

Bistonas … gemunt: the sketch of the situation in which the anger of Bacchus, cause of Lycurgus' madness, lashes out starts in an unexpected way. First of all the Bistonians, a Thracian people, quite often appear in Latin literature, but if names are mentioned in these contexts, it mostly concerns Mars or Orpheus. They are nowhere else associated with Lycurgus, who was properly an Edonian (another Thracian tribe). There are some references to orgies among the Bistonians, and once their name is linked with the Edonians (*Ciris* 165). The reader therefore could hardly expect the four-line sentence to end up with *Lycurgum*. Then one may ask what the people had deserved (*meritos*). There is one passage that suggests they had taken part in their king's actions against Bacchus: Sen. *Oed.* 471 *regna securigeri Bacchum sensere Lycurgi* and this seems to be the only reasonable explanation, but again it is hard to understand at the beginning of the simile. For *merere* (*-ri*) in the sense of 'to deserve punishment' see OLD s.v. 4b.

cornua saeva: the attribution of horns to Dionysus is well established (see Langen's references, and cf. Poortvliet on 2.271, Wijsman on 5.79 and Smolenaars on Stat. *Theb.* 7.150). The epithet qualifying *cornua* is another instance of a non-animate noun to which a state of mind

is ascribed (see note on 401 above), another case of *saeva* being 2.301 *delubra … saeva Dianae.*

Thyoneus (mss. *Thyone*; first corrected in the Bologna edition of 1498) does not make for clarity either, since it is not frequent in Latin literature: Hor. *Carm.* 1.17.23, Ov. *Met.* 4.13 and Stat. *Theb.* 5.265. It is a matronymicum for Bacchus, son of Thyone.

torsit: VF takes over Virgilian diction but with a different content: in V. *A.* 5.831f. *torquent / cornua* the yard-arms are meant. There is also an echo of Luc. 1.575 *saevi* (!) *contorsit tela Lycurgi.* Here Bacchus has 'turned' (OLD 6) his horns against the Bistonians.

infelix … Haemus: unlike Rhodope, Mt. Haemus (the Balkan range) is not situated in the neighbourhood of the Bistonians, who lived near the coast. The name is loosely used for 'Thracians'. In 24 above this far-off range is part of Pelias' realm (see note). Among parallels for localities personified VF has some with the very same adjective, as in 5.81 (immediately after the mention of Bacchus' horns) *Cithaeron* and 4.180 *infelix domus* (that of Amycus). His examples for this would have included V. *G.* 2.198 (*infelix … Mantua*); cf. also Cat. 68.99 *Troia infelice.* Particularly placed near *mille* the combination points back to 715 (*mille … infelix*). The adjective in fact applies to *Rhodopes … arva* as well, whereas *mille furoribus* modifies both *infelix* and *gemunt.*

But what exactly is meant with those *furores*? Langen thought (and now apparently Liberman as well) that the noun refers to the revels of the Bacchantes 'infesta Lycurgo insania vagantium'. But Lycurgus was being punished (and as a consequence his people too) for the very fact of obstructing and trying to stop those orgies. There is nothing to suggest that the god in his revenge made use of his worshippers who had been thwarted; the phrasing implies that the inhabitants of the region were also guilty of persecuting the god. Therefore *furoribus* (pointing back of course to *furiis* 722) denotes either the cause of the havoc, the rage of the god (Garson [1964:776] 'Bacchus' savagery with its grim consequences') or the means he employed (frenzy among the people like that of Lycurgus and Pelias), not the ecstatic rites in his honour (if there is any opposition in the poet's mind between those aspects). *mille* accentuates the extent of the catastrophe. The combination of the numeral and the noun is the same as in Hor. *S.* 2.3.325 *mille puellarum, puerorum mille furores*, but in view of the wide difference in meaning this looks rather more like a coincidence than a not very felicitous variation.

The image of Mt. Haemus as presented here is also quite opposite to the one in V. *G.* 2.488. The repeated *iam* insists on the fact that

now the region has to pay dearly for their (king's) resistance to the cult of Dionysus. Mt. Rhodope is suffering again as the consequence of a king's folly (see note on 664: Salmoneus). The two mountains are jointly mentioned in Ov. *Her.* 2.113 (the name Lycurgus appearing in 111) and Mela 2.17.

nemora alta: as in V. *G.* 3.520 *non umbrae altorum nemorum*. The epithet echoes *(aedibus) altis* 724 and is opposed to *longis (porticibus)*. With regard to *gemunt* Ricci detects a studied amphibology, the sound being caused by the frenzied Bacchantes and/or Lycurgus and/or the furious god himself. The last two possibilities seem very remote and, as observed above, there is no part for the Bacchantes here. The wooded moutains resound to the cries of the panic-stricken population of the region. Cf. V. *A.* 12.722 *gemitu nemus omne remugit*, Sen. *Phaed.* 350 *silva gemit murmure saevo*, *Her.O.* 785 *totumque tauris gemuit auratis nemus*, Luc. 7.483 *Oetaeaeque gemunt rupes* (in 480 *Haemus* being mentioned). Since the people are in terror, the sounds from the woods constitute an echo of their state of mind as well. The present form *gemunt* is natural: after Bacchus has turned his horns against them they **now** ...

talem: the only word that makes this a simile (see above); like Pelias, so was Lycurgus in that situation. *incita*: this participle (there are no instances of finite forms attested) combines the notions of 'in rapid motion' (OLD 1) and 'excited' (ib. 2).

longis / porticibus: a clear echo from V. *A.* 2.528 *porticibus longis fugit*, in form opposed to *aedibus altis* in 724. Cf. 2.190f. *altis / porticibus* (no other instances of the noun in the *Argonautica*).

coniunx natique Lycurgum: there were different versions of the punishment of the king for his opposition to Bacchic worship and his attack on the god himself. He was either blinded (Hom. *Il.* 6.130–140) or wounded himself in the knee or leg (Serv. on V. *A.* 3.14, Ov. *Fast.* 3.722), was imprisoned (Soph. *Antig.* 955ff.) and then devoured by horses (Aollod. 3.5.1) or panthers (Hyg. 132) or crucified (Diod. 3.65.4f.). In VF's version, as in Apollodorus and Hyginus, he was driven to madness, pursuing and eventually killing his son (Dryas) and in one version (Hyginus) his wife as well. VF is the only author who speaks of more than one son, which may be a case of amplification (Ricci). The common elements in the simile are of course the madness, but also the fact that both kings intend (consciously or otherwise) to harm their relatives: Lycurgus his own (wife and) son(s), Pelias the parents (and brother) of his own cousin Jason.

3. *Jason's parents consult the ghost of Cretheus* (730–751)

The scene is now transferred from the palace of Pelias to the house of Aeson and Alcimede, who at this very moment (*tum* 730) are engaged in a ceremony to conjure up the spirit of their ancestor. They wish to be reassured about the current situation of Jason, but instead Cretheus informs them of the wicked intentions of Pelias and urges them to meet him in the world below.

Cf. Tonder 1880, Perutelli 1982, Scaffai 1986², Franchet d'Espèrey 1989, Dräger 1995.

730–734

Tartareo tum sacra Iovi Stygiisque ferebat
manibus Alcimede tanto super anxia nato,
si quid ab excitis melius praenosceret umbris.
ipsum etiam curisque parem talesque prementem
corde metus ducit, facilem tamen, Aesona coniunx.

Tartareo … Iovi: this kind of metonymy for Dis is quite common in poetry; see the list of parallels in Langen, to which add Stat. *Theb.* 2.49, 11.209, Sen. *Her.F.* 47 and 608, *Her.O.* 1705. This particular form reappears in Sil. 2.674, also in the dative form and the same metrical position. Cf. 828 below *Tartarei … patris*.

sacra ferebat: here not 'to carry sacred emblems in procession' (OLD s.v. *sacrum* 1), but apparently for *sacra facere*.

Stygiis … manibus: as in Ov. *Met.* 5.115f.; ib. 13.465 *Stygios … manes*.

anxia super: OLD gives as construed with this adjective the genitive, the ablative, and the prepositions *ad*, *de*, *ergo*, but not *super*. This in its turn hardly occurs in combination with other words denoting fear or concern, in contradistinction to *de* (K/S 1.500; cf. however Stat. *Theb.* 4.377f. *novus his super anxia turbat / corda metus*). The diction is therefore rather original here. *anxius* appears ten times in the *Argonautica*; in three of these passages (1.401, 2.300, 413) it is applied to someone's father, as it is here to a mother. With *tanto* the degree of 'greatness' is often implied and not expressed (OLD 1) in the context. Therefore it is not necessary to follow Liberman, who punctuates not after *nato* but after *Alcimede*, in a wish to make *tanto … nato* depend on *siquid* … etc.; he thinks that otherwise '*tanto* ne se comprend ⟨pas⟩'. *siquid* (whether

written as one word or as two) in any case is governed by the main clause *sacra ... ferebat*, meaning 'to see if' (cf. note on 460).

praenosceret: the verb already occurs in Cicero (also in Ovid and Lucan).

ab excitis ... umbris: in the sense 'to call up (ghosts, etc.)' (OLD 2b) *excire* is first attested in V. *Ecl.* 8.98, later in Sen. *Her.F.* 86, Sil. 1.98, 13.395. The plural is not simply 'poetic': she calls *exanimes atavos* (737) in general, although only Cretheus will appear with prophecies and warnings. Here and in 792 below *excite* the *i* is long, but in 6.8 *excita* it is short.

melius could be taken as an adverb, as from *bene* OLD 2 'to receive (more exact) information', but it is preferable to interpret it as an adjective *quid melius* 'something better, *i.e.* more favourable', than her expectations, which were low (*anxia*).

ipsum ... coniunx: as Langen remarks, this is true to life: both parents are worried, but it is the mother who, wanting to do something, takes the initiative (*ducit*), and the father willingly complies (*facilem*). Cf. Garson 1965:277.

curis (parem): not a dative 'equal to' (OLD 11), but rather an ablative 'equalling in' (OLD 8). Then *(tales)que* has to be taken in an adversative sense (K/S 2.27.6): he shared his wife's solicitude (*tales*), but tried to put a brave face on the situation.

prementem / corde metus: a combination of V. *A.* 1.209 *premit altum corde dolorem* and ib. 4.332 *curam sub corde premebat* (and cf. Luc. 7.341 *premit inde metus*). Nordera's remark (II.5) that Aeson's attitude is less heroic than Aeneas' tends to blur the differences between their respective ages and situations.

facilem (for which compare *animae faciles* 151 above) here certainly has the sense 'easily impelled (to take a particular course of action) ...' (OLD 2). Whereas *(tales)que* stresses the opposition between Aeson's sharing his wife's anxiety and his trying to hide his own, *tamen* accentuates the fact that it did not take much persuading on Alcimede's part to make him follow her initiative.

735–740

in scrobibus cruor et largus Phlegethontis operti
stagnat honos saevoque vocat grandaeva tumultu
Thessalis exanimes atavos magnaeque nepotem
Pleiones. et iam tenues ad carmina vultus
extulerat maestosque tuens natumque nurumque
talia libato pandebat sanguine Cretheus:

The following scene enters into a series of necromancies which started with the famous nekuia in Hom. *Od.* 11.25ff. Virgil in *Aeneid* 6 changed this into a katabasis (a living person descending into the underworld). The hole dug in the ground, into which blood is poured, appears again in Medea's actions in Ov. *Met.* 7.238ff., but she does not want information from the powers below as was the case with Odysseus and Aeneas, only permission to rejuvenate Aeson (249ff.). Then we have the grisly episode in Luc. 6.438–830, where the witch Erictho at the request of Sextus Pompeius temporarily revives an anonymous fallen soldier in order to get information from him about the outcome of the civil war. The scene is set in Thessaly, the country of magic rites. Another necromancy scene occurs in Sen. *Oed.* 530–659, where Laius is summoned from the dead (*vocat inde manes* 559). Statius of course did not omit a similar episode: in *Theb.* 4.406–645 Eteocles has Tiresias, with the help of the priestess Manto, consult the spirit of (again) Laius. Silius finally devotes the greater part of b. 13 (381–894) to Scipio meeting the ghosts at Cumae under guidance of the Sibyl and receiving detailed information both about the future and about the underworld. Structural and verbal resemblances will be discussed below.

For the interpretation of the passage it is essential to note the similarities and differences of these parallels. It is clear that Ovid and Lucan have the least to contribute in this respect. In the former there is no consultation of a ghost, the hole dug in the ground being the only common element with VF's story. Medea is never called a priestess (*sacerdos*) or a prophetess (*vates*) there. Lucan, on the other hand, pictures a woman of the utmost degradation, not conjuring up a ghost but reviving a corpse; she is usually referred to as *Thessala* or *Thessalis*, once as *venefica* (581) and once as *Thessala vates* (651): of course she is never a *sacerdos*. The four other passages in which spirits are consulted have one element in common that is absent from the version of VF: in all instances an intermediary figure is present, either simply advising the person who wants information or carrying out the actual ritual. In the *Aeneid* it is the Sibyl, alternatively styled *sacerdos* or *vates*, whereas Silius even has two Sibyls: Autonoe, contemporary of the consulting Scipio (401), and the shade of Virgil's Deiphobe (*A.* 6.36; not mentioned by name in Silius): 409ff. Both are called *vates* (404 and 894 resp.), the ancient one also *sacerdos* (490 and 756).

Things are different in Statius and Seneca, since there it is Tiresias who performs the consultation. Both authors qualify him as *sacerdos*

(*Oed.* 548, 622; *Theb.* 4.455) and *vates* (*Oed.* 552, 607; *Theb.* 407, 443, 491, 610). We may also note that sometimes the magical powers are pictured as able to constrain the forces of nature and even the gods to cooperation. This is strongly visible in the passages in Ovid (7.199ff.) and especially in Lucan (6.441, 446, 494, 528, 730ff.); but both Medea and Erictho are sorceresses or even witches, certainly not *sacerdotes*. However Tiresias also points to his powers in this respect, somewhat covertly in Seneca (561 *minax*; note the particularly relevant distinction that follows immediately: *aut placat …/ aut cogit*) and more openly in Statius (especially 513ff.). The Sibyls never have resort to such threats. Alcimede finally acts on her own behalf; she is a *sacerdos* (755, see below), but not a *vates*; she does not use compulsion (*cogit* in Seneca), but wants to placate (*placat* 781).

in scrobibus: Liberman (followed by Spaltenstein) prints *it* instead of mss. *in* without any reference in his apparatus to this divergence from the uniformly accepted reading. This conjecture is according to Giarratano to be found in the edition of (Dureau de) Lamalle (Paris 1811), which I have not been able to consult.

VF is the only author to omit the slaughter of the sacrificial animal(s), Erictho in Lucan not needing them because she does not work with ghosts but with dead bodies. The hole dug in the ground is mentioned also in Ov. *Met.* 7.243 (*egesta scrobibus tellure duabus*), Sen. *Oed.* 550 (*effossa tellus*), Stat. *Theb.* 4.451 (*noviens tellure cavata*), Sil. 13.406 (*reclusae … terrae*) and 427f. (*cavare refossam /… humum*). The same form *scrobibus* occurs *e.g.* in Ov. *Met.* 11.189 (*scrobibus … opertis*, the story of Midas) and four times in the second book of Virgil's *Georgics*. In AR (3.1207) too a hole is dug for an offering made by Jason to Hecate on arriving at the Phasis, but no ghosts are involved there. The blood is mentioned in Ov. *Met.* 7.245 (*sanguine*), Sen. *Oed.* 563 *sanguinem* (565 *cruore*), Stat. *Theb.* 4.453 (*suadumque cruorem*), Sil. 13.407 (*cruorem*), cf. ib. 431. In all these passages wine and milk are added (Ov. l.c. 246f., Sen. l.c. 565f., Stat. l.c. 452f., Sil. l.c. 434). It is just possible that the next-mentioned *largus … honos* consisted of those fluids, but in the absence of any hint in that direction it seems better to take *et* as explicative and to assume that VF dispensed with wine and milk. For *honos* as (concr.) 'offering' see note on 678; for the genitive denoting the being to which the offering is made cf. Prop. 4.8.7 (unless there, as in Ov. *Fast.* 6.773, *honos* denotes the ceremony itself).

For *largus* qualifying *honos (-or)* there are no parallels, but in view of the nature of the offering the epithet has nothing remarkable in itself;

cf. in the version of Statius (*Theb.* 4.451f.) *largos* .../... *Bacchi latices* and Sen. *Dial.* 1 (= *De Prov.*). 3.7 *largum in foro sanguinem.*

Phlegethontis operti: the name of this specific nether world river occurs in the parallel passages of the other Flavians: Stat. *Theb.* 4.523 (with *Acheron*), Sil. 13.836 (punishment of Tullia; cf. ib. 871). Only here in VF does it stand for the underworld as such, never recurring in the poem.

The reading *operti* was suggested by Turnebus and appears in the codices of Carrio and Harles (according to their testimony) and E (Ehlers), the other mss. having *aperti*, which was still kept by Kramer. Clearly *operti* is preferable, first because it would be too much to say that the world below is 'opened up' by the hole dug for the sacrifice, and then because *operti* is strongly supported by the parallels in Lucan (6.514 *domos Stygias arcanaque Ditis operti*) and Silius (13.429f. *operto* /... *regi*).

stagnat: according to OLD the verb is only here used to denote stagnancy of a liquid other than water. The connection with blood is made in Stat. *Theb.* 10.298f. *stagnant nigrantia tabo* / *gramina* and Sil. 6.36 *stagnantem caede* ... *terram.*

saevo ... *Thessalis*: the 'aged Thessalian woman' is of course Alcimede herself. Thessaly being one of the regions most noted for witchcraft (the connection is spelt out in Lucan's necromancy: 6.438, 451f., 614), *Thessalis* (and *Thessala* as well) sometimes simply denotes 'witch'. Alcimede makes use of this native power in summoning the spirits of the dead. As Jason's mother is skilled in witchcraft, so will Medea be later on. VF has *Thessalis* again only in 780 below. It does not occur in the parallel passages quoted above of Ovid, Seneca, Statius (who has it in *Theb.* 2.21f. and 3.140), and Silius; in Lucan's story of course it is often impossible to determine which aspect, if any, is dominant ('Thessalian' or 'witch'). Less clear is the meaning of *saevo* ... *tumultu*. Pius thought the appearing shades were in uproar, but *saevo* does not seem the right word to qualify this, and moreover they are still being 'called up' by Alcimede. Langen paraphrases with 'magno clamore', judging the expression not very successful. Anyhow we would rather expect '*murmure*' or the like (cf. 8.354 *futile murmur*, Ov. *Met.* 7.251 *precibusque et murmure longo*, Sil. 13. 428 *arcanum murmur*). The meaning of the noun here seems to be that registered in OLD 5 'mental disturbance, agitation, passion, etc.', and *saevo* is probably 'violent, immoderate, vehement (of emotions, passions, etc.'; OLD 8), as in 2.361f. *saevior* .../ *terror*. Alcimede acts 'in violent agitation'. *vocat*: as in Sen. *Oed.* 559 *vocat inde manes* 'conjures up'.

exanimes atavos: the noun in the general sense of 'ancestors' occurs again in 2.343 (for parallels see Poortvliet ad l. and OLD 2). The most famous instance is of course Hor. *Carm.* 1.1.1 *Maecenas atavis edite regibus*. For *exanimis* (*-us*) referring to the spirits, not the bodies, of the deceased there seem to be no parallels, but cf. V. *A.* 6.401 *exsangues ... umbras*, Sen. *Oed.* 598 *exsangue vulgus*, Stat. *Theb.* 4.519 *vulgusque exsangue*, Sil. 13.476 *exsanguem ... umbram*. In 6.346 VF again uses the adjective in a third declension form; in 2.465 and 5.28 he has *exanimum*.

magnae nepotem / Pleiones: Mercury, being the son of (Zeus and) Maia, who was one of the Pleiades, daughters of Pleione and Atlas: Ov. *Met.* 2.742f., *Her.* 16.62, *Fast.* 5.81ff. (where see Bömer). The role of Mercury in guiding the spirits is well-known; cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.10.17–20 (with Nisbet-Hubbard), Stat. *Theb.* 4.482f. *virgaque potenti / nubilus Arcas agat*, Sil. 13.630 *Cyllenia proles*. The epithet *magnus* may be simply conventional in speaking of a god (OLD 12b), but perhaps there is an element of word-play (*magnus—Maia*) involved as well. The name *Pleione* occurs once more in the *Argonautica*, namely in 2.67. where it denotes her daughters, the Pleiades (see Poortvliet ad l.).

et ... Cretheus: the name is revealed only at the very end of the sentence after almost three lines. For *et iam* see note on 350.

tenues ... vultus: the adjective ('thin, unsubstantial') is apposite for the ghosts (OLD 6b); cf. V. *G.* 4.472 (*umbrae*), *A.* 6.292 (*sine corpore vitas*), Ov. *Met.* 14.411 and *Fast.* 2.565 (*animae*), Stat. *Theb.* 8.86 (*tenuis visu*). Stat. *Theb.* 4.581 *tenuis ... vultus* is different (of Tiresias; cf. ib. 512).

ad (carmina): 'reacting to (her incantations)'; cf. OLD 33 and K/S 1.522.4 γ.

extulerat: cf. 642 above *fundo caput extulit*; here (*inferis*) is to be added mentally. There seem to be no other instances with *vultus* (*-um*).

maestos ... nurumque: the first *-que* connects *extulerat* and *pandebat*, the second and third are correlative in the well-known epic manner (as in V. *A.* 6.122, see note on 725 above). For *maestos* cf. 712 *maesti genitoris imago* and 753 below *maesta domus*. The adjective does not qualify Aeson and Alcimede elsewhere, but cf. 335 *talibus Alcimede maeret*.

natumque nurumque: cf. 150 above *natosque patresque* and see Poortvliet's note on 2.247 *nataeque nurusque*. In 769 below we have *natumque domumque*.

talia pandebat: the verb is used in the specific sense of 'to make known, reveal' (OLD 6); cf. Luc. 6.590 *pandere fata* (by Erictho), Stat. *Theb.* 4.621 *pande*.

libato sanguine: the drinking of blood is requisite for the ghost to be able to speak. The verb here means 'to consume a little of, sip' (OLD 3)

as in 2.194 (but in the parallel passage Sen. *Oed.* 563 and 565 the sense is 'to pour'). Cf. also Sil. 13.495 *delibavitque cruorem*.

In most instances (but not in Sen. *Oed.*) the appearing ghost is addressed at some length by the one who wants to consult him: Luc. 6.762–774 (not a ghost proper but a revived body, as noted above), Stat. *Theb.* 4.610–624 (Laius), in Silius 13 several times: 450–456 (Appius Claudius), 623–627 (Scipio's mother), 654–660 (his father), 711–715 (Paulus), 738–743 (Hannibal), 767–771 (Alexander the Great). VF dispenses with all this: the subject on which Alcimede and Aeson wish to be enlightened had been made clear in 731f. and the poet saw no reason to quote the actual words. In general his description of the scene and rites is succinct, both here and in 774f. below, as compared to the scale on which other poets, especially Lucan, indulge in provoking horror.

For the place of Cretheus in Jason's pedigree see note on 42 above.

741–743

> 'mitte metus: volat ille mari, quantumque propinquat
> iam magis atque magis variis stupet Aea deorum
> prodigiis, quatiuntque truces oracula Colchos.'

The speech of Cretheus clearly contains two messages: first reassuring words about the present situation and future of Jason (*ille*), in 741–746, and then a warning for the dangers to Aeson (*tibi* 747), with an exhortation to meet him in the underworld (747–751).

mitte metus: somewhat different from 307 (see note there); OLD 4 'to set aside, abandon, drop'. In V. *A.* 1.257 *parce metu* the fear is also about a son in danger.

volat … mari: an ablative of the 'route by which', as in V. *A.* 12.333f. *illi aequore aperto / … volant*, ib. 3.124 *pelagoque volamus*, Stat. *Theb.* 11.203 *volat aequore aperto*. For *volat* see note on 687 above.

quantumque propinquat: for *quantum* instead of *quanto magis* Langen gives two parallels from Livy (5.10.5 and 32.5.2), but in both cases the main clause is introduced with *tanto*. Hence Burman's suggestion of reading *hoc magis* for *iam magis* in the next line, as in the evident echo 4.544 *quantumque propinquat / Phasis, … hoc magis angunt*. There is however no need for this: in Liv. 21.31.2 we have an almost exact parallel *quantum a mari recessisset, minus obvium fore Romanum credens*. Here *(a mari) recedere* is semantically the very opposite of *propinquare* and *minus* (without *eo*, *tanto* or *hoc*) of *magis* here. Cf. also Liv. 44.36.5 *quantum increesceret aestus, et vultus minus vigentes et voces segniores erant*. Moreover *iam magis atque magis* is

strongly supported by V. *A.* 12.239 and its recurrence in *Arg.* 7.473. The alliteration is again very marked here (*mitte metus* … *mari* … *magis* … *magis*).

variis deorum prodigiis: the adjective occurs in an oracular context in V. *A.* 7.90 *varias* … *voces* (with *deorum* at the end of the line, the practice of 'incubation' being described; see Fordyce). Portents are earlier expressly ascribed to deities (Cic. *Har.* 44 *his prodigiis recentibus a dis immortalibus admonemur*, V. *A.* 6.379 *prodigiis* … *caelestibus*, Luc. 1.524f. *superique minaces / prodigiis terras implerunt, aethera, pontum*). For the genitive to denote this connection there is a parallel in Stat. *Theb.* 11.453f. *divom / prodigium.*

stupere may be construed with an accusative (149 above, 2.510, 4.549f., 5.95f. and 596), with *ad* + acc. (4.712), with *in* + abl. (262 above, and 5.375), and with the simple ablative (here, in 2.619 and 4.72), not counting the instances where the ablative is different: local (6.149) or construed with an adjective (7.393), or the verb means 'to freeze' (5.602). The ablative sometimes denotes the emotion itself (*gaudio*; *admiratione*), sometimes its cause, as here (OLD 2; *malis*). The nearest parallel seems to be Liv. 23.47.8 *miraculo.*

Aea: for mss. *acta*; read in Harles' ms. and (as a correction) in E, conjectured by Gronov and printed (apparently) from Heinsius on. It is an old mythical name for the far eastern country reigned over by Aeetes, made into an equivalent (or a region) of Colchis here, in 5.51 (see Wijsman's note) and 6.96; cf. *Aeaeo* 451. Of course the country here stands for its inhabitants, as is often the case (*e.g. Colchida* 52 above). The portents are referred to in b.5: 233ff., 253ff., 259ff.; cf. ib. 528.

For *quatiunt* 'to upset' cf. note on *quatit* 694 above. The verb reappears in the fifth book (272) with regard to the impending war between Aeetes and Perses; cf. Sil. 4.7. Also comparable are 2.122 (*Fama*) *motis quatit oppida linguis*, Stat. *Ach.* 1.729f. *fama trucis* (!) *belli* … *quod nunc / Europamque Asiamque quatit.*

truces: again used with *Colchos* in Phineus' prophecy (4.618), and furthermore qualifying a variety of persons and animals. It occurs near another form of *quatere* in 8.456 *quaterentque truces ieiuna leones / ora*, but in a different shade of meaning ('to shake, move, threateningly'; OLD 1b and c). *oracula* is the only instance of the noun in the *Argonautica.*

744–746

heu quibus ingreditur fatis, qui gentibus horror
pergit! mox Scythiae spoliis nuribusque superbus
adveniet; cuperem ipse graves tum rumpere terras!

heu … fatis: by using the commiserating *heu* Cretheus suggests that he is speaking here from the point of view of the Colchians. The combination *ingreditur fatis* recalls V. *A.* 3.17 *fatis ingressus iniquis*; in both passages *fatis* is to be taken as an ablative 'under a (…) destiny'. OLD s.v. *ingredior* 5b lists V. *A.* 4.177 (= 10.767) *ingrediturque solo* as a dative construction, but here too an ablative ('walks on the ground') is decidedly preferable (cf. Harrison on V. *A.* 10.763).

qui … pergit: whether we take *horror* as the subject or as a predicate qualifying the subject (Jason), it is used in the sense of 'a person, etc., causing terror to a particular place' (OLD 7b); cf. Poortvliet on 2.24. The dative already accompanies it in Prop. 4.10.10 (Acron) *Roma, tuis quondam finibus horror erat.* The notion of Fate marching inescapably on (Langen) can be discerned in *pergit* as before in 531 and 600.

gentibus is intentionally vague as befits an oracular uttering (although Jason and his Argonauts will in fact wage war against the Scythians and their allies). This is also alluded to in the following *Scythiae*, which is a misnomer in view of *spoliis nuribusque*. These nouns in their turn are not to be taken too specifically, especially as regards the plural: *spoliis* will consist of the Golden Fleece (cf. 7.45 and *spolientur* 5.632), *nuribus* refers only to Medea as a daughter-in-law 'after the fact' (though Spaltenstein takes it in a general sense). For the plural Strand refers to Sz. 16 and K/S 1.87. The (desired) lack of precision is enhanced by the fact that *nurus* sometimes means hardly more than 'young woman' (see Poortvliet on 2.111).

For *superbus* with an ablative cf. OLD 1b 'exultant or glorying in'. It already occurs with *spoliis* in V. *A.* 2.504 (the doors of Priam's palace; cf. ib. 501 *nurus*). The alliteration in this line is strong again (*Scy-*—*spo-*—*su-*; cf. 741 and 747).

adveniet apparently stands for *reveniet.*

cuperem ipse: in V. *A.* 10.443 these words occupy the same metrical position, but the construction there is with a subjunctive.

rumpere terras: essentially different from 463 above ('to penetrate with his gaze'). Here it denotes a (temporary) escape from the underworld, bursting through the earth. The opposite is described in Luc. 6.743 *inmittam ruptis Titana* (daylight) *tenebris*. In *Arg.* 7.298 *rupta condi tellure* denotes the wish 'to sink into the earth'.

graves terras: in an agricultural sense V. *G.* 3.525f. and Hor. *S.* 1.1.28, here rather 'oppressing' and therefore 'hard to pass'. In Sen. *Phaed.* 1280 (the last line) *gravisque tellus impio capiti incubet* the meaning is downright opposite to the well-known formula '*sit tibi terra levis*'.

There is an echo of this passage in 5.82–100, where several shades, among which is that of Sthenelus, rise from the realm of Dis to see the Argo passing. The number of verbal similarities is small: *attollere vultus* (85)—*vultus / extulerat* 738f., *quateret* (different in meaning, 93)—*quatiunt* 743; *carmina* (98)—*carmina* 738.

747–751

sed tibi triste nefas fraternaque turbidus arma
rex parat et saevos irarum concipit ignes.
quin rapis hinc animam et *famulos citus effugis artus?
i, meus es, iam te in lucos pia turba silentum
secretisque ciet volitans pater Aeolus arvis'.

triste nefas: the combination is first attested in V. *A.* 2.184, then in Stat. *Theb.* 9.887. The epithet, having hardly any moral implications in itself, partakes of the notions 'hostile' (OLD 3b) and 'repulsive' (ib. 8). The noun is made explicit by the following (*fraterna*) *arma*, resulting in a kind of hendiadys ('*nefaria arma*'). In V. *A.* 4.563 *dolos dirumque nefas* it is the other way around. *parare* 'to plan, intend' (OLD 8) with objects denoting 'war' (as *arma* here) is not unusual (cf. 5.580 *ceu pugnam paret*), but not very common with words similar to *nefas* here (Sal. *Cat.* 52.36 *facinora*). For the meaning of *fraterna* see note on 163.

In VF's time *fraterna arma* would have suggested 'civil war', although the adjective is not attested in this specific meaning (in Hor. *Epod.* 7.18 and Luc. 1.95 the direct reference is to Romulus and Remus, but of course the same hint is implied there as well).

turbidus: OLD 5 ('wild, fanatic, impatient'); cf. 6.293 *turbidus et furiis ardens quatit arma paternis*, ib. 616f. (with *furit* and *saevo*). For the place of the adjective see note on 81.

rex takes first place in the line as in 2.556. 4.101, 5.405 and (in an address) 471, 7.53 (possibly also ib. 546); it occurs twelve times in other places in the line.

saevos … *ignes*: the adjective is not attested elsewhere in combination with *ignis* (or *flamma*), but in the sense of 'violent, immoderate, vehement' (OLD 8) it qualifies emotions such as *ira* (V. *A.* 10.813; *Arg.* 2.315, where *ignes* precedes). For *ignis* as 'angry passion, rage' OLD 10a gives some parallels. The image of 'burning rage' is found in other expressions like *incendor ira* (Ter. *Hec.* 562), *ardet dolore et ira* (Cic. *Att.* 2.19.5).

concipere ignes, *flammam* as 'to catch fire' in a literal sense is quite common (OLD s.v. *concipio* 1); used figuratively it occurs with 'the flame

of love' (ib.). There appear to be no other instances of the expression where the 'fire' is that of rage, as here.

The combination of *arma* … *parat* with *concipit ignes* constitutes a hysteron proteron, especially in view of the present tense of the second verb.

quin here is used formally as a question, in fact containing an exhortation (K/S 2.496). This use was later transformed into a combination with an imperative (K/S 1.201; Sz. 676), which we find in VF 2.55 (see Poortvliet), 4.471, 7.93 (see Perutelli) and 257, 8.435. In 5.635f. *quin age* … *imus* we have a mixed case.

rapere animam means 'to take one's life' (V. *A.* 10.348, where however the 'breath of life' is implied, referring to the throat-wound that killed Dryops: *traiecto gutture*). Cf. Luc. 9.788 *eripiunt omnes animam*. Here of course Cretheus says 'why don't you take *your* life?' *hinc* 'from this place' denotes earth as opposed to the realm of the dead.

In the rest of the sentence it is only the adjective which poses a problem: suggestions to change *artus* (*ictus* Bährens, *astus* Bury 1893, *actus* Nairn) are needless or worse, as is the idea that *artus* is governed by *citus* ('swift of limbs', Reuss). *effugere artus* 'to leave one's body behind', although not attested elsewhere, is the perfect counterpart of *animam rapere*, and the element 'fast', implied by the verb *rapere*, is in the second phrase expressed by means of (predicatively used) *citus*. But the adjective *famulos* transmitted by the mss. has caused quite some discussion. It has been interpreted as 'servant, obedient, subordinate' (viz. to the spirit: *animam*) since Maserius, and recently by Spaltenstein and Dräger, and as 'subservient, being forced to obey' (namely to the commands of Pelias) since Pius, whereas Bährens, reading *ictus*, took it as an equivalent of *famulorum* (Pelias' men). But the opposition *animam* … *artus* should be kept, and the fact that 'servants' hands' would kill Aeson does not look like the most terrifying aspect of the situation. The explanation put forward by Pius is equally improbable: Aeson was not a servant of Pelias, who wanted to kill him, not to make him a slave. Finally, the 'philosophic' interpretation is not satisfactory either. Of course the concept of the most desirable relation between body and soul (servant—master) did exist in antiquity, but here it is rather irrelevant, and moreover it is never expressed by means of *famulus*. On the contrary, 6.413 *artus* … *eriles* 'bodies of the masters' strongly suggests that *famulos artus* could only mean 'bodies of servants'. The rise of conjectures is therefore understandable, and after Eyssenhardt's *tumulo* (unfortunate) and Koch's *fragiles* (too far from the mss. reading)

Thilo (LXXXVII and in his apparatus) suggested *tremulos*, which was then printed by Langen and Mozley and recently by Liberman. This is probably the best solution: *famulos* may have crept in from *famulum* 752, and there are several parallels for *tremulus* denoting consequences of old age: see Liberman's note. Cf. in different contexts Lucr. 3.7 *tremulis … artubus* and Cic. *de Orat.* 1.121 *artubus omnibus contremescam*. VF has *tremulus* twice more, all in the first book (469 *ceruchos*, 620 *malum*).

i: a real imperative (as in 56 above), not a 'virtually redundant' one, as seems to be implied in OLD s.v. *eo*[1] 10.

meus es: Prop. 4.3.2 *si potes esse meus* is only superficially parallel. Here the words mean, as Langen noted, 'show yourself to be a worthy descendant of mine by bravely confronting the danger'.

in lucos: the forests in the underworld are repeatedly mentioned in the sixth book of the *Aeneid*: forms of *nemus* in 386, 473, 639, 658, 704; of *silva* 451, 704; and in 673 *lucis habitamus opacis*. Cf. 842 below *silvas*.

pia turba: Ov. *Tr.* 5.3.47 (*poetae*), *Fast.* 2.507, Prop. 3.13.18, [Tib.] 3.10 (4.4).25, *Epic. Drusi* 296 (and *impia turba* Tib. 1.3.70). In these instances, however, it is not the (pious) dead who are meant. For this use see OLD s.v. *pius* 1b, and especially Luc. 6.798f. *camposque piorum / poscit turba nocens* and Sil. 13.552 *turba piorum*. Virgil restricts this use for the *vates* (*A.* 6.662; VF repeats it in 842 *amoena piorum*).

silentum in the first place belongs to *pia turba*, but by extension secondarily to *lucos*. For substantively used *silentes* 'the silent ones' denoting the dead see OLD s.v. *silens* 2 and Bömer on Ov. *Met.* 13.25. The nearest parallel to *turba silentum* is Sen. *Med.* 740 *vulgus silentum*; cf. also V. *A.* 6.264 *umbraeque silentes*.

(*in lucos*) *ciet*: OLD s.v. *cieo* 2 cites one instance of this construction (Acc. *trag.* 494). The verb ('to summon') here approaches the sense of 'to welcome'. In a military context (with *pugnam* or *proelia*) this use is more common (TLL 3.1055.9).

secretis … arvis: here too (cf. note on *hinc* 749) Carrio's 'vetus codex' had a wrong reading, namely *antris*. For *arva* in the underworld cf. V. *A.* 6.477f. *arva … / … secreta*, ib. 744 *laeta arva*, Ov. *Met.* 11.62 *per arva piorum*, *Epic. Drusi* 329 *pio … in arvo*. These fields are called *secreta* (secluded, reserved here for the special category of virtuous dead) in several other passages: V. *A.* 6.443 *secreti … calles*, ib. 8.670 *secretosque pios*, Sil. 13.551 *secreti … limitis*. Cf. also V. *A.* 6.704 *seclusum nemus*, Hor. *Carm.* 2.13.23 *sedesque discretas (descriptas) piorum*, *Culex* 375 (Minos) *conscelerata pia discernis vincula sede*. The local ablative *secretis … arvis* qualifies *volitans*, which participle has nothing to do (as has been supposed) with Aeolus being

lord of the winds: he was originally another figure (*Kl. P.* 1.184). It rather denotes the fluttering often ascribed to the ghosts (OLD 1b; esp. Sen. *Oed.* 599). *volare* is used in the same sense (OLD 2d), also in V. *A.* 6.706, Stat. *Theb.* 3.75f.

While *ciet* of course has two subjects (*pia turba silentum* and *Aeolus*), we had better not with Langen take *secretis* … *volitans* … *arvis* as qualifying *turba* as well: the 'sequestered' fields where Aeolus 'flits about' isolate him from the *turba* mentioned in the preceding line. Cf. Anchises in V. *A.* 6.679, 703f., as opposed to ib. 752ff.

4. *The suicide of Jason's parents with the curses uttered by Aeson to Pelias* (752–817)

Events are moving fast now: during the speech of Cretheus the news of Pelias' henchmen approaching reaches the elderly couple. Perutelli (1982:124) detects a 'prima forte incongruenza' and a 'mancanza di consequenzialità' in that Aeson does not respond to Cretheus' words. But his reaction could have brought little of interest; the poet's decision to exclude an answer (prevented as it is by the pace of things happening) and not to relate the withdrawal of Cretheus' ghost is fully understandable and makes for speed and conciseness in keeping with his predilection for brevity.

752–754

> horruit interea famulum clamore supremo
> maesta domus, regemque fragor per moenia differt
> mille ciere manus et iam dare iussa vocatis.

interea: if taken literally, this would imply that the news of Pelias' men approaching reached Aeson's domicile while the ghost of Cretheus was still speaking. Possibly, however, the word serves merely to signal the transition to another scene (cf. note on 574 above).

(horruit) … *domus*: the house of Aeson, not the palace of Pelias as has been assumed (by J.A. Wagner and Köstlin 1891). Of course it is *maesta* (cf. V. *A.* 11.38 *maestoque immugit regia luctu*; ib. 2.486ff. *gemitu miseroque tumultu* /… *plangoribus* …/… *ululant*). The news that causes distress among Aeson's servants (*famulum*) must be later in time than the rumours described in the second phrase (*regemque* …), so this is another hysteron proteron. *horruit* partakes of the notions 'to have a dreadful

... aspect' (OLD 3b) and 'to be affected with dread' (ib. 4c). Its exact relation to *clamore supremo* cannot be defined by grammatical categories (causal ablative? concomitant?). Langen explains the phrase as 'horrendo clamore domus completur', but this too narrows its meaning. The house is filled with horror and cries; in whatever way they are complementary. *supremus* in combination with *clamor* etc. (for the exact collocation cf. Ov. *Tr.* 3.3.43) usually denotes the 'last cries' of mourners at a burial or cremation (cf. 3.349f.), which is slightly premature here. OLD s.v. *supremus* 5 remarks on this passage '(transf., of an anguished cry)' and Langen speaks of a 'clamor qui fit in ultima desperatione'. In 5.25 *supremo in tempore* denotes Tiphys' last moments, ib. 32 *supremos* the farewell to the deceased. In 8.172 the wording is very similar: *famulae ... clamore supremo* (of the servants of Medea, who has fled her parents' home). The sequence a a—b b (*clamore supremo—maesta domus*) is unusual in VF, though not in Virgil.

regem ... vocatis: this sentence presents some difficulties which have not been acknowledged properly. Firstly, *fragor* is not a synonym of *fama* or *rumor* (Langen's parallels are from Prudentius). Secondly, the use of *differre* in the sense of 'to spread about' (OLD 3) is not well documented without the 'rumour' being either a grammatical object (not a subject as it would be here): *famam*; *rumores* (cf. Nep. *Di.* 10.1 *rumore dilato*), or expressed with an ablative (*rumoribus* Lucil. 1015; *sermonibus* Liv. 34.49.6, the only other instance with an accusative and infinitive construction). Carrio proposed *defert*, punctuating with a full stop after it, but Maserius took it as 'nunciat, ostendit', clearly to be construed with the following line. This would be preferable, since for *deferre* 'to report' (OLD 8b) there is a good parallel in V. *A.* 4.298f. *fama .../ detulit armari classem cursumque parari*. Furthermore the news that is spread through the town (*per moenia*) is not reported in the form of a 'rumour': *fragor* denotes the sounds (shouted commands, etc.) made by the military marching to Aeson's house. Should *differt* be correct, the poet must have preferred it to the usual constructions to convey the notion of 'spreading'. The sensation caused by the royal guardsmen leaving their barracks in force would have led to exaggerated estimates among the inhabitants (*mille ... manus*). The repetition of *ciere* 'bring into action' from *ciet* 751 again shows that ancient poetry found nothing objectionable in this. The orders (*iussa*) issued by the king to the men he summoned (*vocatis*) are still in force, hence the present tense of *dare* (K/S 1.117.4).

755–757a

> flagrantes aras *vestemque nemusque sacerdos
> praecipitat, subitisque pavens circumspicit Aeson
> quid moveat.

flagrantes … praecipitat: this is a very difficult sentence (cf. *Mnem.* 1991: 141–145). The *sacerdos* must be Alcimede, as is now generally acknowledged (Mehmel, Kramer, Strand, Courtney [in his 1975 review of Strand], Ehlers, Liberman, Spaltenstein, Dräger 2003). For its use in a 'magical' context cf. V. *A.* 4.509 *stant arae circum et crinis effusa sacerdos*. There is also no problem about the 'blazing altars', in view of V. *A.* 12.171 *flagrantibus aris*, but the other elements remain puzzling. *praecipitat* can hardly mean 'she hurls down' (OLD 1) 'the altar'; probably the general meaning of the verb is 'to hurry precipitately (an action, process, etc.)' (OLD 6b, where our passage is noted as '(poet.)'). The hurry is evidently caused by the approach of Pelias' men, and the general idea must be that Alcimede rapidly finishes the ritual of necromancy (Liberman: 'se débarrasse de …'). The action is then expressed by means of concrete objects, for which there is at least one parallel in Stat. *Theb.* 5.150 *praecipitare colos (colus)*. Probably the notion of the sacrifice being speeded up is conveyed by means of three visual aspects. Alcimede swiftly finishes her actions around the altar; in a way she 'gets rid of it'—and of her dress (*vestem*) too? No, commentators hasten to explain (from Burman to Liberman), she slips off her magical (or sacrificial) garment. There is, however, no hint of this, whereas in Luc. 6.654f. and Sen. *Oed.* 552f. specific clothing is mentioned (it is absent from the versions of Statius in *Theb.* 4 and Silius in bk. 13). On the other hand, *vitta* as a woollen band worn by priests (OLD 2a) adorns Manto in Stat. *Theb.* 4.580 and Tiresias ib. 602, and Burman refers to a ms. reading *vittamque* instead of *vestemque*. This would surely make the passage less enigmatic. One expects altars in this context, even if they are not mentioned previously; unspecified clothing, on the other hand, only contributes to confusion. Still more problematic is *nemusque* (if that is what VF wrote). The least objectionable interpretation is '(sacred) foliage', probably attached to Alcimede's head in the form of a chaplet (Schenkl, Strand, Liberman, Dräger); cf. 3.424 *vittis* (!) *et supplice castus oliva*, ib. 436 *glaucasque comis praetexere frondes*. One problem (not a minor one) is that *nemus* is not attested in this sense; its use here would be hyperbolic and at the same time extremely succinct. The somewhat comparable *silva* has been adduced in 3.427 *sil-*

vaque super contristat opaca and Ov. *Met.* 7.242 *has* (= *aras*) *ubi verbenis silvaque incinxit agresti.* These parallels would rather suggest that the foliage in our passage was also attached to the altar, not placed on Alcimede's head (which would reduce the hyperbole to acceptable proportions). This interpretation has indeed been proposed, by Weichert 1812 and Thilo LXXXVII. In that case, however, attention would be drawn first to the altar itself (the plural is of course 'poetic'), then to an aspect of Alcimede (whether 'garment' or 'woollen band'), and then to (a detail of) the altar again, which looks like a rather uncomfortable sequence. Therefore, with considerable doubts remaining, an interpretation of sorts could be given as 'the priestess hastily concludes [her actions at] the blazing altar, her (garment? woollen band?) and chaplet' (in the last two cases she 'puts down').

subitis … moveat: the proposal by Delz 1976 (accepted in Ehlers' edition) to punctuate after *circumspicit* as a second predicate next to *praecipitat*, *Aeson* being the subject of *moveat* only, has been effectively refuted by Perutelli 1982:125 and Liberman (and also rejected by Spaltenstein and Dräger). For one thing, the following simile expresses Aeson's doubt about what to do in this situation. Moreover, in all other instances where *Aeson* closes the line after a verb (1.144, 767, 825, 7.494) he is the subject of that verb. The repetition in 767 is notable in any case, and perhaps an indication that the poet would have revised this passage.

subitis: OLD 2 '(neut. as sb.) an unexpected state of affairs, emergency, crisis'. For *pavere* with an ablative denoting the cause of the fear see note on 309 above; for the combination *pavens circumspicit* cf. 6.438 *timet et … circumspicit.* The verb itself, also construed in 767 with an indirect question, takes an object in the accusative in 5.355 and 6.438 (cited above); in all instances it carries the notion of 'to look around for help or safety'.

quid moveat: a deliberative subjunctive 'which action he should take'; OLD s.v. *moveo* 17 'to set on foot, undertake, initiate (an activity)'. Cf. his son's dilemma in 71 *heu quid agat?*

757b–761

quam multa leo cunctatur in arta
mole virum rictuque genas et lumina pressit,
sic curae subiere ducem, ferrumne capessat
imbelle atque aevi senior gestamina primi
an patres regnique acuat mutabile vulgus.

The simile compares Aeson to a lion surrounded by huntsmen, unsure what to do. It has many predecessors, starting with Hom. *Il.* 12.41–48; ib. 299–306 (where the lion is the attacker in spite of armed opposition), 17.133–136 (defending its cubs), 20.164–173. In AR 2.26–29 the lion has been wounded. In V. *A.* 9.551–554 an unspecified *fera* is attacked by hunters (ib. 792–796 it is a lion), whereas ib. 12.4–8 the lion is wounded again. In other Virgilian similes where a lion is involved, there is no mention of menacing huntsmen. These appear again in Luc. 1.205–212, but are absent from Stat. *Theb.* 2.675–681. Silius finally has a full simile, without hunters, in 5.309–315, and a shorter one in 10.2f. (a *fera* at bay again). In the *Argonautica* lions are further mentioned in 2.458–461 (a simile in which the local population is aroused), in 3.587–589 (the lion is wounded), ib. 737–740 (a lioness whose cubs have been stolen; no hunters mentioned), and in 6.613f. (the lion has been successful). For details of the situation described and/or wording see below.

quam multa: in V. *A.* 6.309 *(quam) multa* is of course an adjective. For adverbial *multa* cf. V. *G.* 3.226 *multa gemens (ignominiam)*, where it could also be taken as an internal object (again in *A.* 4.395 and 5.869). The closest verbal parallel is V. *A.* 4.390 *multa metu cunctantem et multa parantem / dicere*, where *cunctantem* expresses both 'tarrying, lingering' (OLD 2) and 'hesitating' (OLD 1b). In the first sense *multa* strongly suggests 'for a long time', as in V. *A.* 3.610 *haud multa moratus*. This could be implied here as well, but the primary meaning is rather 'strongly, very much'.

The combination *quam … sic* is irregular in that *quam* denotes degree and *sic* manner; it amounts to the change of 'as strongly as … so (strongly)' to 'as strongly as …, in like manner'. Cf. V. *A.* 5.458f. *quam multa …/… sic* with Williams' note.

leo: the final syllable is also long in 6.347, short in 3.588 and 636, 6.613.

cunctatur was first suggested by Thilo in his apparatus and subsequently printed by all editors except Kramer; it relieves us in a simple way of the awkward combination *(rictu)que (genas) et (lumina pressit)*. As noted above, the verb suggests doubt, hesitation, delay in action (Sturt 124). This element is also present in Luc. 1.207 (*dubius*); in V. *A.* 12.6 *tum demum* does not mean 'after hesitation', but 'after he has been wounded'.

in arta / mole virum: the close ranks of the hunters are expressed in V. *A.* 9.551 with *densa venantum (saepta) corona*. The noun *moles* means 'a crowd' (OLD 1b), as in V. *A.* 12.575 *densaque ad muros mole feruntur*, where

densa is the equivalent of *arta* here. This adjective is used '(of crowds, etc.) close-packed, dense …' (OLD 9; cf. TLL 2.721.10ff.); the closest parallels are Tib. 1.2.95 *turba … arta*, Sil. 5.165 *artis in milibus*, ib. 17.417 *agmina … arta*.

rictu … pressit: this must indeed mean (Burman, Weichert, Thilo, Langen) 'by widely opening his jaws he makes the eyes disappear, compressing the region of the face near to them' (OLD s.v. *rictus*: 'in some cases perh.= the action of parting the lips'). There seems to be no exact parallel for this expression; in Hom. *Il.* 17.136 (adduced by Garson 1969: 365, n.2) a different reaction is described, though with a comparable effect contained in the last two words. For *rictu* cf. Luc. 1.209 (cited above) *vasto … hiatu*. *premere* practically means 'to close (= to make invisible)' in *Arg.* 2.227 *oculos pressere*; Luc. 8.615 *lumina pressit*, Sen. *Her.O.* 1754 *non pressit oculos*. Here *genas*, often equivalent to 'eyes', adds the element of 'facial contortions' (Shelton 49). The noun is applied to a tigress in Stat. *Theb.* 2.130 and 10.290, and occurs with (forms of) *lumen* in V. *A.* 12.221f. and *Culex* 185. The perfect *pressit* is gnomic (often in similes: K/S 1.132.9; *pressit* in V. *A.* 2.380!). Whether or not the phenomenon described can be observed in reality in the behaviour of wild animals is irrelevant to this poetic embellishment, which of course only expands the image of the lion, not that of Aeson.

curae: while the lion is already bodily confronted with its opponents, Aeson is beset with 'anxious thoughts' (Shelton). Both OLD 1 ('anxiety … worry, care, distress') and ib. 5 ('solicitude, concern') give parallels with an indirect question following: Pl. *Merc.* 247 (*quid*), Enn. *Ann.* 83 (*uter*), Ov. *Pont.* 4.14.7 (*quo*). There appear to be no instances with *-ne* and *an*.

For *subeunt* cf. note on 713 above; the verb clearly denotes 'to come over' (OLD 11). The combination with *curae* occurs previously in Ov. *Tr.* 4.3.23 *tunc subeunt curae*.

ducem: Perutelli (1982:126) detects an incongruity in the picture of Aeson as an old and frightened man (*pavens*) and a leader at the same time. However, the situation is clearly modelled after Priam's 'last stand' in *Aeneid* 2, and the one alternative here is armed rebellion, of which Aeson would have been the leader. So the use of the noun is proleptic rather than inapposite, the overall effect amounting to 'anxious thoughts came over him, still a possible leader'. The alternative, to offer resistance in person, would be in accordance with the idea of a (heroic) leader as well. *ferrum … imbelle*: a conflation of *telum imbelle* (V. *A.* 2.544) and *inutile ferrum* (ib. 510). In the wording, this passage closely echoes

Priam's last scene: cf. furthermore (509) *senior* and *aevo*, (544) *senior*, with (VF) *aevi senior* (761). For *imbelle* cf. Austin ad l.; this is another case of a person's characteristic ('no (longer) fit to fight') transferred to an object he wields (cf. for instance 122 *docta* … *bipenni*). More often it is an emotion which is attributed to a thing (*e.g.* 109 *umeris gaudentibus*, 622f. *pavidam* … *ratem*).

capessat here is used in its primary sense (OLD 1); cf. note on 74 above (*freta iussa*) and 540 (*nomen*). Like *circumspicit*, the verb is repeated shortly afterwards (768). The present tense after a perfect in the main clause is chiefly poetic (Sz. 551); the subjunctive itself is of course deliberative.

atque … *primi*: in V. *A.* 3.286 and Ov. *Met.* 13.116 and 15.163 *gestamen* denotes a shield, but in Ov. *Met.* 1.457 it is a bow, and in V. *A.* 7.246 a sceptre (maybe including the other gifts). Since *ferrum* surely denotes a sword, which meaning is not attested for *gestamen*, the latter noun may refer to a shield here too, though without *clipeus* which occurs in or near the three passages cited above; VF would have found this superfluous. Alternatively we could take *atque* as explicative. In the four other instances in the *Argonautica* the noun stands for a sceptre (3.344), a rock used as a missile (6.649), and Venus' necklace (ib. 671), whereas in 6.72 it denotes not something carried, but a 'means of conveyance' (OLD 3) or 'the process of conveyance' (Wijsman ad l.).

The plural enhances the 'poetic' value of this uncommon noun, as in the two Ovidian passages.

aevum primum means 'one's first youth' (OLD s.v. *aevum* 5c, TLL 1.1166.46ff.); cf. V. *A.* 2.518 *sumptis Priamum iuvenalibus armis*. The expression usually occurs in the ablative, whether or not with prepositions (*ab*, *in*, *sub*), but the genitive sounds natural: 'the weapons of his youth'. Two other instances with a genitive are Sil. 10.13 (governed by *immemor*) and *Arg.* 5.357 (with *cultus*).

an … *vulgus*: the possibility of an armed insurrection had occurred to Jason as well; cf. 71 above, where *populum* … *levem* closely corresponds to *mutabile vulgus* here. In both cases the *patres* are supposed to support the rebellion. While Jason prefers the alternative (the expedition), Aeson eventually rejects both. *regni* must be a qualification of *vulgus* 'the lower elements of the people' (OLD s.v. *regnum* 5: 'a community ruled by a king, …, kingdom'). Therefore this genitive is partitive, not defining as in the passages cited in OLD s.v. *vulgus* 3, where the element of 'lower grade' is absent or far less conspicuous than here, for which cf. OLD 1. For *mutabile* cf. Liv. 2.7.5 *mutabiles volgi animi*, 24.31.14 *mobile volgus*, 29.23.6 *mutabilia barbarorum ingenia* and Curt. 4.10.7 (*multitudo*).

acuat: 'to stir emotionally, rouse, incite' (OLD 3). Both subject and object are persons, as in V. *A.* 7.330 *quam Iuno his acuit verbis*, Sil. 1.113 (Hamilcar) *his acuit stimulis* (sc. *filium*).

762–766

contra effusa manus haerensque in pectore coniunx
'me quoque' ait 'casus comitem quicumque propinquat
accipies, nec fata traham natumque videbo
te sine, sat caeli patiens, cum prima per altum
vela dedit potui quae tantum ferre dolorem'.

contra introduces an opposing attitude and statement (as in 228 above), at the beginning of the line (as in 137 above). The opposition remains implicit: Alcimede wants to be with Aeson when fate strikes, the thought of resistance not even entering her mind.

effusa manus: another audacious construction of an accusative of the type introduced or further developed by Virgil. Its primary meaning must be (OLD 15) 'to stretch out (the arms or sim.)'; cf. Luc. 1.139f. (of an oak) *ramos / effundens*, 4.176 *in amplexus effusas tendere palmas*, and *Arg.* 4.375 *effusis … lacertis*. Here the participle can be said to be in the middle voice. In view of the words following directly after there might also be an element of (OLD 13b) 'to fling oneself (into someone's arms, etc.)', as in Luc. 9.56 *gelidosque effusa per artus*.

haerens … in pectore: cf. 316 *longis … amplexibus haerent* (when the Argo is about to sail), 348 *conlapsam pectore matrem*. For *haerere in* + ablative cf. Ov. *Pont.* 1.9.19 *haesit in amplexu*.

me … comitem: both V. *A.* 9.277 *comitem casus complector in omnis* and Luc. 2.346f. *non me laetorum comitem* (or *sociam*) *rebusque secundis / accipis* would have contributed to this phrase. The idea that the devoted wife wants to share her husband's fate is also present in Ov. *Met.* 11.441 (Alcyone to Ceyx) *me quoque tolle simul*; cf. also V. *A.* 2.675 *si periturus abis, et nos rape in omnia tecum*. For *comes* with a genitive denoting that which is shared cf. V. *A.* 2.294 *fatorum comites*, Ov. *Met.* 3.58f. and Liv. 40.4.15 *mortis* (OLD 5b; TLL 3.1774.80ff.).

quicumque propinquat: other instances where the verb is used for the 'approach in time' are given in OLD 2: V. *A.* 12.150 *Parcarum … dies et vis inimica*, Stat. *Ach.* 1.257f. *metuenda … tempora*. This is a third instance (next to *circumspicit* and *capessat*) of a verb repeated within a short space (in this case 741). The similarity between *quantumque* there and *quicumque* here suggests that this is not accidental but either a deliberate or a subconscious correspondence. For the thought cf. furthermore Sen. *Her.F.* 305f. (esp. *sequimur*).

accipies: Pius' proposal of reading *accipias* should have been taken seriously. The future form could easily have been introduced from *videbo* (*traham* being ambiguous). Punctuation after the verb (as in Courtney's edition) makes things clearer.

nec … videbo: the negation of course applies only to *te sine*; Alcimede does not even want to see her beloved son again if her husband is to be killed. *fata trahere* conveys the notion 'to prolong a miserable life' (*fata* not meaning 'death' here). Cf. Prop. 4.9.65f. *angulus hic mundi nunc me mea fata trahentem / accipit.* In *Arg.* 3.221 however *fata trahens* rather means 'to put off death' ('alio sensu', Burman remarks), whereas in Luc. 9.922f. *at si quis peste diurna / fata trahit* both shades of meaning may be present. For *-que* connecting two negated elements see note on 111 above. *natumque videbo* recalls 323f. above *si fata reducunt / te mihi.* For *te sine* cf. Wijsman on 5.44.

sat … dolorem: the sentence explains why life has hardly anything to offer to Alcimede. *sat … patiens*: 'I had already lived long enough when I took leave of my son'. *caelum pati* here = 'to endure the light of life' (OLD s.v. *caelum* 8); cf. 325 above *lucemque pati.* In earlier passages *caelum* in combination with *pati* has a more physical meaning. Nordera gives Ov. *Tr.* 3.3.7 *nec caelum patior* (the climate); cf. Luc. 9.8 (the *semidei manes*) *patientes aetheris imi*, Stat. *Theb.* 11.590f. *patiensque superni / aëris*. For the rest of the sentence Courtney's punctuation is again preferable: the temporal clause *cum … dedit* belongs to the following relative one, not to the preceding words, as Mozley and Liberman would have it; cf. 306 above.

cum … prima: almost equivalent to *cum primum* 'as soon as'. It is true that the sails were also 'the first that ever existed' (unlike *prima … freta pervia* in 1 above), but this was probably not present in Alcimede's mind. Cf. *ut prima* 2.207.

per altum / vela dedit: with *per* the expression occurred in 271 above (*ire per a.*) and is found again in 4.561 and 569; with *in* 2.26 and 74. Virgil regularly has *vela dare*: *G.* 2.41; *A.* 1.35; 2.136; 3.9, 191; 4.546; 5.797; 8.708; 12.264; VF again in 6.597.

quae … dolorem: two passages in the *Aeneid* have contributed to this phrase, namely 4.419 *hunc ego* (= Dido) *si potui tantum sperare dolorem* and 9.426 (Nisus) (*nec*) *… / aut tantum potuit perferre dolorem*, both farewell scenes full of emotion. 'After having been able to bear such sorrow at the moment when my son left, I had had enough of life; accompanying you in death could take nothing of value from me'.

767–770

> talia per lacrimas. et iam circumspicit Aeson
> praeveniat quo fine minas, quae fata capessat
> digna satis; magnos obitus natumque domumque
> et genus Aeolium pugnataque poscere bella.

talia per lacrimas: the ellipsis of a *verbum dicendi* is not unusual (see note on 174 above); cf. esp. V. *A.* 1.370 *talibus* and for the sound ib. 8.18 *talia per Latium* (sc. *gerebantur*, Servius). For *per* denoting 'attendant circumstance' (OLD 16) the nearest parallel is Ov. *Her.* 12.58 (Medea's letter) *acta est per lacrimas nox mihi quanta fuit*; note that ib. 6.71 (Hypsipyle's letter to Jason) *per lacrimas specto*, where the sense is more literal 'I watch through tears' (Knox), closely follows *circumspicit* (69) again.

et … Aeson: Jason had first been at a loss what to do (66–70) and then faced the dilemma of compliance or resistance (71–76); his father, who had first considered a rebellion, now (*iam*), after his wife's words, only seeks a worthy way to die (*fine*, *fata*, *obitus*). Neither here nor in 756 does *circumspicit* have to be taken literally, though in the former passage the element 'looking around' must be assumed in the lion simile, whereas here *ante oculos* (771) suggests the literal sense of the verb.

praeveniat … minas: when *praevenire* 'to anticipate or forestall (a person, event, etc.), often with the idea of preventing' (OLD 2b) is coupled with *morte*, the idea of suicide is clearly absent from Plin. *Ep.* 9.1.3 and Tac. *Hist.* 3.67, but there could be a hint of it in Ov. *Tr.* 5.4.32. Here *fine* clearly means 'manner of death' (OLD 10), with a close parallel in Tac. *Ann.* 4.19 *Silius imminentem* (*minas*!) *damnationem voluntario fine praevertit*: Aeson has decided to end his life, only still looking for the most dignified way to do so. For *minas* cf. 722 *iraque minaci*.

quae fata capessat: the mss. reading *quo*, in itself not impossible, is now generally rejected in favour of Pius' suggestion *quae*. Here *fata* obviously means 'death', and *capessere* implies a deliberate and swift action (OLD 7), as opposed to (*fata*) *traham* 764.

digna satis: in Ter. *An.* 666 *dignum … exitium* means 'as you deserve' (in a negative sense); cf. *Rhet. Her.* 4.8.12 and Juv. 15.129f. with *supplicium* (*-ia*).

magnos … poscere: from the indirect questions introduced by *circumspicit* an accusative and infinitive construction develops almost naturally, depending on an unexpressed extension 'for he realized …' or similar. With one exception (Co) the mss. have *obitum*, which would have been caused by the endings of *natum* and *domum*. This plural, of a noun which

is in itself 'rare in poetry', is still more remarkable when referring to a single death, as Austin notes on V. *A.* 4.694; he gives five parallels, of which this passage is one and shortly after, in 810, another. *magnus* here means 'notable, famous, great' (OLD 11b), almost equivalent to *digna*; cf. Stat. *Theb.* 9.491 *nec magnae copia mortis*, ib. 10.835 *magnae … neci*. In 634 above *magnanimus* is opposed to the immediately preceding *segni … occumbere leto*. Such a glorious death is demanded (*poscere*) by the following considerations. *natum … Aeolium*: the generalizing element *domum*, pregnantly used for 'his family tradition', is placed between the specific members of that family: his son Jason, who is now on his way to becoming a hero, and his ancestors, including Aeolus (see note on 40, 286, 654). (Forms of) *natus* and *domus* are coupled previously in V. *A.* 2.579 and Ov. *Pont.* 3.3.87, and then several times in Stat. *Theb.*

pugnata … bella: after his family relations Aeson's own warrior-like exploits are mentioned (cf. 144 and 336ff. above). Whereas *pugna pugnata* is almost a standard expression in prose as well (Cic. *Mur.* 34), *bella pugnata* seems to be poetical: Cat. 37.13 (in a figurative sense), V. *A.* 8.629, Hor. *Carm.* 3.19.4 and *Ep.* 1.16.25. For *poscere* with an inanimate subject cf. note on 99 above and see OLD 7 (mostly *res* or *tempus*). TLL 10.2. fasc. 1.80.2 gives some parallels with the general subject 'dignity'.

771–773

est etiam ante oculos aevi rudis altera proles,
ingentes animos et fortia discere facta
quem velit atque olim leti meminisse paterni.

est … ante oculos: although this could be taken literally (cf. V. *A.* 1.114 *ipsius ante oculos*), here it primarily denotes 'the mind's eye' (OLD s.v. *oculus* 7b), as for instance in Ov. *Her.* 11.55 *mors erat ante oculos*. While *etiam* primarily means 'also', adding another consideration to those mentioned in the preceding lines, it may contain a hint of 'still' as well, pertaining to *rudis*. This adjective in its turn causes problems, and several different readings and/or interpretations have been put forward (cf. *Mnem.* 1991:149ff.). (1) The mss. reading is *aevum*, to be taken as an accusative 'of respect' going with *rudis*. (2) From the Bologna edition (1498) on, this was replaced by a genitive *aevi*, also to be construed with (nom.) *rudis*. (3) The OLD s.v. *rudis* 3 seems to take *aevi rudis* together in the genitive qualifying *altera proles*, since the mention of this passage is preceded by '(of age)'. (4) Finally, the Juntine edition introduced *rerum* for *aevum*.

The choice will probably have to be between *aevum*, printed by Ehlers, Liberman, Spaltenstein and Dräger, and *aevi*, preferred by Courtney. This is difficult enough, since both the adjective *rudis* and the noun *aevum* partake of two different, though related, notions: the first may mean simply 'young' (OLD 3) or (also) 'inexperienced' (ib. 6). On the other hand, in *aevum* the element of 'youth' is sometimes clearly predominant, as in V. *A.* 2.638 and 9.255 *integer aevi*, denoting only 'of age', but in V. *G.* 3.189 *etiam* (!) *inscius aevi* 'ignorant of life' (*i.e.* of what life has to offer), the sense of 'inexperienced' is obvious (cf. Thomas and Mynors ad l.). In V. *A.* 8.627 *venturique inscius aevi* the participle narrows the sense. In the present passage the accent is on experience, as the lines following clearly show (*discere*, *meminisse*). Now, whereas *rudis* could take an accusative, though pleonastic in this instance, with the meaning 'young' ('of years'), this does not seem possible if the primary sense is 'inexperienced', where a genitive is expected. Therefore *aevi* is probably the correct reading.

altera proles: his name was Promachus (Diod. Sic. 4.50.1 and Apollod. 1.9.27.). By *altera* the meaning of the noun has been individualized to a high degree: 'his other offspring'.

ingentes … paterni: for the position of the relative pronoun far in the subordinate clause Langen gives a list of parallels. *ingentes animos* recalls the mild irony in V. *G.* 3.207 and 4.83. Lucan has (8.28) *destruit ingentes animos* and (ib. 266) *ingentes praestate animos*; cf. also Ov. *Met.* 1.166 *ingentes animo et dignas Iove concipit iras*. As *magnos* 769 is more or less equivalent to *magnanimos*, so *ingentes* here may be taken as reinforced *magnos* (OLD s.v. *magnus* 14).

fortia discere facta: cf. V. *A.* 12.435 *disce puer virtutem ex me verumque laborem*. Of course *discere* means more than just an intellectual exercise, since it implies 'to follow one's example', as Burman remarked. There is one good parallel: Stat. *Silv.* 5.3.147f. *facta priorum / discere*. In itself *fortia facta* is normal prosaic usage (*e.g.* Liv. 26.39.3 *multis fortibus factis*; TLL 6.1.1155.75fff.). While *animos* denotes the disposition, *facta* refers to the actions and achievements resulting from it.

olim: when he has grown up. This will not come to pass, since the boy will be cruelly killed as well. Pelias, not expecting Jason to return, will take no risk in eliminating possible dynastic rivals.

leti … paterni: cf. V. *A.* 2.538 *nati … letum* and ib. 12.636 *fratris … letum*. The adjective qualifies *mors* in Cic. *Rosc.* 78, Cat. 64.246 and Sen. *Ag.* 910, *interitus* in Cic. *Fam.* 15.2.5, but *letum* only here (TLL 10.1.fasc.5.698.22ff.). Like *discere*, *meminisse* is also more than 'to remem-

ber': OLD 3b 'to be mindful of, keep in mind, pay heed to, attend to'. Obviously Aeson sees his suicide as brave and admirable behaviour; the words are not necessarily meant as a call for vengeance, which Aeson does not expect of Jason (794ff.). The wording of the line is mirrored in 823: *visa*—*meminisse*; *morte*—*leti*; *parentum* (both of them!)—*paterni*. In the only other passage where *leti* is governed by a form of *memini*, Mart. 2.59.4, the meaning is different ('to think about one's mortality'); TLL 8.650.22f.).

774–778

> ergo sacra novat. veteris sub nocte cupressi
> sordidus et multa pallens ferrugine taurus
> stabat adhuc, cui caeruleae per cornua vittae
> et taxi frons hirta comis; ipse aeger anhelans
> impatiensque loci visaque exterritus umbra.

The meaning of this and the following paragraphs is rather disputed. For one thing there is no consensus about the interpretation of *sacra novat*: is this a new ritual or the former one being resumed? Then the function of the bull's sacrifice is not immediately clear: would it enable the shade of Cretheus to return to the underworld or prepare for the descent of Aeson and Alcimede?

ergo anyhow constitutes a brachylogy. The conclusion from the preceding reasoning is that Aeson should not submit himself to be executed by Pelias' men as a defenceless victim; suicide is more honourable. This is to be performed by means of the ritual which will now be described. For the quantity of *-o* see Poortvliet on 2.407 (four times long as here, six times short, once *anceps* at a line-ending, elided in the remaining 17 instances).

As for *sacra novat*, all depends on the meaning of the verb: 'to make or devise something new' (OLD 1) or 'to begin again, resume, renew' (ib. 6). Clear instances of the first are V. *A*. 4.260 *tecta novantem* 'constructing new buildings' (there had been no town previously), and in VF 2.309 *iura novant* (different constitutions must be established). For the second meaning cf. 112 above and 4.530 *sacra novant*. In this latter passage however *prima* in the preceding line does not mean 'the first ritual', being renewed, but stands in opposition to *tum*: 'first they make a new sacrifice to the Thunderer, then …'. Whether or not a new sacrifice can be considered as the renewal of the former one, must be decided by the function of the ritual. In the present passage a ceremony of necromancy had been performed, and if the bull is sacrificed to enable the return of

Cretheus' ghost, then a 'new ritual' would be equivalent to 'a resumption of the ritual'. In that case, however, *ergo* would be meaningless: the ghost of Cretheus had to return under any circumstances, regardless of the fate of Jason's parents. If Aeson's conclusion is that he should kill himself rather than surrender to the violence of Pelias, then *sacra novat* must point to the method he will follow, something completely different. We should also bear in mind that the original ritual was performed by Alcimede, whereas now Aeson takes over.

veteris … cupressi: the use of *nox* to denote the (deep) shadow of a tree returns in 8.25 *nemoris sacra … nocte*. However, by the context, death and the underworld are suggested as well; cf. the famous *sola sub nocte* in V. *A.* 6.268. The cypress was the tree of death in antiquity; among the numerous instances are V. *A.* 3.64 and 6.216, Hor. *Carm.* 2.14.23. The tree is called *vetus* (OLD 1b) like the beeches in V. *Ecl.* 3.12 and 9.9.

sordidus … taurus: the adjective seems to denote primarily a gloomy and sombre colour; cf. Sen. *Suas.* 3.1 (*luna*) *sive occurrente nubilo sordidiorem ostendit orbem suum*, Sen. *Ep.* 53.1 *caelum grave sordidis nubibus*. This lustreless appearance is in accordance with the darkness expressed by *nocte* 774, but the association with death and the underworld is unmistakable here as well. Cf. Charon's *sordidus amictus* (V. *A.* 6.301), where the notion 'dirty, grimy' is also strong.

multa pallens ferrugine: an oxymoron inasmuch as *pallere* / *pallens* means 'pale', whereas *ferrugo* denotes a dark colour in several shades, sometimes connected with purple (*e.g.* Servius on V. *G.* 1.467 and *A.* 9.582). Cf. K.F. Smith on Tib. 1.4.43 and Austin on V. *A.* 6.303 *ferruginea* (of Charon's boat). But while the opposition light-dark plays a role in the combination, *pallens* here means in the first place 'devoid of brightness, pale, dim' (OLD 3), again with clear reference to the underworld and reinforcing *sordidus*. The dark colour *ferrugo* is not bright and lustrous, which it could very well be, as appears from *ferrugine clarus* (V. *A.* 9.582 and 11.772). In a similar way one and the same thing may be called either *pallidus* / *pallens* or *ater*, the first denoting 'dim, wan', the second 'dark, black': cf. Sil. 9.250 *pallenti … in unda* (and 13.569 *picis horrida rivo*), referring to the Styx, which is called *atra* in V. *G.* 1.243. The dark animals sacrificed to the nether gods were called *ater* (V. *A.* 6.249, Sil. 13.429f.), *niger* / *nigrans* (V. *A.* 6.243, Sil. 1.119f.), *furvus* (Sil. 8.119f.) or *pullus* (Tib. 1.2.62). The dark colour is 'full, intense' (*multa*; OLD 5); there seem to be no other instances of the adjective qualifying a colour.

stabat adhuc: other victims having been used to supply the blood (*cruor* 735) in the sacrifice performed by Alcimede. In 780 we are informed

that she had reserved the bull *in seros … usus* 'to be used later on'. This probably means that the animal was originally intended to close the ceremony, but will now fulfill a different function: to serve in the suicide of Aeson and Alcimede. We can say therefore that *novat* is certainly not 'resumes' (the purpose and method of the new ritual being quite different from the earlier one), but neither simply 'begins a new …', the same 'material' being used. The verb means something like 'alters, changes the nature of …' (OLD 4).

caeruleae … vittae: such woollen bands were not only worn in religious ritual by sacrificial victims (OLD 2b), but also affixed to sacred places, objects, etc. (ib. 2d). The bull was originally intended to be sacrificed, though with a different purpose, and therefore adorned in this way. Cf. for instance Ov. *Met.* 8.744 (the preceding line beginning with *stabat*!). *caeruleus* is another dark colour associated with the underworld (OLD 9), in spite of its derivation from *caelum*. In V. *A.* 3.64 (the reinterment of Polydorus) the altars are *caeruleis maestae vittis* (note again *stant* in the preceding line); other instances in TLL 3.106.48ff. For *per* (*cornua*) in a purely local sense cf. note on 219 above (where *caeruleae* too appears again!).

et … comis: the yew-tree (*taxus*) was, like the cypress, associated with death and the underworld, its leaves and seed being even poisonous (cf. Caes. *Gal.* 6.31.5; V. *G.* 2.257). It is also mentioned by Lucan (6.645), close to *pallida*, *comis* and *pallens*. In Sen. *Oed.* 555 it is the 'priest' himself who *mortifera canam taxus adstringit comam*.

frons may denote the foliage which was used for wreaths and garlands (OLD s.v. *frons*[1] 2c) and could be *hirta* (OLD 2 '(of plants or their parts) Rough, hairy'). This would result in 'there were rough boughs of the yew in its hair' (for *coma* of animals see OLD 1b). Conversely we may take *frons* as 'the forehead': OLD *frons*[2] b '(as the place where garlands or crowns are worn)', or ib. d '(of animals)'. In that case *hirtus* means 'hairy, shaggy' (OLD 1) and *comis* would then denote the foliage of the tree (OLD s.v. *coma* 3a). Then we get: 'its forehead was rough, being covered with the foliage of a yew'. This seems preferable in view of Sen. *Phaed.* 803 *te frons hirta decet* (the line ending with *coma*). The 'ornament' then twice surrounds the 'place where it is seen', all elements appearing in different grammatical forms: *caeruleae … vittae / taxi … comis* and *per cornua / frons hirta*. Or is the poet perhaps enjoying a double-entendre?

ipse aeger anhelans is from V. *A.* 10.837, where *aeger* has a physical aspect since Mezentius is wounded and about to die; here the epithet denotes a state of mind (OLD 3 … 'disturbed, anxious'). The com-

bination of adjective and participle does not constitute an asyndeton, but belongs to the type *lenis crepitans* (V. *A.* 3.70, where see Williams), which was developed and cherished by Virgil. For *anhelans* as a result of emotion cf. OLD s.v. *anhelo* 1c.

impatiens loci: for the genitive with a participle not denoting a standing quality but a temporary situation see note on 296 above *impatiens somni*. Here *loci* means in the first place 'position of affairs …, situation' (OLD 22), the originally local sense not being excluded: the animal wants to leave the place because of what is happening there.

visa … umbra: the participle explains *aeger* and *impatiens*: the bull is terrified by the vision of Cretheus' ghost, as all animals are said to be disturbed and alarmed when confronted with preternatural phenomena.

779–784

> hunc sibi praecipuum gentis de more nefandae
> Thessalis in seros Ditis servaverat usus,
> tergeminam cum placat eram Stygiasque supremo
> obsecrat igne domos, iamiam exorabile * retro
> carmen agens; neque enim ante leves niger avehit umbras
> portitor et cunctae primis stant faucibus Orci.

These lines are very difficult to understand and several attempts have been made to elicit a convincing meaning. Thilo doubted the authenticity of lines 779–780 and proposed placing 781–784 after 816, whereas Bährens accepted the first of these ideas and ascribed 781–784 to an interpolator. Schenkl even proposed expunging the whole passage as an early draft, to be replaced later by a definitive version. Hirschwälder and Kramer assumed a lacuna after 780. Conjectures are rife, the most important being *tum* for *cum* in 781. There is also the problem of where exactly the subject changes from *Thessalis* (= Alcimede) to Aeson (*ipse* 787). Of course the judgement on the passage as a whole will to a large degree depend on the answer given to the question of whether here we are reading a description of the means of making Cretheus' ghost return to his permanent abode, or a ritual to facilitate the entry of Aeson and Alcimede to the underworld; conversely arguments have been found to answer that question in these very lines. Since none of the proposed changes results in a satisfactory explanation, the text will be reviewed here as it stands.

hunc … usus: this explains *stabat adhuc* (776) without achieving clarity. (*sibi*) *praecipuum* seems to mean 'belonging to a person [in this case

Alcimede herself] … to the exclusion of all others, peculiar, special' (OLD 1): possessing magic powers, Alcimede has a special use for this bull. Again this points to its original function in making Cretheus' shade return to the world below.

gentis … nefandae: the last of these words have been taken as discrediting Alcimede, and the phrase as a whole as pointless because the sacrifice of dark animals to the gods below is not specifically Thessalian (Langen). Here, however, it is not the colour of the bull as such which is characteristic of the proceedings, but the special nature and objective of the ritual involved. Furthermore the reputation of Thessalian witches was widespread, especially after the gruesome picture of Erictho offered by Lucan. Since Alcimede was a *Thessalis* by birth, the words may even tend to exculpate her: it is true that the ceremony involves black magic, but Alcimede will not use it for such horrible purposes as Erictho did. Moreover, it is the people to which she belongs that is to blame, not the old lady as such. The words *gentis … nefandae* reflect Lucan's *dirae crimina gentis* (6.507), but Alcimede does not commit crimes. For *de more* with a genitive 'in the manner of' cf. V. *A.* 7.357 and Sil. 1.123 (TLL. 8.1528.10ff.). Here it rather means 'in accordance with the practice', whereas in 8.32 *de more columbae* it is a comparison proper.

The expression *in seros Ditis … usus* is problematic in that the genitive (or the possessive pronoun in comparable phrases) denotes the person who uses or will use something, as *in usum populi* (Suet. *Aug.* 100.4) 'to be used by the people', *ad usum suum* (Cic. *Phil.* 5.25) 'for his own purposes'. Then *in Ditis usum* ought to mean 'to be used by Dis', but in what way or for what purpose could Dis use the bull? A much better sense results from Shackleton Bailey's conjecture (1977) *Diti* (deservedly mentioned in Ehlers' apparatus): she had 'reserved' the bull for Dis (OLD s.v. *servo* 8), so that she (not he) could use it as a sacrifice to him at a late (*seros*) stage. Against *Diti* one could raise the objection that this would mean a second dative within the sentence. However, since *sibi* is to be taken closely with *praecipuum* and *Diti* would modify *servaverat*, this would not cause too serious a problem. *in seros … usus* strongly recalls Luc. 6.578 *carmenque novos fingebat in usus*, where however neither a genitive nor a dative appears. *seros* probably indicates that the victim was originally intended (by Alcimede, the subject of *servaverat*) to close the ritual when the shade of Cretheus returned to his abode in the underworld, but in the circumstances it will be used (by Aeson, subject of *statuit* 786) with another end in view, namely in the ceremony attending their suicide. Essentially, this is also the view of Spaltenstein and Dräger.

tergeminam … agens: apart from the question of what exactly Alcimede is doing here there is the problem of connecting the phrase with the preceding lines. How can *cum* (mss.) be construed with *servaverat*? Renkema's reference to 6.532, mentioned (approvingly, it seems) in Courtney's apparatus, does not hold good: there *cum* is not to be construed with *dispulerant* but with *adsuetus* (and moreover the verb of the *cum*-clause is in the perfect tense, not in the present as here). On the other hand, with *tum* (printed from the first editions on, and revived by Liberman) the phrase would describe an action by Alcimede, which would make the transition to the new subject (Aeson) in 785 (not visible before *ipse* 787) even harder. Moreover, in this state of affairs (*tum*) the bull is needed and will be used for quite another purpose. Aeson had made his decision (774), he saw the bull still standing there, then the story proper comes to a standstill while the poet explains the purpose for which Alcimede had 'reserved' the victim-to-be; after this explanation the account of Aeson's actions is resumed. The phrase with *cum* is then to be taken as an elaboration of *in seros … usus*. We could translate (or paraphrase) 'for a later use (in a situation which arises) when she …'. Kramer (in his apparatus) aptly states '781–784 mos describitur, non actio narratur', but unnecessarily assumes a line to have dropped out after 780: we have here another instance of the compressed diction which is one of the most conspicuous features of VF's style. *tergeminam … eram*: Hecate of course (cf. V. *A.* 4.511 *tergeminamque Hecaten*). The adjective is attested from Lucr. 5.28 on. In *Arg.* 7.395 Hecate is referred to as *diva triformis* (as in Hor. *Carm.* 3.22.4). The verb *placare* is almost a technical term, also with the gods of the underworld (Hor. *Carm.* 2.14.5ff. *si … places … Plutona*), *Ep.* 2.1.138 *carmine di superi placantur, carmine Manes*). The choice of the word 'to make favourably disposed' is understandable if the lower gods are expecting a newcomer (cf. Stat. *Silv.* 5.1.259f. *reges tibi tristis Averni / placat*), and is especially relevant since for suicides the entrance to the underworld was problematic in the first place (cf. V. *A.* 6.434ff.).

Stygias … domos: as the name of a country often stands for its inhabitants, so here *Stygias … domos* denotes 'those that dwell near the Styx'. Alcimede asks for their favour (*obsecrat*) at the end of any ceremony she has conducted. *supremo … igne*: the fire at the end of the religious ceremony (OLD s.v. *ignis* 2b). The expression is also attested in Ov. *Met.* 2.620, 13.583 (both in the plural), *Am.* 1.15.41, Luc. 6.358, Stat. *Theb.* 4.640, 8.72, 11.662. *iamiam … agens*: the most puzzling part of the passage. The first word (or words, if printed as such) usually expresses

'the imminence of an action' (OLD s.v. *iam* 5 'at any time now, now all but —)'. But what imminent action can be meant here? The *carmen* she is reciting contains the *placatio* and *obsecratio*. Could *iamiam* perhaps modify *exorabile* '(a formula) which can/will placate immediately'? It is sometimes combined with a part of a sentence (TLL 7.119.72ff.), though with one word only if this is a participle, as for instance in Ov. *Tr.* 1.2.20 *iamiam tacturas*. As for *exorabile*, this is the only instance of it being used in the active sense, which we must clearly assume, additionally in view of the obvious parallel 4.87 *agit … medicabile carmen*. Another certain instance of an adjective ending in *-bilis* used in an active sense is *penetrabilis* (V. *G.* 1.93, *A.* 10.481), Ov. *Met.* 5.67 and 13.857); see further Munro's note on *genitabilis* Lucr. 1.11.

The expression *carmen agere* 'to recite a magic formula' is 'singulär' (Korn on 4.87), not attested in any other author. This is not problematic in itself, but the accumulation of rarities (pertaining to *iamiam*, *exorabile* and *carmen agere*) certainly is. Finally, a satisfactory explanation for *retro* can hardly be found. The combination *retro carmen agens* has been (and sometimes still is, recently by Liberman, Spaltenstein and Dräger) taken as describing a magic act consisting of reciting a formula backwards. In itself *retro agere* may mean 'to recite backwards', as Quint. 1.1.25 shows. However, there is no evidence that this was ever done as part of a magic ritual. The 'turning back' of a magic wheel in Hor. *Epod.* 17.7 is quite different, if only because Alcimede is no Canidia. Nor is she practicing witchcraft like Circe, and therefore the 'reversing of the magic wand' in Ov. *Met.* 14.300 is not relevant either. In fact this interpretation is largely based on the assumption that Alcimede here has been working a charm, which she could undo at will. She is, however, not exerting any force or constraint, such as a magician could do, but trying to placate the powers that are below, very probably beseeching them to grant access and welcome there once she and her husband have committed suicide. And how could she be 'placating' and 'entreating' while at the same time (*agens*) working a charm? Such an action, even if reconcilable with a *sacerdos* who is not a *maga* or *venefica*, should follow the prayer, not be synchronous. Finally, the sentence introduced with *cum* does not state what Alcimede is doing on this occasion, but what she habitually does whenever engaged in a ceremony.

It could be possible that reciting a formula backwards is presented as a way to end a ceremony without implying the use of magic constraint like that exerted by Erictho, but there is nothing to indicate this; the

parallels adduced by Courtney and Liberman are not convincing. The meaning of *retro* therefore remains problematic, as was already the conclusion of *e.g.* Thilo and Langen. Perhaps Hirschwälder's conjecture (1870:122) *rite* is the solution (which had already occurred to Braun, who eventually rejected it). There is indeed a strong likeness to 5.98f. *carmina quin visos placantia* (!) *Manes / Odrysius dux rite movet*; cf. also 3.444f., 5.193 and 6.93. The change from *rite* to *retro* may have been caused by parablepsy from *-remo* immediately above.

neque … Orci: since this is clearly the reason (*enim*) for Alcimede to perform the ritual described, it seems that ghosts who had been temporarily allowed to reappear among the living could not simply enter the underworld again. In the three other comparable passages where such a spirit returns again to his abode (Seneca, Lucan, Statius) no attention is paid to this fact.

leves … umbras: the adjective ('insubstantial') qualifies the spirits of the dead from Lucr. 3.418 on (*animas … levis*), where it is used in a 'scientific' sense, pointing to the lightness of the soul-atoms. Cf. further Ov. *Met.* 10.14 *leves populos* with Bömer's note), *Fast.* 5.434 *levis umbra*, [Tib.] (= *Paneg. Mess.*) 4.1 *levibus … umbris*, Hor. *Carm.* 1.10.18f. *levem … turbam*, Sen. *Ag.* 757 *levis … turba*, *Oed.* 562f. *leves … umbras* (the passage also containing *carmen … volvit* and *placat*), *Her. F.* 708 *populos leves*.

avehit: the departure is more essential than the actual crossing, which is expressed with *traicere*, *transportare* (V. *A.* 6.328; cf. *subvectat* ib. 303), *transvehere*.

niger … portitor: the adjective does not appear to be used elsewhere to characterize Charon, but of course it is associated with death and the underworld (OLD 7), and here it might also contain the notion 'filthy, unkempt' (ib. 5), which is suggested in V. *A.* 6.299 *terribili squalore*, 301 *sordidus … amictus*. Charon is already styled *portitor* in V. *G.* 4.502, then in *A.* 6.298 and 326.

For *cunctae* several conjectures have been made: *functae* (Wagner, who eventually disapproved of it), *coetu* (Reuss), *cinctae* (Köstlin 1889) and *vinctae* (Jacobs), which last met with some undeserved success: it is based on the false assumption that an incantation should be made undone before Charon would transport the ghosts, but that is not the attitude taken by Alcimede. As Strand (72) remarks, '*cunctae* seems superior to all emendations', especially if we note that it does not here serve to exclude exceptions, but rather insists on their concentrated masses (Pius: agminatim); Weichert 1812:30f. Cf. also Virgil's insistent *omnis turba* (*A.* 6.305 and 325).

primis … faucibus Orci: taken over without alterations from V. *A.* 6.273. *stant* in a weaker position echoes Virgil's more pathetic *stabant* at the beginning of *A.* 6.313.

785–787

illum ubi terrificis superesse in tempore sacris
conspexit, statuit leto supremaque fatur
ipse manu tangens damnati cornua tauri:

Langen thought that VF in his definitive version would not have left these lines as they stand: in his view they are otiose because the presence of the bull was already mentioned in 774ff., whereas *statuit leto* would serve no purpose since the animal was anyhow destined to be killed as a sacrificial victim. But after the explanation of Alcimede's customary ending of the original ceremony the author now reverts to the narrative proper: Aeson sees the bull standing there and comes into action; on *statuit leto* see below.

illum … conspexit: the mss. having *terrificis … sacri* we have to correct either the adjective into *terrifici* (as most editors do, including Dräger) or the noun into *sacris* (Kramer, Courtney, Liberman, Spaltenstein). The second alternative is clearly preferable: *in tempore* means 'at the right moment' (OLD s.v. *tempus*[1] 8d), which hardly bears any construction with a genitive. To save *terrifici … sacri* we should adopt Shackleton Bailey's conjecture *in tempora* as a poetic variation of *in tempus* 'to suit the occasion' (OLD 10c). On the other hand, the dative with *superesse* can denote either 'that which is outlived or survived' (OLD 5) or alternatively 'the purpose for which something is still available' (OLD 4). Both constructions are possible here: if we take *terrificis … sacris* to refer to the ritual of evoking the shades, then *superesse* means 'to survive'; if however the words denote the ceremony Aeson is now about to conduct, (placating the gods below to facilitate their entry to the underworld), then *superesse* has the sense of 'to be still there for …'. This second interpretation is preferable: the story of the consultation of Cretheus had been finished previously. In itself the epithet *terrificis* is of course appropriate in both cases.

statuit leto is usually taken as 'takes the decision to kill the bull', which would indeed be less than surprising. But Renkema, followed by Kramer, and Mehmel (followed by Dräger) put forward another interpretation: *leto* sc. *suo* (Mehmel: 'bestimmte ihn für seinen Tod'). At first sight, the latter came with a weighty argument, viz. that *letum*

does not denote the death of animals, only of humans. TLL however (7.2.1189.35ff.) gives some instances where the noun is used in connection with both (intended or actual) human and animal death (for instance Ov. *Hal.* 57 [the hunted lion] *procidit atque suo properat sibi robore letum*; cf. also Plin. *Nat.* 8.52), and this might be another case, because the killing of the bull accompanies the death of Aeson and his wife. Probably another meaning of *statuere* is predominant here, namely 'to place (a sacrificial victim)', as in V. *A.* 9.627, Hor. *S.* 2.3.199, Liv. 1.45.6. In all three passages *ante aras* (*-am*) is added, which is easily understood here and replaced by a noun denoting purpose 'to be killed in sacrifice'.

supremaque fatur: Langen prefers the construction of *suprema* with *cornua* (like *extrema*) to the more obvious interpretation of *suprema* (sc. *verba*), but both the order of the words and the choice of *suprema* (one would rather expect *summa*) are against this. While *suprema* as a n. pl. used substantively usually refers to rites (OLD 5b), not to words, the presence of *fatur* renders this not too big a step. *ipse manu* seems a weak beginning for the line, but *ipse* is important in stressing that now Aeson is in charge of things (779–784 referring to actions of Alcimede). For *tangens* cf. OLD 1c 'to touch, put one's hand on (an altar or other sacred object) in making an oath, etc.'. Here it is not an oath proper that Aeson is about to utter but an imprecation.

damnati … tauri: 'doomed (to death)'. On Stat. *Silv.* 2.1.21 *saevos damnati turis acervos* van Dam remarks '*Damnatus* is said of things devoted to something unpleasant'. Here it is 'devoted to the underworld', and Poortvliet on 2.483 *virgineam damnare animam* refers to the present passage and to V. *A.* 12.727 ['(probably)'] and Stat. *Theb.* 8.26. There are several more instances, especially in Statius.

788–792

'vos, quibus imperium Iovis et non segne peractum
lucis iter, mihi consiliis, mihi cognita bellis
nomina magnorum fama sacrata nepotum
tuque, excite parens umbris, ut nostra videres
funera et oblitos superum paterere dolores,

Aeson's prayer can be divided into four parts, very inequal in size. First he invokes the spirits of his ancestors (788–792), which is followed by quite a short request to let him enter the world below in peace (793–794a). A renewed invocation is addressed to avenging powers (794b–797a), who are requested at considerable length to punish Pelias (797b–

822). This recalls Dido's words in V. *A.* 4.607–629. The prayer as a whole with its 28 lines is long for the *Argonautica*, the average length being 10 lines.

vos … iter: at first sight the words *vos quibus imperium* echo V. *A.* 5.235 *di quibus imperium est pelagi* and 6.264 *di quibus imperium est animarum* (cf. note on 667 above). Here, however, the addressees are not gods, but the spirits of Aeson's ancestors, and theirs is not the 'power, empire' (*imperium*) of Jupiter, but they have carried out 'the orders of Jupiter'; *quibus* is a dative of Agent, not a possessive one. For *peragere* in this sense cf. OLD 4c (*p. mandata, postulata*); with *imperia* it occurs in Hor. *Carm.* 4.14.39f. This 'order' is then made more explicit with *non … iter*: it is Jupiter's wish that we live our life bravely; *peragere iter* is normal diction (OLD 4b). *segne*, both here and in Liv. 38.22.6, is surely a predicatively used adjective, going with *iter* here and with *tempus* in Livy, not an adverbial form as OLD s.v. *segne* would have it; rather compare ib. s.v. *segnis* 3 'Marked by sluggishness or want of energy …', the nearest parallel being 633 above *segni … leto*. For *vos quibus* cf. also Hor. *Epod.* 16.39.

lucis iter: 'the road of life', which is more commonly expressed with *vitae iter* (Sen. *Dial.* 10 (= *de Brev. Vit.*).9.5, *Ep.* 44.7, Juv. 7.172) or *semita vitae* (Hor. *Ep.* 1.18.103, Juv. 10.363f.). Though there seems to be no exact parallel for *lucis iter* in this sense, both the use of *lux* to denote 'life' (OLD 6) and the parallels with *vitae* make the expression easy to understand. Note that in Prop. 3.20.12 *lucis iter* means 'the way (distance) traversed by the light of day'.

Although *conciliis* is the reading of most mss., X has *consiliis* (cf. *Mnem.* 1991:145–147). *concilium* denotes people in meeting, whether for deliberation or not; it does not stand for the actual deliberation (cf. TLL 4.46.16ff.), and therefore is not the opposite of warfare (*bellis*), but *consilium* is, as is clear from V. *A.* 11.338f. *bello /… consiliis*. Moreover, *conciliis* here cannot mean 'meetings', because Aeson had no personal contact with his ancestors, having only heard of them: *nomina*, *fama*. They were known to him because of their (recorded) counsels (in peace) and 'feats of arms'. Liberman, trying to defend *conciliis* by referring to Homer's opposition βουλή—πόλεμος, overlooks the fact that the Latin counterpart of βουλή is, precisely, *consilium*, not *concilium*. As long as there is no indication that *concilium* as well as *consilium* can be the opposite of *bellum*, we have to assume that this is another case of textual confusion (cf. V. *A.* 2.89, where *conciliis* could mean 'meetings').

nomina: this is not an instance of (OLD 17) *nomen* 'the name (of a person) as implying the individual wearing the name', as for instance in 4.225 and 5.119; Aeson's ancestors were only known to him 'by name', combined with their achievements in war and peace. *fama … nepotum* must mean 'by their reputation among their descendants'; cf. Caes. *Civ.* 3.55(56).2 (Pompeius) *ut famam opinionemque hominum teneret*. Here *magnorum* is not otiose: fame among such posterity amounts to something. For *sacrata nomina* cf. Mart. 1.114.3 *nomenque sacravit* (OLD s.v. *sacro* 5 'To hallow, enshrine'). Sil. 1.274f. *quis nobile nomen / conditus excelso sacravit colle Zacynthos* is different: 'gave a highly respected name'. Line 790 has the structure a b c a b.

tu … umbris: for *excire* cf. note on 732 above. The ablative denoting the 'place from which' is already present in V. *Ecl.* 8.98 (*imis … sepulchris*).

ut … dolores: of course this was not the intention of Alcimede when she conjured up the shade of Cretheus (732). Now, instead of the hoped for *melius*, disaster awaits the old couple. The force of *ut* therefore is consecutive rather than final. For the use of *funus* 'death' see OLD 3.

oblitos … dolores: the passive use of the participle *oblitus* is twice attested before VF: V. *Ecl.* 9.53 and Prop. 1.19.6 (Poortvliet on 2.389; in VF again in 4.532).

superi when in opposition to persons and places in the underworld naturally denotes 'the living, those that are above' (OLD 2b). After death the spirits do not participate in the sorrows of the living, but Cretheus having been called up is confronted with them again, and is supposed to share them.

It is amazing that even in the times when the hunt for conjectures was the core business of classical philology, no one seems to have thought of *iterum* for *superum*, if only to reject it as being no improvement.

793–794a

> da placidae mihi sedis iter meque hostia vestris
> conciliet praemissa locis!

da … iter: for *dare iter* 'to grant passage' OLD s.v. *iter* 4a cites two other passages: Liv. 39.28.8 (with *per*) and Ov. *Ib.* 112, neither of which contain a genitive denoting the destination, as here; Cicero has (*Att.* 3.19.2) *mihi Epirus … iter ad salutem dabit.* For this genitive cf. TLL 7.2.540.22ff. Rather than taking *iter* as 'access' (thus Poortvliet on 2.495) we may

assume that the force of *placidae* extends to *iter* as well: 'grant me to travel peacefully to your quiet abode'. Cf. V. *A.* 6.705 *domos placidas.* The noun *sedes* will recur in 846 below, whereas *placidae* recalls *placat* 781, and *iter* is another short-distance repeat from 789. Because of *vestris* Langen assumes that Aeson is in fact still addressing all his ancestors as in 788–791; *vester* however is sometimes used to include other persons than the one addressed: see for instance V. *A.* 1.140 *vestras, Eure, domos* with Austin's note; OLD s.v. *vester* 2.

meque … locis: as 'a victim to the divinities of the underworld' *hostia* does not appear in the parallel scenes where ghosts are conjured up (see note on 735ff.). Here it clearly has the rather different function of facilitating the journey to the regions below, but still the use of the noun in this connexion is far from common; V. *A.* 2.156 *vittaeque deum quas hostia gessi* is not a parallel, since there Sinon himself is the (supposed) victim. The noun is rarely used in connection with the gods of the underworld, but cf. Pac. *trag.* 212 and Pl. *Epid.* 176 (TLL 6.3.3045.73ff.).

conciliet: OLD 3 'to render a person or thing acceptable …'. The accompanying dative usually denotes the person(s) to whom something is made acceptable, not a place; Petr. 141.8 *stomacho … adverso* is personified. Here *vestris … locis* primarily suggests the dwellers in those regions, but the force of *praemissa* may have contributed to the expression; for the 'dative of direction' with *praemittere* cf. Stat. *Silv.* 5.3.259 *praemisit membra sepulchro.* A parallel with the accusative, and less exalted in feeling, is Pl. *Cas.* 448 *hunc Acheruntem praemittam prius.* For *locis* cf. V. *A.* 6.638 *locos laetos*, ib. 670 *Anchisen quis habet locus?*

794^{b}–797

tu, nuntia sontum
virgo Iovi, terras oculis quae prospicis aequis,
ultricesque deae Fasque et grandaeva Furorum
Poena parens,

All of a sudden the tone of Aeson's words changes radically. He no longer asks for protection and guidance on his last journey, but bursts into a series of curses against Pelias. This speech is both longer and even more vengeful than Dido's words (V. *A.* 4.612–620). Moreover its hectic tone is underlined by the fact that all sentences end within a line: 797; 800; 803; 806; 807; 810; 812; 814.

tu nuntia sontum: this form of the gen. pl. of *sons* 'guilty' is attested only here and in Stat. *Theb.* 4.475, *aeternaque sontum / supplicia*, also at the end of the line and in an underworld setting (Tiresias speaking). *nuntia* in its turn is construed both with a dative denoting the person to whom the message is to be delivered, which has nothing remarkable (cf. 2.142 *tibi*, V. *A.* 2.548 *Pelidae genitori*), and with a genitive (*sontum*) denoting the contents of the message. The latter use is generally restricted to facts or events (for instance *veri* V. *A.* 4.188), not persons as here. In prose *de sontibus* would be the 'normal' expression (Cic. *Att.* 5.20.2 *graves de Parthis nuntii*).

virgo: Astraea; cf. V. *Ecl.* 4.6 (with Clausen's note), where she is also just *virgo*. In 2.363 and in Juv. 6.19 she is named Astraea, whereas in Ov. *Met.* 1.149f. and in [Sen.] *Oct.* 425 both ways of referring to her are used.

terras … aequis: for *prospicere aliquid* 'to look down (from heaven) on …' cf. V. *A.* 7.288f. (Juno) *Aenean classemque ex aethere longe / Dardaniam … prospexit.*

oculis … aequis: in view of Astraea's function to report on evil deeds, the meaning of the adjective here cannot be 'favourable' as it often is (OLD 7), but rather 'fair-minded, impartial' (ib. 6c). Good instances of this use are V. *A.* 4.372 *nec Saturnius haec oculis pater aspicit aequis* (*i.e.* he is supposed to be indignant about what happens) and 9.234 *audite o mentibus aequis* 'unbiased'. In the first line of book 4 VF takes over Virgil's formula (*atque ea non oculis divum pater amplius aequis / sustinuit*), though in a different sense 'with calmness, patience, or resignation' (OLD 8b); Jupiter is moved by Hercules' sorrow.

ultricesque deae: OLD s.v. *ultrix* 6 'as a title of the Furies and other agents of retribution', such as the *Dirae* (V. *A.* 4.473 and 610), Tisiphone (ib. 6.570f., with *sontes*), Nemesis (Ov. *Tr.* 5.8.9 *Rhamnusia*), Erinys ([Sen.] *Oct.* 263 and 619), the Eumenides (Stat. *Theb.* 12.772f.). Here the referent remains unspecified amidst the *nuntia … virgo*, *Fas* and *Poena*, so the nearest parallel is Sen. *Med.* 13 *sceleris ultrices deae*, also without a name added and as a 'vocative' (cf. ib. 967 *ultrices deas*).

Fas is personified to some degree in Liv. 1.32.6 *audiat Fas* (after mentioning Jupiter and the *fines* of the relevant nation), ib. 8.5.8 *audite Ius Fasque* (after Jupiter), more clearly in Sen. *Her.F.* 658 *Fas omne mundi … precor* (Fitch ad l.: 'an unusal phrase; invocations of *Fas* are rare'). In Luc. 10.410 *pro Fas!* is not an address, but an exclamation.

grandaeva … parens: the epithet is not used elsewhere to qualify avenging deities. For personified *Furor* instead of the more usual *Furia* see

OLD 1c; an early instance is Hor. *Epod.* 5.92 *nocturnus occurram Furor* (cf. also Perutelli on 7.510).

Poena: parallels for this identification of the 'mother of the Furies (Dirae, Erinyes, Eumenides)' do not present themselves. As Langen notes, the plural form of (personified) *Poena* (OLD 1d) is much more in use. As an instance of the singular form he cites Stat. *Theb.* 8.25 *saevaque multisonas exertat Poena catenas* (in the preceding line *Furiae* and *Mortes* appear), and might have added Tib. 1.9.4 *sera tamen tacitis Poena venit pedibus* and Hor. *Carm.* 3.2.31f. *raro antecedentem scelestum / deseruit pede Poena claudo*: in both cases the mention of 'feet' makes clear that these are personifications as well.

797b–800a

meritis regis succedite tectis
et saevas inferte faces! sacer effera raptet
corda pavor, nec sola mei gravia adfore nati
arma ratemque putet.

After invoking the deities of revenge Aeson now formulates the things he wants them to do: they are to enter the tyrant's palace. For *succedere* with a dative 'to enter' cf. especially V. *A.* 1.627 *tectis … succedite nostris* (and ib. 11.146 *succedere tectis* 'to enter the town'), but Cicero already has *tectum … quo succederet* (*Dom.* 116).

For *meritis* of course *meriti* has been proposed or suggested (first by Heinsius) to agree with *regis*, thus avoiding a supposed unpleasantness in two successive words ending on *-is* (though with different quantities). This abhorrence however did not exist in the ears of the Romans; cf. *e.g.* V. *A.* 2.163 *Palladis auxiliis*. The epithet *meritis* results in a not uncommon hypallage: the guilt of the person is transferred to his home (Lemaire/Wagner: '*meriti* … facilius, illud magis poeticum'). For the meaning 'guilty' see note on 726 above.

et … faces: on *saevus* OLD distinguishes 2 '(of things, involving or associated with savagery, cruelty, etc.)', 2e '(of weapons, etc.)' and 3 '(of persons, their attributes, etc.)'. The firebrands are a regular attribute of the Furies (cf. 4.393 and OLD s.v. *fax* 5, TLL 6.1.401.70ff.); here they look like a symbol for 'torment of fear, panic, etc.', which is not a very conventional use of the noun (cf. OLD 8b); TLL l.c. 402.55ff. mentions ('in metaphoris') Cic. *Tusc.* 2.61 *faces … doloris* (5.76, *Off.* 2.37), all regarding physical pain. In Quint. *Instit.* 9.3.47 feelings of guilt and mental anguish are associated with the *ardentes furiarum faces*. Anyhow the quali-

fication *saevus* implies a transfer of the 'ferocity' from the deities to their torches. There is a verbal resemblance to [Sen.] *Oct.* 161f. *vacuamque Erinys* (cf. *Poena* etc.) *saeva funesto pede / intravit aulam* (cf. *succedite tectis*), *polluit Stygia face / sacros penates*. The expression *tectis faces inferre* has a parallel in V. *A.* 7.335ff. *tu* (= Allecto) *potes .../... tu verbera tectis / funereasque inferre faces*, but is not poetic in itself: Cic. *Parad.* 28 *cum tectis sceleratas faces inferebas*.

sacer ... pavor: the force of the adjective, though evidently negative, is not easily defined more exactly. In Cat. 14.12 *horribilem et sacrum libellum* and V. *A.* 3.57 *auri sacra fames* it primarily means 'detestable', whereas Austin on V. *A.* 6.573f. *sacrae .../... portae* simply explains 'sacred to the chthonic powers'. Here the sense seems to be 'terrifying because inspired by divine powers' (cf. Poortvliet on 2.186f.). There is some likeness to 4.185f. *arma* (sc. of Amycus) / *sacra metu*; there fear makes things *sacer* 'terrifying', here it is *sacer* itself.

effera ... corda: the adjective probably combines the notions headed in OLD under 2a ('cruel, ferocious, ...'), as suggested by *meritis*, and 2b ('uncontrollably excited, frantic, ...'). In the latter case it looks like an instance of prolepsis, since the king's heart will be in a turmoil as it is seized by fear. *efferus* qualifies *mens* in V. *A.* 8.205 and Sen. *Med.* 45, *vis animi* in V. *A.* 10.898; it is not attested elsewhere with *cor(da)*.

raptet: OLD 1 'to carry away forcibly, drag violently off, hurry away', in a transferred sense (cf. OLD s.v. *rapio* 11b). Love may have a comparable effect as appears from Pl. *Cist.* 216 and V. *G.* 3.292. There is a clear resemblance to 7.146ff. ... *raptata* (though in a literal sense here) *poenis ... pavoribus .../... saevae*). For the line beginning with *corda pavor* cf. V. *G.* 3.106 (= *A.* 5.138) *c. p. pulsans*.

nec ... putet: the combination of a positive and a negative utterance by means of *nec* is normal, especially if it is taken together with *sola*. Aeson without doubt assumes that his son will take revenge, but adds other threats. *gravia (arma)* does not primarily refer to physical weight as in V. *A.* 10.836 but means rather 'menacing, formidable' (cf. OLD 11b *poenae* and 14 *vulnus*); in *Arg.* 3.239 (with *hasta*) both elements seem present. With *adfore* 'to be at hand with hostile intent, be upon' (OLD 15) VF brings to mind Dido's *adero* in her final curses (V. *A.* 4.386), and of course *arma ratemque* as the first words of the line are an echo of *arma virumque* (only here *arma* denotes the weapons, not the feats of arms).

800b–803a

classes et Pontica signa
atque indignatos temerato litore reges
mente agitet, semperque metu decurrat ad undas
arma ciens

Pontica signa already occurs in Luc. 8.26 (preceded by *Corycias classes*). The *signa* stand for the military banners, thereby constituting a chiasmus: *mei … nati / arma—ratem*, *classes—Pontica signa*; as *mei nati* belongs to both *arma* and *ratem*, so *Pontica* qualifies *classes* as well. The plural *classes* is poetic, but still even one 'fleet' is more threatening than Jason's ship. The adjective *Ponticus* occurs only here in the *Argonautica*, which is remarkable because it is far from unusual in other authors, even in prose.

indignatos … reges: not possessing knowledge about the kings of that distant region, Aeson may reasonably suppose that they will react in an unfriendly way to the western 'aggression'; *temerato litore* gives the ground for their assumed indignation. For *temerato* cf. note on 627 above, the only other appearance of the verb in the *Argonautica*. The combination with *litus* is earlier attested in Luc. 3.193f. *cum rudis Argo / miscuit ignotas temerato litore gentes* (with Hunink's note). Those kings will think that their coast has been trespassed upon. The use of *indignari* as well is restricted to this book: 9, 202 (in both instances the sea is the subject), 547.

mente agitet: OLD s.v. *agito* 17 '(especially with *secum*, *animo*, *mente*, etc.) to turn over in the mind, think about, ponder consider'; with *mente* the parallels are Ov. *Her*. 18.54 and Luc. 7.767. Although this meaning is clearly present here too, one wonders if in this context (after *sacer … pavor* and before *metu*) there might also be a suggestion of 'mental agitation'.

semper … undas: 'running to the shore'; Pelias has already done this (700ff. above) in rage, as he will now do in fear. The simple ablative *metu* without a participle such as '*agitatus*' (Langen) denotes the cause of Pelias' behaviour, which is not uncommon even in prose (K/S 1.394f., 12a).

arma ciens: this could be taken literally 'brandishing his weapons', but it seems preferable to interpret it as 'mobilizing his forces', as Pius notes: 'vocans populos ad arma', as in Vell. 2.6.6 *armatos ad (armatus ac) pugnam ciens*. Instances cited in OLD s.v. *cieo* 4b are different: Flor. *Epit*. 2.16 (4.5).2 *arma cierat* 'had … stirred up … hostilities'; V. *A*. 12.158 *bella cie*.

803a–806b

> mors sera viam temptataque claudat
> effugia et nostras nequeat praecurrere diras,
> sed reduces iamiamque viros auroque coruscum
> cernat iter.

mors sera: a contrastive allusion to V. *A.* 4.620 *sed cadat ante diem*. The expression itself is not usual, though Celsus has (2.6.9) *ad seriorem mortem vel maturiorem*. Aeson wants Pelias' life to be long but miserable, not to be shortened by a voluntary exit: this way out will be closed to him. The combination of *claudere* with *viam* occurs in Livy (2.47.6, 28.6.2) in a literal sense, whereas *fugam claudere* is attested in Liv. 27.18.9 and Ov. *Met.* 6.572. With *effugia* the verb appears again in Tac. *Ann.* 16.15.2. Here *viam … temptataque effugia* amounts to a hendiadys, as Langen notes: *viam temptati effugii*. For *effugium temptare* cf. 2.224 *temptare fugam*. Cf. also 7.332f. *cum tibi tot mortes scelerisque brevissima tanti / effugia* and Perutelli ad l.

nostras … diras: for the noun meaning 'curses, imprecations' OLD 2 gives several parallels (TLL 5.1.1270.4ff.). Elsewhere VF has it only in the sense of 'Furies, avenging deities' (4.586, 5.445), and the adjective *dirus* 14 times.

praecurrere: OLD 3 '(w. acc.) to act so as to be ahead of, anticipate': *mortem praecurrere* Sen. *Ep.* 123.10. By taking his own life Pelias would prevent the realization of Aeson's curses. In 2.128 the verb has a different meaning: 'to run in front of, precede' (OLD 1b).

reduces … viros: cf. especially Ov. *Her.* 6.1f. *litora Thessaliae reduci tetigisse carina / diceris auratae vellere dives ovis*.

iamiamque: OLD 5 '(expr. the imminence of an action) at any time now, now all but …'. For the menacing approach of disaster cf. V. *A.* 2.530 *insequitur iamiamque manu tenet et premit hasta* with Austin's note. Bömer on Ov. *Met.* 1.535 compares *Hal.* 20, *Her.* 10.83 and *Tr.* 1.1.44. Aeson wishes that Pelias will always be in fear of the immediate return of the Argonauts; it is not necessary to assume that eventually Jason will take the actual revenge (cf. 810f.).

auroque coruscum: cf. V. *A.* 9.163 *auroque corusci*. The noun seems to denote primarily the golden glow of the waters (OLD 6) caused by the Fleece rather than the object itself. For *coruscum … iter* 'the glittering path' (of the Argo across the sea) Nováková (132) gives several parallels in VF where reflections of light are also described; these include 3.351 *celsis conlucent aequora flammis* and 7.30f. *aurea si iam / pellis et oblatis clarescant atria villis*.

cernat: with the mind's eye, as in 226 (see note on *iamiamque* above and cf. 802 *mente agitet*).

806b–810a

> stabo insultans et ovantia contra
> ora manusque feram. tum vobis siquod inausum
> arcanumque nefas et adhuc incognita leti
> sors superest, date fallaci pudibunda senectae
> exitia indecoresque obitus!

stabo insultans: he (= his ghost) will stand and look on, whereas Dido will actively pursue Aeneas: V. *A.* 4.384 *sequar atris ignibus absens*, ib. 836 *omnibus umbra locis adero*. For *stabo* cf. Sen. *Her. F.* 118, but there 'in readiness for action' (Fitch ad l.). *insultans*: 'mocking, scoffing, jeering' (OLD 3).

ovantia … ora manusque: though parallels of emotions and actions ascribed to parts of the body are not lacking (*e.g. umeris gaudentibus* 109 with note), there seem to be no other instances of *ovans* 'exulting' used that way.

contra: OLD A (Adverbial use) 5 '(expr. hostile action, opposition, … etc.) against a person (…) on the other side', already combined with *ferre* in *Rhet. Her.* 4.51 *arma qui contra tulerunt.* The combination of *ora* and *manus* with *ferre* is already seen in V. *A.* 3.490 *sic oculos, sic ille manus, sic ora ferebat.*

tum: 'afterwards, after all he will have suffered by then'.

vobis … superest: 'if you have some (gruesome death) in store (which has no precedent)'; OLD s.v. *supersum* 7 '(of resources, etc.) to be (still) available to or at the disposal (of)'. *inausum*: taken from Virgil (*A.* 7.308 (Fordyce: 'a rare word') and 8.205, ending *ne quid inausum*). *arcanumque nefas*: the adjective in itself need not mean more than 'secret', but the context points to the specific sense of 'magical' (OLD 3), the more so because the combination with *nefas* occurs previously in Luc. 6.569, where the actions of Erictho are described.

incognita: first printed in the Juntine edition for mss. *incondita* and clearly the *lectio facilior*. In fact the vulgate is hard to explain. OLD s.v. *inconditus* 4 gives '(perh.) not started or initiated', referring to this passage only. It has to be derived then from the meaning of *condere* (OLD 11) 'to originate, institute (a custom, law, reputation, etc.)', suggesting that comparable forms of death will follow, like *mortis … novae; fata paras* (in 648f. above). Here it is just possible (and printed by Dräger), but not very probable. Virgil combines *inausum* (*A.* 8.206, cited above) with

intractatum (not a neologism coined by him: Cic. *Amic.* 68), which does not point in either direction.

leti / sors: OLD s.v. *sors* 9 'the category, class, genus, etc. into which a person or thing falls'. *date*: OLD s.v. *do*[1] 24 'to produce, cause, bring about; (w. dat.) to cause (for), inflict (on)'. There seem to be no other instances with *exitium / -ia*, *obitus / -um* or *mortem*; reversely, *leto / morti dare aliquem* is well attested (OLD ib. 20c). *funera dare* comes closest (V. *G.* 3.246f., *A.* 8.570f.).

pudibunda … exitia: the adjective recurs in 7.303, also in the 'passive' sense 'to be ashamed of' (OLD 2 'that causes to blush, shaming, dishonouring'). This meaning is first attested in *Laus Pis.* 126; see Perutelli l.c. and Pianezzola 1965:89.

(fallaci) senectae: see note on 718. Yet the expression does not convey quite the same sense as *fallaci seni*: it also suggests the traitor in his old age (and not before). Though primarily Pelias could be called 'cruel', the epithet 'treacherous' may be accorded to him on the grounds of 39f. and 58ff. above.

indecoresque obitus: VF has the adjective ('inglorious, shameful') again in 3.515 and 5.669. OLD gives Accius *trag.* 193 as the first occurrence of the adjective. The same notion can be conveyed by *turpi morte* (Nep. *Paus.* 5.4) and *turpi leto* (Cic. *Att.* 10.10.5). For the plural *obitus* with regard to one person cf. note on 769. As Perutelli 1982:134 states, the words stand in marked opposition to *magnos obitus* there, but his following remark that Aeson too will not die honourably in battle and therefore loses heroic stature is not convincing. Suicide was certainly regarded as a more dignified way to die than being butchered without (possible) resistance, and the ritual involved is indeed 'magico' (though not 'esotico'!), but the use of magic is not in itself degrading.

810b–814 (822)

non Marte nec armis
aut nati precor ille mei dignatus ut umquam
ense cadat; quae fida manus, quae cara suorum
diripiat laceretque senem, nec membra sepulcro
contegat. haec noster de rege piacula sanguis
sumat et heu cunctae quas misit in aequora gentes!'

non … cadat: this is a difficult sentence, though the general meaning is clear. The place of *nati* (absent from V) does not make much difference: either after *aut* (L; thus Ehlers, Liberman, Spaltenstein and Dräger) or after *mei* (S; Courtney). The exact construction of *precor* however is

hard to assess: it may be taken as a parenthesis (OLD 5), the main clause being the prayer *ut* … *cadat* (OLD s.v. *ut* 42), or as governing that clause: *precor ut* (OLD s.v. *precor* 1b). The latter is preferred by Liberman, whose interpretation seems correct in other respects as well. *armis* was condemned as a tautology by Bährens, whose proposal *annis* was taken over by Langen. There is, however, at least one good parallel for the combination *Marte—armis*: Stat. *Ach.* 1.401 (mentioned by Liberman) *sine Marte sine armis*; cf. also *Arg.* 4.168 *numquam* (!) *leto dignatus* (!) *et armis* (see Korn's note). Both ablatives modify *cadat* ('may he not fall in battle through weapons'). Although *non* … *nec* is normal (K/S 2.39) and the negation is often continued with *aut* (ib. 2.103), the combination *non* … *nec* … *aut* seems unusual. Cf. however *neque* … *neque* … *aut* (OLD s.v. *neque* 7c) and *Arg.* 2.231 f. *Bessi / nec Geticae* … *manus aut aequoris irae* is somewhat parallel inasmuch as the negation there extends to *Bessi* as well (see Poortvliet's note). In itself the use of *non* (not *ne*) with a subjunctive expressing a wish is not remarkable (K/S 1.191 f.). The construction is varied: after the simple ablatives *Marte* and *armis* the third element consists of (*mei nati*) *dignatus ense*, the last noun being governed by the participle. This of course is used in a passive sense: 'deemed worthy' (OLD s.v. *digno* 1 α). Liberman's paraphrasis is therefore fully convincing: *precor ut non Marte nec armis, aut nati mei ense dignatus cadat.*

quae … *senem*: recent editors (except Dräger) tacitly agree that there is no need to replace the double *quae* of the mss. by Carrio's *quin* … *quin* (which was by and large preferred in the earlier editions, including those of Heinsius and Langen). The omission of the copula (*manus suorum, quae fida, quae cara*) in relative sentences is quite normal (K/S 1.12; cf. Austin's note on V. *A.* 2.72 *quae forma pulcherrima*). It seems that *manus* primarily denotes 'band', though at the same time suggesting 'with their own hands'. Anyhow, the adjectives *fida* and *cara* have to be taken subjectively: 'the band he trusteth, let his own kin that he holds dear' (Mozley); the truth about this will turn out to be different. VF here alludes to the way Pelias will be killed through the agency of Medea, as told by Ovid (*Met.* 7.297–349). In this way Aeson's curse will be fulfilled. Of course, in VF's version of the story the rejuvenation of Aeson himself as a prelude or pretext for the murder of Pelias is out of the question. In 6.444 VF mentions Medea's powers to restore youth to elderly people in general. The combination of *fidus* and *carus* seems new; Cicero has (*Phil.* 13.4) *o fidam dexteram Antoni.*

corripiat laceretque: the first verb is taken up in 825 *diripiunt*; it is used again in the same sense in 2.240 (see Poortvliet for parallels). Cf.

furthermore 4.454; in all four instances it is the first word of the line. *laceret* points back to 719 above *lacerat*; the verb occurs again in 6.401 and 7.636.

nec membra … contegat: a clear echo of V. *A.* 10.557f. *non te optima mater /condet humi patrioque onerabit membra sepulchro.* The noun *membra* is not just an equivalent of *corpus*, since this will be dismembered. For *contegere* in this sense 'to entomb, bury' (OLD 1c) cf. 5.58 *nec separe contegat urna.* The line beginning with *sumat* evidently belongs here, but is in the mss. found after 821.

haec … gentes: since immediately before Aeson has quite expressly stated his wish that Pelias will not be killed by Jason as an act of revenge, this sentence cannot mean 'let my son (*sanguis meus*) take vengeance (*piacula sumat*) on the king (*de rege*)', which would moreover leave *haec* inexplicable. *piacula sumere* does not mean 'to exact retribution': when Lucan writes (10.462) *sumpturus poenas et grata piacula morti*, the element of punishment is expressed by means of *poenas*, whereas *piacula* denotes 'atonement, expiation' (procured by that penalty). The same goes for Sil. 4.762f. *ubi deinde per arma / sumeret amissi numerosa piacula visus*. This form (*haec*) of satisfaction will consist of Jason and the other Argonauts witnessing the degrading downfall of Pelias. This is better than taking with Maserius *noster … sanguis* as 'the blood I will shortly spill (to exact vengeance in a later time)'. Since *supplicium sumere* is regularly combined with *de* (*e.g.* Caes. *Civ.* 3.14.3), it is only natural that this construction is applied with *piacula sumere* as well. For *noster … sanguis* cf. V. *A.* 6.835 *proice tela manu, sanguis meus* with Austin's note. In the rest of the sentence the word order is complicated, *heu* belonging to the relative clause; Courtney refers to the equally striking disjunction in 2.245 *abstulerint, durent Latiis modo saecula fastis.*

cunctae … gentes: not only the actual companions of Jason, but all seafarers and their relatives will be satisfied by the terrible end of Pelias, who made Jason undertake the voyage which will be the ultimate cause of many disasters (cf. 644ff. above, especially 648 *miseris … gentibus*). For *cunctae … gentes* cf. 196 above *me cunctis e gentibus unum* and for *misit* also 545 *hanc pelago misere manum* and Prop. 2.16.17 *semper in Oceanum misit me quaerere gemmas.*

815–817

adstitit et nigro fumantia pocula tabo
contigit ipsa gravi Furiarum maxima dextra;
illi avide exceptum pateris hausere cruorem.

Events here are described in a remarkably succinct way, even for VF, so Langen's idea that something has been lost after the preceding line is understandable. It does not, however, present itself as necessary. The belief in the use of 'bull's blood' as a means of (self-)poisoning is amply attested in antiquity; see Hdt. 3.15, Plut. *Them.* 31, Aristoph. *Eq.* 83, Diod. Sic. 4.50.1, Apollod. 1.9.27, Cic. *Brut.* 43. As bull's blood is not venomous, it has been supposed that it was also the name of a specific poison, but it was surely often taken, as here, as the real thing itself. Plin. *Nat.* 11.222 gives as an explanation *(sanguis) taurorum celerrime coit atque durescit; ideo pestifer potu.* The actual killing of the bull is not mentioned, but it had been announced previously (cf. especially 787 *damnati … tauri*). The suddenness of *adstitit* after Aeson's words may be supposed to convey the notion of immediate response. The same form, equally at the beginning of a line, occurs in 3.62 to denote the apparition of Bellona, another goddess bringing retribution. Here the Fury appears to confirm that she will execute Aeson's curses (cf. 794ff. above). This she effects by touching (*contigit*) the blood, not to make it poisonous which it is already supposed to be, but to ensure that Aeson's wishes will be fulfilled (Pius: ut assertura ratum fore); cf. V. *A.* 12. 201 *tango aras*. Caussin's shallow proposal *porrigit* appealed to Langen and is now printed by Liberman, but the Fury is not a waitress nor is she pouring a libation as in V. *A.* 8.274 (Liberman's parallel).

nigro … tabo: for the noun the OLD recognizes only the meaning 'a viscous fluid consisting of putrid matter, etc.', but this seems to be too restricted a sense. In V. *A.* 3.626f. *vidi atro cum membra fluentia tabo / manderet* (Polyphemus) it rather appears to denote '(freshly) shed blood', which is certainly the case in Lucr. 3.660f. *ancisa recenti* (!) / *vulnere … terram conspargere tabo*. Furthermore VF has *taboque recenti* in 2.212 and 4.749 (cf. also *cruorem* 817). Since in the Lucretius passage it is a serpent which is dissected, the notion of venom may be present there as well, in full accordance with our VF passage. This notion is further enhanced by *nigro*, which is clearly a variation on Virgil's *atro* (*A.* 3.626, cited above, and ib. 9.472), but in its turn also suggests (snakes and) poison (Bömer on Ov. *Met.* 2.760 *nigro squalentia tabo*, referring to ib. 3.63 and 76).

fumantia pocula: VF varies the diction of his predecessors in two ways. First the participle no longer refers to *membra* (V. *A.* 3.626), *ora* (ib. 9.472) or *tecta* (Ov. *Met.* 2.760), but to the *pocula*. This entails the choice of a different qualification: *fumantia*, probably taken from V. *A.* 8.106 *tepidusque cruor fumabat ad aras*, *cruor* being intermediate between *membra / ora* and *pocula*. Heinsius' *spumantia*, though striking a merrier note in

260 above and in V. *A.* 1.739, could have been used (cf. V. *A.* 3.66), but a change is not called for.

gravi … dextra: the meaning of the adjective is not very clear; there appear to no parallels for the notion 'poisonous, infectious'. It seems to oscillate between 'grave, serious, dangerous, formidable' (all under OLD 14). In 4.311 *dextra gravis* is different, the sense there being 'a devastating right' (in boxing).

Furiarum maxima: whereas in V. *A.* 3.252 *Furiarum ego maxima* it is Celaeno who is speaking, the *Furiarum maxima* ib. 6.605 is 'unidentifiable' (Austin ad l.). Probably Statius in *Theb.* 1.712ff. identified her as Megaera (Norden 287, taking *maxima* as *natu*; cf. also Heuvel's note). In *Theb.* 7.477 *Eumenidum velut antiquissima* (also nameless) Smolenaars interprets the adjective as 'most important, venerable'. Here in VF she has been identified as Tisiphone (Mehmel; Tonder 10), but clearly the poet wanted to follow Virgil's example in not naming the Fury (cf. 796 *Furorum*).

avide: a strong expression (OLD 2 'eagerly, impatiently, hungrily') where we would rather expect something like 'without hesitation'. The adverb does not occur elsewhere in the *Argonautica.*

exceptum pateris: it seems that the blood of the slaughtered bull was first 'received' (*receptum*) in bowls (*pateris*) and afterwards transferred to cups (*pocula*), which were then touched by the Fury and drained by Aeson and Alcimede. The wording in Cic. *Brut.* 43 (cited above) is similar, containing the same noun and verb: *excepisse sanguinem patera.*

hausere: used in connection with poison in Luc. 9.616f. *dubiumque venenum / hausit*, and in combination with *patera* in V. *A.* 1.738f. *ille impiger hausit / spumantem pateram.*

5. *The suicide of Aeson and Alcimede could be seen as the end of the episode, but is followed instead by a short mention of the action taken by Pelias' men* (818–826)

818–819

> fit fragor, inrumpunt sonitu qui saeva ferebant
> imperia et strictos iussis regalibus enses.

fit fragor: although the noun may simply denote 'a noisy clamour' (OLD 2b), as in 753 above, here the element of 'crashing into' seems present as well: *inrumpunt* marks the violence with which the soldiers enter the

house, perhaps even forcing the doors. The same words begin the line again in 5.163, where see Wijsman's note. The alliteration is continued in *ferebant* (cf. also *sonitu … saeva*).

sonitu (S; *sonitus* LV) has been rejected as flaccid (Lemaire: 'mire languet'). Hence conjectures were rife: *foribus* or *domini* (Heinsius; the former was printed by Courtney), *senibus* (Pierson, taken over by Harles and revived by Watt BICS 1984:164), *subito* (Beck, followed by Lemaire). All this is unnecessary in view of Liberman's pertinent parallels of *fragosus / fragor* with the more general *sonitus*: V. *A.* 7.566, Luc. 1.152, Sil. 4.521. He could have added Cic. *Rep.* 2.6 and Lucr. 6.136. Perutelli (1982:135) also compares the quasi-synonymous pairs *imperia / iussis* and *morte / leto*, whereas in the model passage V. *A.* 2.494 (*fit via vi; rumpunt aditus*) *via* and *aditus* are complementary.

Combinations of *saevus* and *imperium* are already attested in earlier prose; OLD s.v. *saevus* 2b gives as parallels Sal. *Cat.* 19.5 and Liv. 2.58.6.

ferebant … imperia: a somewhat strange expression. It cannot mean '(they) brought / carried with them (Pelias') commands' (as with *mandata* in V. *A.* 4.270 and with *iussa* ib. 378), since they were not sent to Jason's parents to order them to do something, but with the intention of killing them. In fact *ferebant* here comes very close to the meaning 'were carrying out', for which we might compare Hor. *Ep.* 1.5.6 *imperium fer* 'accept my authority', amounting to 'execute my command'. Of course the combination with *enses* (for which compare Stat. *Silv.* 4.7.45 f.) facilitates the diction.

strictos … enses: cf. 3.111, 119, 6.281, 7.287, 530, 8.360. In V. *A.* 10.577 *flectit equos, strictum rotat acer Lucagus ensem* the words occupy the same position in the line.

iussis regalibus: the n. pl. *iussa* qualified with a genitive or an adjective '(by) orders of' appears regularly in prose as well (OLD s.v. *iussum* 1) and here points back to 754 above (*iam dare iussa vocatis*). The adjective, recurring once in the *Argonautica* (5.444), does not have to mean 'characteristic of a king'; it simply denotes 'of the king', like *regius*.

820–826

in media iam morte senes suffectaque leto
lumina et undanti revomentes veste cruorem
conspiciunt; primoque rudem sub limine rerum
te, puer, et visa pallentem morte parentum
diripiunt adduntque tuis. procul horruit Aeson
excedens memoremque tulit sub nubibus umbram.

in media … morte: 'in death agony' rather than 'being dead already'. In V. *A.* 2.447 *extrema iam in morte* and ib. 533 *in media iam morte* (where see Austin's note) death is imminent but Priam and his son are not yet mortally wounded. The further stage which VF indicates here is also reached in Stat. *Theb.* 8.729 *mediaque in morte* and 11.555 *in media iam morte*. For the use of *senes* denoting 'elderly people of both sexes' OLD s.v. *senex* 1 only cites (with 'app.') Stat. *Theb.* 5.149, but here we have a much clearer example.

suffectaque leto / lumina: Virgil's daring innovation in *A.* 2.210 *oculos suffecti sanguine et igni* (for the more usual *suffusi*) describes the bloodshot eyes of the serpents. VF goes one better by writing *leto* instead of *sanguine et igni*, thus suggesting eyes glazing in death. The ablative here no longer denotes the (dis)colouring matter, but the cause of discoloration. Comparable for the idea and in part for the wording are V. *A.* 10.418 *senior leto canentia lumina solvit* and 11.818f. *labuntur frigida leto / lumina.* This is all more or less in accordance with Valerian practice. The next phrase, however, presents serious difficulties. We need not bother much about the question of how the dying couple can emit 'a stream of blood' (the bull's?): this is poetic license, though perhaps not a very fine example of it. Furthermore VF exhibits a great range in varying the use of the verb *undare* (cf. *Mnem.* 1991:147f.). In itself therefore it is not very remarkable that he should change Virgil's example (*A.* 10.908) *undantique animam diffundit in arma cruore*, making the participle agree with *veste* rather than with *cruorem*. Finally, the use of *veste*, for which Madvig suggested *peste* (followed by Bährens, Langen and Mozley), is made more acceptable if compared with V. *A.* 4.687, ending with *veste cruores* (Liberman's note). More problematic, on the other hand, is the syntactical structure: an object (to *conspiciunt* 823), namely *senes*, coupled by means of *-que* with a second object (*suffecta … lumina*), and then after *et* a participle (*revomentes*) qualifying the first object. Even for VF this goes extremely, if not unacceptably, far. There is moreover the fact that the participle in question is a conjecture, though not improbable in itself, the mss. having *removente(m)*. If we suppose that this may have ousted another adjective, then we could construe either *undantem* (*undantē* in mss.) … *cruorem*, as in Virgil, the lost word qualifying *veste*, or alternatively keep *undanti* and assume the vanished word was in the accusative, going with *cruorem*. This would in any case result in a satisfactory sequence of objects: first the people themselves, then particularizing into their eyes and the blood on their clothes. However, if we are content with the strange syntax, we will have to take *undanti*

(which in other contexts would mean 'undulating, moving wave-like', OLD 5) as 'being covered with gushing blood'. The nearest parallel for this use would be 3.117 *undantes mensas* 'table flowing (with spilt wine)', where however some notion of 'confused' might be implied as well (cf. 5.303 *undantem curis*). In itself *revomentes* would not be objectionable: 2.25, V. *A.* 5.182.

primo … rerum: the words *primo … sub limine* certainly do not refer to the entrance of the house, but are to be compared to passages such as Lucr. 3.681 *vitae cum limen inimus*, Luc. 2.106 *nec primo in limine vitae*, Sen. *Her. F.* 1133 *in primo limine vitae*, Stat. *Theb.* 5.260 *in limine vitae*, ib. 535 *prima ad limina vitae*, 7.166 *limina vitae*, Sil. 13.548 *in limine lucis* (cf. *Mnem.* 1991:149f.). In all these instances young children must be meant, whereas here we probably have to think of a boy in his teens (see 771ff. above and note there). Introducing a subtle variation (*sub* for *in*, meaning 'close up to': OLD 6b) VF presents a picture of a youth about to enter (adult) life. The genitive *rerum*, not so much 'humanarum' (Pius) as 'agendarum', is probably governed ἀπὸ κοινοῦ by *limine* and *rudem*, which denotes 'inexperienced' as in 771. The grim sarcasm there, that the boy will get no opportunity to profit by his father's practical lessons, is here underscored by the repetition of *rudis*: when he is murdered, he is still *rudis*, as he was in 771, being still *in limine rerum.*

te, puer: Promachus (note on 771). For the pathetic apostrophe cf. Ov. *Fast.* 6.486 and Stat. *Theb.* 12.85. The lines are strongly alliterative: *primo … puer … pallentem … parentum*; *rudem … rerum.* For *pallentem* cf. V. *A.* 4.644 *pallida morte futura*, 8.709 *pallentem morte futura*, both instances however referring to the subject's own death.

diripiunt: 'tear apart', a grim repetition from *diripiat* 813. *addunt … tuis*: OLD s.v. *addo* 9 'to add (a person, etc. to a group …)'. Cf. 2.236 *adduntque domos* with Poortvliet's note. Langen aptly compares Sen. *Thy.* 727 *adicitque fratri.*

horruit Aeson: 3.171 is comparable, where a dying person also departs with a horrible knowledge; cf. Blümner 265. *excedens*: not just figuratively (*vita*) but literally 'leaving the land of the living' (*procul*, *tulit*).

memorem … tulit sub nubibus umbram: here *sub nubibus* has been interpreted in different ways. Langen thought VF conflated two versions of the departure of the soul: one in which it is supposed to ascend to heaven and another in which the shade descends into the underworld. This is not convincing, because *sub* with an ablative can hardly express a destination (the two instances from Petronius adduced in OLD s.v. *sub* 1d do not warrant this explanation). Weichert's conjecture *sub manibus*,

revived by Delz (1990:528f.), is open to the same objection. Equally, Liberman's suggestion of taking it as simply meaning 'through the air' falls short of the mark; of his parallels for *sub nubibus* (V. *A.* 5.658 (9.15), 10.264, Ov. *Met.* 2.729, Stat. *Theb.* 11.472, *Arg.* 2.119) none concern a descent into the underworld. Moreover, in contradistinction to V. *A.* 10.819 (*per auras*) the subject Aeson is already dead (*umbram*) here, not dying, and there is no reason why his ghost would still 'pass the air'. The right interpretation was no doubt given by Strand 80ff.: *sub nubibus* denotes the murky regions of the underworld through which the spirits of Aeson and Alcimede are moving. It is true that for *nubes* itself no parallels can be found, but *nubilus/-m* refers to the nether world in Ov. *Met.* 4.432 (see Bömer), Sen. *Her. F.* 620 *tristi silentem … nubilo domum* (see Fitch for more parallels) and Mart. 6.58.4 *Elysiae … nubila fusca plagae*. Here VF seems subtly to hint first at the last line of the *Aeneid*: *vitaque cum gemitu fugit indignata sub umbras* (Aeson too being 'indignant'), disconnecting *sub* and *umbras*. But V. *A.* 6.268 also comes to mind: *ibant obscuri sola sub nocte per umbram*. Strand furthermore compares VF 2.192 *inferni … sub nocte barathri* and 3. 398 *ad Stygiae devexa silentia noctis*.

memorem: he takes this memory and the ensuing wish for revenge with him in death. The adjective previously contains the notion of 'vindictive' in V. *A.* 4.521 *iustumque memorque* and in Ov. *Met.* 3.494 *irata memorque* (TLL 8.657.22f.); *memor umbra* is attested in Ov. *Ib.* 143 (TLL ib. 658.41f.).

tulit … umbram: at first sight this seems a strange expression, Aeson himself being that shade; the idea of McGuire (1997:194f.), that *umbram* denotes the ghost of Promachus, is excluded by *tulit*. In reality it is just a none too daring development from periphrases such as *in herbosa posuit sua corpora terra* (Ov. *Met.* 10.128; cf. also OLD s.v. *fero* 13b).

6. *The arrival of the ghosts of Aeson and Alcimede in the underworld* (827–850)

Of course the short description of the world below owes some details to the much more elaborate 'grand tour' in the sixth book of the *Aeneid*. It does not offer an overall vision of that world and its constituent parts, rather accentuating the enormous dimensions of those regions. On the other hand, there is a short list of several categories of people arriving there, comparable to the longer enumerations in V. *A.* 6.426–627

and especially in 636–665; nevertheless individual people are not mentioned. This is understandable, because Aeneas is only a visitor who must be shown as much as possible, whereas in VF this short excursus marks the final destination of the ghosts of Aeson and Alcimede, who will stay there forever and will have ample 'time' to get acquainted with the locality.

This last part of the book is certainly not the easiest one. Both text constitution (notably 828ff. and 847ff.) and interpretation present serious difficulties, as will be noted below.

The passage itself starts with a general description of the world below and the two gates that lead to it (827–835). From the distinction of some privileged categories (835–841) the poet almost gradually returns to the story: 841–845 can still be taken as general, whereas the last lines from 846 on clearly refer to the departed couple.

827–831

> cardine sub nostro rebusque abscissa supernis
> Tartarei sedet aula patris, non illa ruenti
> accessura polo, victam si solvere molem
> (…)
> ingenti iacet ore Chaos, quod pondere fessam
> materiem lapsumque queat consumere mundum.

The expression *cardine sub nostro* has not been explained in a satisfactory way (cf. *Mnem.* 1991:151ff.). It must denote a place beneath our world, but the meaning 'beneath our pole', as in Pedo 18 *alio positas ultra sub cardine gentes*, would imply an opposition to the North pole or at least refer to another part of the earth's surface. On the other hand, when Silius writes (4.779) *quocumque in cardine mundi* the meaning of *cardine*, 'region', is made clear by the use of *in*. In VF the combination with *sub* results in a strange expression; maybe he wanted to suggest 'beneath this part of the world (= its surface), where the pole can be seen'. For *noster* opposing the earth to the underworld cf. Luc. 6.649f. *mundi confine latentis / ac nostri.*

For *adcisa* (mss.) the obvious correction leads to *ab-*, the participle being spelt either with one *s* from Turnebus' *abcisa* on (*abscisa*: most editors since Heinsius) or as *abscissa* (from the Aldine edition on). While *abscisus* is the original form of the perf. part. of *abscidere*, the form *abscissus* is derived from *abscindere*. As TLL (1.147.76f.) warns us, forms of both verbs are quite often interchanged, so we cannot determine the orthography with certainty. As to the meaning, however, the choice between

the two verbs is not difficult: the required sense, 'to separate', especially 'parts of the world', is transparent in *abscindo* (OLD 3); metrically unambiguous instances are V. *A.* 3.418, Ov. *Met.* 1.22, Hor. *Carm.* 1.3.21. It therefore seems wiser to print *abscissa* (Kramer, Dräger), while bearing in mind the frequent orthographical confusion between the two participles. For the adjective *supernus* contrasting our world to the nether regions (OLD 1b) cf. Sen. *Phaed.* 845 and Luc. 6.733.

The most serious problem in this passage concerns the lines 828ff. In the transmitted form we have (after *polo* 829): *victam si volvere molem / ingenti iacet ore chaos, quod pondere fessam / materiem lapsumque queat consumere mundum.* Its general meaning must be: the expanse of the underworld is so vast, that even if the universe were to collapse (*ruenti ... polo*), that world would not be part of the general destruction, being able to swallow all the shattered remains (*lapsum ... mundum*). Since the mss. reading does not present a possible grammatical construction, editors either proposed conjectures making the infinitive (*solvere* or *volvere*) depend on forms like *iuvet* (Sudhaus, printed by Courtney) or *placet* (Ehlers, Spaltenstein), or alternatively assumed a lacuna after 829. Pius mentioned finding in some mss. the lines *senserit atque gravi totam subsidere motu / fata velint si summa dies subverterit orbem*, and these were printed in the Aldine edition. Later, Carrio stated that his *vetus codex* had *Iupiter et primae velit omnia reddere massae*, but added that he did not believe in the authenticity of the line (it was written in the margin). Now Liberman and Dräger defend and print it again (with *solvere* in 829). This results in an unpleasant asyndeton between this line and 830, and moreover fails to take into account the obvious similarity, almost amounting to identicalness, of the elements *Tartarei sedet aula patris—ingenti iacet ore chaos, ruenti polo—lapsum mundum, victam molem—pondere fessam materiem.* This last item was already noted by Burman, whereas Schenkl presented the view that the resemblances are the result of a double recension. He therefore bracketed lines 831–832 as remains from an earlier version. Recently Poortvliet (*Ratis*[1] 39f.) came to essentially the same conclusion, but he took lines 827–829 as the earlier draft, to be replaced later by the lines now numbered as 830–831. Indeed, this seems the best solution, although the question of which version was the earlier one cannot be regarded as fully settled. For details see below.

Tartarei ... patris: the adjective *Tartareus* (for which compare 730 above) already denotes Dis in Ov. *Tr.* 1.9.32 *Tartareum ... deum.* In 4.258 VF has *pater ... Tartarus* (see Korn ad l.). *aula* is used in connection with the nether world in Hor. *Carm.* 3.11.16 *ianitor aulae* (repeated in Prop. 4.11.5,

with *fuscae*, and Sil. 2.552, with *lacrimosae*; cf. ib. 13.522). For *sedet* Langen gives some parallels where the meaning is 'to lie (in a low position)', but there is certainly also more than a hint of the sense 'to remain motionless, rest, stay still' (OLD 8), especially if one compares Luc. 6.648f. *non Tartareis sic faucibus aer / sedit iners* (cf. ib. 651 *Tartarei … reges*!), and Sen. *Her. F.* 704f. *pigro sedet / nox atra mundo.*

non illa: for the more or less pleonastic (or rather, insistent) use of the pronoun see K/S 1.626 A. 1, with several instances of *non* (including V. *A.* 6.593, where see Austin). Cf. also 662 above *nondum ille furens.*

ruenti … polo: if the sky were to collapse (OLD s.v. *ruo* 6b). The hypothetical force of *ruenti* of course extends to the other participle *accessura* as well. Note that the direction of motion is reversed (ANRW 2464f.), since it is not the underworld itself that would (begin to) move, but the heavens. The verb *accedere* is therefore semantically equivalent to *addi* 'to be added or combined, to be included in' (cf. OLD s.v. *accedo* 15). The resemblance with Hor. *S.* 2.3.153f. *ni cibus atque / ingens accedit stomacho fultura ruenti* seems accidental. Cf. however Luc. 5.633 *motaque poli compage laborant* and Sil. 17.251f. (with both *poli* and *ruere*), ib. 606f. *caelum licet omne soluta / … compage ruat.*

victam … molem: the noun denotes the mass of the universe, *e.g.* in V. *A.* 6.727 *mens agitat molem* and Sen. *Ben.* 4.24.1 *tantae molis aspectu.* For *victam* Burman gives as a parallel Prop. 3.2.24 *annorum aut ictu, pondere victa, ruent* (where Camps refers to Mart. 1.82.6 *victa est pondere cum suo repente*). Other parallels are Lucr. 5.96 *ruet moles et machina mundi* and Stat. *Silv.* 4.4.97f. *stabuntne sub illa / mole umeri an magno vincetur pondere cervix?* Cf. also Plin. *Ep.* 6.16.6 *pondere suo victa.*

volvere (mss.; Kramer, Courtney, Ehlers, Spaltenstein) and *solvere* (Heinsius; Liberman and Dräger) could both be used in a similar context. The former would be an instance of OLD 3 'to cause to fall headlong, pitch over, roll over', the latter of OLD 11 'to loosen the texture of …, to destroy the fabric of (a structure), break up, disintegrate'. The latter seems more appropriate and provides parallels more easily, such as the close resemblances in V. *A.* 12.205 *caelumque in Tartara solvat,* Luc. 1.72ff. *sic, cum compage soluta / saecula tot mundi suprema coegerit hora / antiquum repetens iterum chaos*, Sil. 17.606f. *caelum licet omne soluta / in caput hoc compage ruat.*

ingenti iacet ore Chaos: while the use of *os* to denote the gaping underworld is not frequent (cf. however Sen. *Her. F.* 664 *hic ora solvit Ditis invisi domus* and Stat. *Theb.* 7.816f. *humus ore profundo / dissilit*), *chaos* is usual in similar contexts from Ovid on (Bömer on *Fast.* 4.600). It already

occurs in V. *A.* 4.510 and 6.265, but as a feature of the lower world, not that world itself. Cf. furthermore Ov. *Met.* 10.30, Luc. 9.101, Stat. *Theb.* 4.520, 8.52, 12.772, and in the *Argonautica* 2.86, 4.123, 5.95, 7.402. Apart from the difficulties of the passage as a whole, *iacet* in itself is unobjectionable: it combines the notions of 'to remain motionless, lie still' (OLD 8) and 'to lie below the surrounding level, be low-lying' (ib. 14). Tib. 1.3.67f. *at scelerata iacet sedes in nocte profunda / abdita* is closely comparable.

pondere fessam / materiem: for *pondere* see some parallels quoted on *victam … molem* above. *fessam* is a case of OLD 4 '(of things) weakened, worn out (with age, use, strain, etc.)'. The combination with *pondere* is also attested in Varro: fr. 126 Riposati.

materiem: the only occurrence of the word in VF (*materia* not being used at all). Its meaning here closely approaches that given in OLD 4b 'the basic substance of the universe, matter', only here it rather denotes that universe itself as a whole (or at least the upper parts of it, sky and earth). There is no exact parallel for this use, equating *materiem* with the preceding *molem* and following *mundum*, but Man. 1.135f. *arida rerum / materies* and Claud. *Rapt. Pros.* 1. 59f. *quidquid ubique / gignit materies* (both cited in TLL. 8.453.III) come close.

consumere: OLD 8 'to take up the whole extent of, swallow up', clearly suggesting 'to devour' (*ore*). *lapsum*: OLD 6b '(of a building, etc.) to collapse, fall…'. Cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3.3.7 *si fractus illabatur orbis.* Seneca repeatedly uses the verb to denote a cosmic catastrophe: *Thy.* 847 (the Zodiac) *lapsa videbit sidera labens*, *Ben.* 6.22.1 *(sidera) in ruinam divina labantur*, *Dial.* 6. (= *Consol. Marc.*)26.7 *labentibus cunctis* (TLL 7.2.783.28ff.).

Whatever version VF would have chosen eventually, he had a choice between several phrases and words: *sedet—iacet*; *aula* (*Tartarei patris*)—*chaos*; *ruenti—solvere*; *victam—fessam—lapsum*; *polo—molem—materiem—mundum.*

832–834

> hic geminae aeternum portae, quarum altera dura
> semper lege patens populos regesque receptat;
> ast aliam temptare nefas et tendere contra.

The picture of the underworld presented by VF is none too clear. There are two gates, which in itself goes back to V. *A.* 6.893ff. (*geminae … portae*). For this passage in its turn Hom. *Od.* 19.562ff. served as a model, where the Gates of Dreams are described. They were

slightly changed by Virgil into the Gates of Sleep and serve as a exit for Aeneas and the Sibyl. There is, however, another Homeric passage responsible for VF's version, namely *Od.* 13.109ff. There, two doors of the nymphs' sanctuary constitute different entrances as in the *Argonautica* (ἐσέρχονται 112), the north one for humans, the south one for gods. On the other hand, the separation of the ghosts at the entrance owes something to the parting of the ways in V. *A.* 6.540ff. *hic locus est partis ubi se via findit in ambas*. The criterion by which the arriving ghosts are divided is not overly clear. While it is obvious that the second gate is set apart for special categories of distinguished people, the first one receives *populos regesque* (833). It seems identical with the *porta sinistra* in 847, leading to the place where Pelias will be punished. But since we can hardly assume that the *populi regesque* consist solely of sinners, it would appear that they constitute an average population of ghosts, who will be judged and then, if necessary, more or less severely punished. This may be hinted at by the qualification *dura /… lege*. In Virgil the *impia Tartara* (*A.* 6.543) is depicted in more detail (ib. 548–627) and in an exclusively punitive atmosphere, including names of (in)famous sinners. The Elysium (not mentioned in the *Argonautica* after 650 above) is pictured there in 637ff. and this corresponds to the region where the ghosts of Aeson and Alcimede eventually arrive, clearly not subject to judgement and punishment. For details see below.

For *aeternum* some conjectures have been made, the most successful being Jeep's *infernum* (taken as genitive plural of *inferna* 'the underworld'), which was preferred by Langen, Bury and Mozley. However, there is no need for change. Adverbial *aeternum* occurs again in 4.151 (where see Korn) and 708. Cf. also K.F. Smith on Tib. 2.5.64. It is true that in V. *A.* 6.893 *sunt gemini Somni portae* and 7.607 *sunt geminae belli portae*, a genitive is placed between adjective and noun, but in both cases a new description starts with the line containing this form, which is therefore essential to the understanding. Here, however, the reader already knows about the locality which is to be characterized, as in V. *A.* 6.540 (beginning of course not with *sunt* but with *hic*). As an adjective *aeternus* recurs in 846 below.

quarum … receptat: *altera* apparently denotes the left-hand one (as *sinistra* 847), in accordance with V. *A.* 6.541f.

dura … lege: the expression is already attested in Pl. *Merc.* 817, where it means 'miserable conditions of life' (*lege dura vivont mulieres*). In most cases it denotes 'strict conditions imposed', only once referring to actual

'law': Cic. *Off.* 2.75 (TLL 5.1.2306.18ff., 72ff.). With regard to 'laws' in the underworld, the combination recurs in Stat. *Theb.* 8.60. Cf. furthermore *leges* in Prop. 4.7.91.

semper … patens: cf. V. *A.* 6.127 *noctes atque dies patet atri ianua Ditis.*

populos regesque: social standing in life does not matter; both ordinary people and 'kings' are liable to penalties. The combination of nouns in a somewhat different context appears previously in V. *G.* 2.495 *non populi fasces, non purpura regum.* The plural *populi* denoting 'the general public, populace, multitude' (OLD 3) occurs in Ov. *Met.* 7.101 and Stat. *Theb.* 7.244 (where see Smolenaars) and ib. 11.654 (cf. Venini ad l.).

receptat: OLD 2 'to receive, admit (habitually or frequently)', where this passage is quoted along with i.a. Sen. *Ep.* 86.10 *ea loca quae populum receptabant.*

ast … contra: for *ast aliam* cf. Poortvliet on 2.239 *ast aliae.* Against 17 instances of *ast*, VF has *at* 74 times.

temptare: OLD 9c 'to attempt to pass (a barrier or other impediment)'. Other instances, implying the use of military force, appear ib. 9a, *e.g.* Caes. *Civ.* 3.40.1 *moenia oppidi.* For the use of *aliam* instead of *alteram* see note on 140 above.

nefas: such an action would be sacrilegious and at the same time impossible, since that gate only opens *sponte*; cf. *fas* OLD 3c '(in a weakened sense) that which is possible or allowable'. Cf. also V. *A.* 6.553ff.

tendere contra: this expression occurs in V. *A.* (5.27 and 9.377), where Williams gives as its meaning 'they offered no reply', but Hardie's translation 'they did not press on to meet them' seems preferable. In *A.* 5.21 *nec nos obniti contra nec tendere tantum* Williams takes *contra* as going with both verbs (ἀπὸ κοινοῦ). Here too the sense seems to be 'to approach with aggressive intentions' (cf. OLD s.v. *tendo* 8), the expression thus being more or less equivalent to *temptare* in the well-known (post)Virgilian way.

835–839

rara et sponte patet, siquando pectore ductor
vulnera nota gerens, galeis praefixa rotisque
cui domus aut studium mortales pellere curas,
culta fides, longe metus atque ignota cupido,
seu venit in vittis castaque in veste sacerdos.

rara … patet: the adjective provides the opposition to *semper* 833, *sponte* the contrast with (*dura*) *lege.* The repetition of *patet* is not remarkable in itself: see *Index.*

For the preference in Latin of a predicative adjective (*rara*) to an adverb 'seldom' see K/S 1.236b and OLD s.v. *rarus* 4. VF, who does not use *raro*, has the adjective again in 2.74 and 4.214 (the comparative in 2.627). For the combination of an adjective and an adverbial ablative (K/S 1. 238 A. 1) cf. Caes. *Gal.* 5.16.4 *rari magnisque intervallis.*

siquandō: again in 7.205 and 567, with short *-o* in 8.213, with elision in 5.473 and 8.226. For *quando* see note on 241 above. *pectore*: OLD 2b 'the breast considered as the front of the body which is turned to meet danger, etc.'. *ductor*: Langen is right in distinguishing three groups of the blessed with the common predicate *venit.* This first category ends with *domus* (Courtney's punctuation; Liberman, though clearly accepting this tripartition in his translation, prints no comma after *domus*). Then after *aut* we have to supply mentally something like *si qui (venit) cui*, the phrase extending to *cupido*, whereby the second type is constituted. After that, with a different conjunction again (*si* … *aut* … *seu*), the third category is mentioned. In Virgil (*A.* 6.660–664) we have first those who died in battle for their country, then the priests, the *vates* ('either prophets or poets', Austin), those who promoted culture and civilization, and lastly those who left behind the memory of their merits in general. Roughly speaking the first type in both poets corresponds, though in VF the reference to the *patria* is omitted, but the social status (*ductor*), which in Virgil may be implied, is expressly mentioned. For the other two categories see below.

vulnera nota gerens: a combination of V. *A.* 2.278 *vulneraque illa gerens* and ib. 6.660 *ob patriam pugnando vulnera passi. nota* is new and rather original: the hero is acknowledged as such by his wounds. The participle (adjective) thereby comes very close to 'distinguishing' rather than 'known'.

galeis … *domus*: the trophies adorning the house are known from V. *A.* 7.183ff. (immediately following the line *Martiaque ob patriam pugnando vulnera passi*, repeated from 6.660 quoted above or *vice versa*): arms, chariots, axes, helmet-plumes, 'bars from the gates of captured cities' (Fordyce), javelins, shields, and beaks of ships. Also comparable are Tib. 1.1.54 *ut domus hostiles praeferat exuvias*; see K.F. Smith for more parallels, adding Sil. 1.617ff. (a temple being described) and *Epic. Drusi* 179f. In Virgil's underworld the deceased heroes are still equipped with weapons and chariots, (*A.* 6.651f.), but VF has them transferred back to the earthly palaces of the leaders (*domus*). Helmets are specifically suggested in V. *A.* 7.185 *cristae capitum* and mentioned in Sil. 1.624 *galeae Senonum.* For the wheels (*rotis*) cf. V. *A.* 7.184 *currus*, Sil. 1.618

captivi currus and ib. 6.434 *currus*. *praefixa*: the verb has two 'meanings' in different constructions (like *circumdare* etc.). It may denote 'to attach something (acc.) to the front of something (dat.)', as in *praefigere puppibus arma* (V. *A.* 10.80); this would lead here to *praefigere galeas rotasque domui.* The second possibility (only attested with perf. part.) is 'to provide something (acc.) on its front or point with something (abl.)', as in *praefixa hastilia ferro* (V. *A.* 5.557). OLD considers our passage as a variant of this construction: 3b, 'to stick the surface of (with)', as in Tib. 1.6.49 (Bellona's priestess) *statque latus praefixa veru.* There, however, the sense of the verb must be 'to pierce', the element *prae-* denoting 'in front', or 'striking out' (Murgatroyd). The construction *domus praefixa galeis rotisque* has more in common with V. *G.* 3.399 *praefigunt ora capistris*; the notion 'to obstruct', which OLD gives when citing this passage (under 4), is due to the noun *capistris*, not to the verb, and *ora praefixa capistris* would mean 'mouths with baskets fastened before them', fully comparable to 'a house with helmets attached on its front'. VF repeats this construction in 4.739 *tecta … Bebryciis praefixa tropaeis.*

aut … cupido: in contradistinction to the first (*ductor*) and third (*sacerdos*) category, this one is not clearly defined. Since the activities of neither prophets/poets (*vates*) nor those who furthered civilization (*artes*) are alluded to here (both mentioned in Virgil), this second group seems to correspond chiefly to the rather vague type of those who in Virgil *sui memores ali(qu)os fecere merendo* (*A.* 6.664). However, the resemblance is not very strong, the common element consisting of moral values (*merendo*; cf. *fides*).

For *studium* with an infinitive OLD 3b ('aim or concern') gives as parallels Sal. *Rep.* 2.1.3 (*rem publicam capessere*), V. *G.* 1.21 *arva tueri*, Prop. 1.2.23 *conquirere amantes.*

pellere curas: this seems to be different from Hor. *Carm.* 1.7.31 *vino pellite curas* in that there the addressees are encouraged to repel their own worries (as in V. *G.* 4.531 *deponere curas*), whereas here the anxieties of other people are to be banished; repelling one's own worries hardly has an ethical value, as is required here. *mortales curas* stands for *mortalium curas*, as for instance in V. *A.* 4.277 *mortales visus*; OLD 2 'of, belonging to, or appropriate to men (as opposed to gods), human, mortal'.

culta fides: 'who observed good faith and honesty'. The combination *fidem colere* occurs in Cic. *Inv.* 1.3 and *Flac.* 9, then repeatedly in Livy and Curtius, hence Bömer on Ov. *Met.* 1.90. This category seems to represent the virtue of justice, as the *ductor* is conspicuous by reason of his courage, and the rest of the line refers to temperance. Of the three

capital virtues, therefore, only wisdom does not figure here, unless it is embodied in the priests (839).

metus and *cupido* are singled out as being the most dangerous and objectionable passions. *longe* in fact stands for 'absent' (cf. *ignota*), which goes further, for instance, than Ov. *Tr.* 3. 4b. 53 *longe patria est* 'is far away'. The expression *longe esse* or *abesse* 'to be of no avail' (OLD s.v. *longe* 6a) is of course quite different. *cupido* (again in 845 and later 4.247, 5.536 and 6.472) is fem. in VF, and in all instances occupies the last position in the line (also the name of the god in 8.232). For cases where it is masc. see K/H 378, TLL 4.1421.378ff.

ignotus is coupled with a noun denoting emotion again in 7.173 (*cura*), where it means 'not known before', but here 'not known at all'. *seu … sacerdos*: cf. K/S 2.434.2 for the combination *si … seu* (but here *aut* intervenes).

in vittis: for the woollen bands worn by priests etc. cf. 189, 208, 385, 776 (OLD 2a). The combination recurs in 5.348 and is to be regarded as a stage in the development of *in* as sketched in the note on 641 above; of course *in vittis* is less remarkable than *in hasta* there. The mention of the *vittae* recalls V. *A.* 6.665 *omnibus his* (= all categories together) *nivea cinguntur tempora vitta*. There is also a clear echo from Ov. *Met.* 15.675f. *cognovit numina castos* (!) / *evinctus vitta crines albente sacerdos*.

castaque in veste: cf. V. *A.* 6.645 *longa cum veste sacerdos*, ib. 7.167 *ignota in veste* (with Fordyce's parallels), 12.169 *puraque in veste sacerdos*. The adjective *castus* 'holy' qualifies priests and what belongs to them in V. *A.* 6.661 *quique sacerdotes casti dum vita manebat*, but only here clothing (TLL 3.565.65). Cf. further Ov. *Met.* 15.675 (cited above), *Fast.* 2.26 *casta sacerdotum tempora*, and *casta … domo* in l. 4 above. The alliteration *venit—vittis—veste* marks the end of the short enumeration.

840–841a

> quos omnes levibus plantis et lampada quassans
> progenies Atlantis agit.

quos omnes: corresponding to V. *A.* 6.665 *omnibus his*.

The most recent five editors/commentators unanimously reject the mss. reading *lenis* in favour of *levibus*, which appears in E and may be due to Parrhasius, who wrote that manuscript. The transmitted reading can hardly be called 'indéfendable' (Liberman): *lenis* may denote the gentle walk of a god: Hor. *Carm.* 1.19.16, 3.18.3, Ov. *Am.* 2.13.21 (TLL 7.2.1143.18ff. 'et saepe') and occasionally it takes an ablative of respect.

On the other hand, *levibus* has some support from Sil. 3.306 *levibus gens ignea plantis* (describing warriors, not a peaceful god). All in all, the conjecture (for such it is) *levibus* seems slightly preferable; Mercury walks 'with nimble feet'. For the coordination of an ablative with a participle (adjective) in another case-form see K/S 2.24.

planta '(sole of the) foot' is not uncommon: Virgil has it (*A.* 8.458, 11.573), and VF again in 3.528, 6.540 and 702, and 7.4 (*cunctatis … plantis*). The noun is a favourite with Silius: 29 instances.

lampada quassans: the collocation comes from V. *A.* 6.587, where the mad actions of Salmoneus are described. The noun recurs in VF 3.125 (also governed by *quassans*), 7.366, 8.262 (with *concutiens*) and 278 (*quatio*). It does not seem to be used elsewhere in connection with Mercury. For *quassare* in comparable contexts cf. 2.196 (*pinum*), 3.125 (cited above) and 8.276 (*ignem*). The function of Mercury in escorting the dead to the underworld is well-known; cf. for instance Hor. *Carm.* 1.10.17ff. (with Nisbet-Hubbard), 1.24.16ff. and V. *A.* 4.242f. For *progenies Atlantis* cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.10.1 *Mercuri, facunde nepos Atlantis* and Ov. *Fast.* 5.663 *clare nepos Atlantis.*

agit is strange, since it normally means 'to drive, force, push'. It is not easy to find a parallel for it being used in the sense of 'to lead, guide, conduct, escort', for which *ducit* would be the 'normal' expression. In most of the instances mentioned in TLL 1.1370.2ff. the notion of 'driving' is at least present, but Stat. *Theb.* 2.239 and Sil. 6.574 come close. Perhaps the wording of Hor. *Carm.* 1.10.18 *coerces* and ib. 1.24.18 (in a rather grim context) *compulerit* induced VF to choose this authoritative verb.

841b–845

lucet via late
igne dei, donec silvas et amoena piorum
deveniant camposque, ubi sol totumque per annum
durat aprica dies thiasique chorique virorum
carminaque et quorum populis iam nulla cupido.

These lines are still part of the general description, as is clear from the subjunctive *deveniant* (843) and the resumption *has … in sedes* (846). However, the transition to the story proper is quite smooth.

lucet via late: whereas in Virgil the murky darkness of the underworld is expressly mentioned (*A.* 6.265 *loca nocte tacentia late*, 267 *caligine*, 268 *sub nocte per umbram*), here in VF it is only implied. The wording goes back to V. *A.* 11.143f. *lucet via longo / ordine flammarum et late discriminat*

agros, where the funereal procession arrives in broad daylight. Since there is no *longus ordo* here, the adverb *late* accentuates the brightness of Mercury's torch.

igne dei: when *ignis* is used in the sense of 'glow, emitted light', torches are often implied or expressly mentioned, as in Lucr. 5.298 and Ov. *Fast.* 2.352 (TLL 7.290.75ff., 294.82ff.)

donec … camposque: the phrase reflects V. *A.* 6.638f. *devenere locos laetos et amoena virecta / fortunatorum nemorum sedesque beatas*; specifically *silvas* echoes *virecta* and *nemorum* (in 658 repeated with *nemus* and in 673 with *lucis … opacis*). Furthermore *amoena piorum* goes back to V. *A.* 5.734f. *amoena piorum / concilia*; in the passage quoted above the genitive *nemorum* is explicative, whereas here *piorum* is possessive 'inhabited by'. For *amoena* used substantively cf. Quint. *Instit.* 12.9.2 *exercitus per plana et amoena ducendus*. Silius took over *amoena piorum* in 13.703, but added *loca*.

piorum corresponds with *fortunatorum* and *beatas* in Virgil (*A.* 6.639 cited above), *felices* ib. 669; cf. 662 *pii vates*.

deveniant: Poortvliet (on 2.473f.) thinks that *donec* here is purely temporal and the subjunctive therefore unwarranted. Rather, the general routine of Mercury is described here, the subjunctive combining the notions of 'intended finish' (K/S 2.380ff.) and repetition (ib. 2.207 A. 6). The verb itself takes the simple accusative in Virgil as well (*A.* 1.365, 4.125 and 166, 6.638; this last passage, quoted above, being of course the primary model). VF has it again in 4.452 (no destination mentioned) and 7.180 (with *ad*).

camposque: the 'Elysian Fields' proper, as in V. *A.* 6.640, 677; *per campum* 653. *ubi … dies*: for the 'purple glow' in the Elysium cf. V. *A.* 6.640f. Virgil insists that the 'underworld sun' is not identical with the one we know (641 *solemque suum, sua sidera*) and was followed in this by Claudian (*Rapt. Pros.* 2.282ff.). VF thinks it unnecesssary to make that distinction.

-que after *totum* links *sol* with *aprica dies* and the following subjects; *totum per annum* is certainly placed ἀπὸ κοινοῦ with the first two nominatives, but its force probably extends to the following ones as well. During the whole year the weather is fine, as in Hom. *Od.* 4.563ff., and we should not ask how the passing of the years is marked. Pindar (*Ol.* 2.61ff.) has the sun shining night and day.

durat: OLD 7a 'to continue unimpaired, unexhausted, or sim., last, hold out'. There seem to be no parallels for a noun denoting (a period of) time being subject, but then *dies* is not used in a purely temporal sense, the main element being *aprica*. This combination ('a sunny day;

fine weather') already occurs in Cato *Agr.* 3.6.5 *diebus apricis*. In combination with 'weather conditions' the verb appears in Sen. *Nat.* 5.7.2 (*ventorum genus*).

thiasi ... carminaque: after the climatic circumstances there follows a description of the joyful activities of the blessed, clearly inspired by V. *A.* 6.642ff. *thiasi* properly belong to the sphere of Bacchus (see Coleman on V. *Ecl.* 5.30); in Cat. 63.28 they are mentioned in connection with Cybele. Their appearance in the underworld may be due to Aristoph. *Ra.* 156. In V. *A.* 7.581 the noun refers to Bacchic rites, as in its other two occurrences in VF: 3.540 and 5.78.

chorique virorum: the dance itself (OLD 1) rather than the dancers (ib. 3b); cf. *choreas* V. *A.* 6.644 and Tib. 1.3.59. Since the word is often used in connection with women and/or goddesses (2.188, 537; 5.239, 344, 693), the addition of *virorum* is not otiose. *carminaque*: V. *A.* 6.644; cf. *cantus* Tib. 1.3.59 (both cited above). Song and dance of course belong together.

quorum ... cupido: this phrase is hard to understand (cf. *Mnem.* 1991: 155ff.). The problems centre around the meaning of *populis* and to a lesser degree the referent of *quorum*. This pronoun is probably to be taken as an 'objective' genitive going with *cupido* rather than as possessive and referring back to *campos*. This last solution is now preferred by Liberman, who ascribes it to Lamalle, but probably Pius already meant the same when he wrote 'populorum incolarum Elysiae plagae'. The sentence must then be construed in such a way that *campos* is qualified first by the clause introduced with *ubi* and extending to *carminaque*, and then by a relative clause introduced with *quorum* (a comma after *carminaque* being necessary). The whole would mean: 'the fields where the ghosts of the blessed revel in perennial sunshine and whose inhabitants no longer have to long for anything'. This, however, would result in a rather unbalanced structure, whereas we would expect the words from *quorum* on to summarize and round off the preceding description. Moreover, it would mean that *populis* denotes all those who dwell in the Elysium without referring to the distinction made in 833 *populos regesque*. This may just be possible, but is not likely: there is undeniably a social factor implied in the opposition, because while *reges* may be condemned to the left gate, the enumeration of the categories admitted to the Elysium clearly excludes the possibility of someone from among the common people entering the right-hand gate. Finally, line 838 expressly states that the blessed ones had no *cupido* during their lives. If, then, *populi* denotes the throng of ghosts not admitted to the Elysium, *quorum*

must refer to the things for which they have no more longing. We may safely discard the notion that *populis* should refer to the living people on earth (Lemaire, Moltzer, Mozley, MacDonald 1970:60), which would constitute a social criticism totally out of place in an epic (and moreover imply that in VF's times there was no longer any interest in singing and dancing). Langen in his turn took *populis* to refer to the same group as in 834 'quibus ut umbris manibus nullarum rerum amoenarum neque sensum neque cupidinem esse significare voluit Valerius'. This leads to the interpretation that the phrase *quorum … cupido* refers in a general and summarizing way (explicative *et*) to the joyful activities which the happy inhabitants of the Elysium now engage in forever (and which, in the best of times, they would have known on earth), while the common people, who previously felt the desire to take part in these activities, now no longer do so (*iam nulla*), since they are dead; this seems the only way to explain *iam*. In fact it was already the view of Ribbeck (1892:189). This may not be put in a very clear and elegant way, but it does not suffer from the impossibilities and internal contradictions of other interpretations.

846–848

> has pater in sedes aeternaque moenia natum
> inducitque nurum. tum porta quanta sinistra
> poena docet maneat Pelian, quae limine monstra.

The story of Aeson and Alcimede is resumed and finished after the pageant of the underworld.

has … in sedes: the noun denotes 'the place occupied by the spirits of the dead' (OLD 6b) from Cicero on. For the plural cf. V. *A.* 6. 639 *sedesque beatas*.

pater: Cretheus has not been mentioned since 751; the intervening passages were exclusively devoted to the last moments of Aeson and Alcimede, in which there was no place for their ancestor. *aeternaque moenia*: the adjective is repeated from 832. *moenia* is in accordance with *portae* 832 (and following *porta*); cf. V. *A.* 6.541 (the road to Elysium), 549, 631. After passing these walls the activities mentioned before obviously take place in open 'air', so there is a slight hysteron proteron.

natum … nurum: cf. 739 *natumque nurumque*. The word order is complicated, in that the two accusatives are separated by the predicate with *-que*. Comparable cases are 2.224, where *prohibetque* is placed between

temptare (fugam) and *capessere (arma)*, and ib. 268 (*sinus* and *artus* separated by *-que ligat*). Cf. also Stat. *Theb.* 7.418f. with Smolenaars' note.

With *inducere* the construction with *in*+accusative is normal (OLD 1); only occasionally is a dative used, as in Stat. *Theb.* 12.326 (*moenibus*!).

tum poena: a notable sequence of *-ā -ă –ā -ă*. Only here is it expressly stated that the 'Tartarean' gate is the left one (the *altera* of 832); Virgil left no doubt about this: *A.* 6.542 *laeva*, 548 *sinistra*.

quanta … poena: cf. V. *A.* 6.574 *custodia qualis*, 614f. *doceri / quam poenam* (ib. 561 *poenis* and *tantus* occur within the same line). For *docet* cf. also V. *A.* 6.565 *docuit*, 614 *doceri*, 759 *docebo*. Since Pelias is not dead yet, the punishment still awaits him (*maneat*), whereas in Virgil the torments of sinners who are already deceased are described. *Pelian*: in VF the accusative of this name always ends on *-an*: 2.4, 7.92 and 316; cf. K/H 431.

The mss. reading *quo limine monstrat*: cannot be right (*Mnem.* 1991: 157f.). Since Bährens, who printed *quod … monstrum*, the verbal form has rightly been discarded: it is pointless after *docet*, whereas a reference to the 'monsters' in the underworld is very much in place. Langen made an important improvement by proposing *quae … monstra*, and finally Postgate (1900:100) arrived at *quot … monstra*. This found the approval of Mozley, Courtney, Ehlers, Liberman, Spaltenstein and Dräger. However, Postgate's parallel, V. *A.* 6.285 *multaque praeterea variarum monstra ferarum*, refers to the entrance to the underworld as a whole, not to Tartarus proper, and does not sketch any avenging creatures, whereas ib. 570ff. only two of these are mentioned, Tisiphone and Hydra. One may wonder what would be more terrifying, the (great) number of these punishers (*quot*) or their (frightening) appearance (*quae*); cf. V. *A.* 6.574 (cited above) *custodia qualis*. Langen's conjecture therefore seems somewhat more probable than Postgate's. As to the transposition of the final *-t*, Courtney's explanation of the mss. reading, we may equally well assume that when *monstra* had become *monstrat* (either mechanically or caused by *docet* and *maneat*) the phrase could no longer be construed, so that the change from *quae* to *quo* (to go with *limine*) was only to be expected.

849–850

mirantur tantos strepitus turbamque ruentem
et loca et infernos almae virtutis honores.

It has long been a subject of discussion whether in 849 Tartarus and in 850 Elysium are described, or whether both lines refer to the regions

of bliss (cf. *Mnem.* 1991:158f.). The first interpretation was given by Burman (who wished to replace *ruentem* by *nocentem* or *nocentum*) and endorsed by Langen; the other is already found in Pius and was adopted by J.A. Wagner. This is clearly the correct one. In the first place, the spirits of Aeson and Alcimede, who obviously do not enter Tartarus, cannot observe what happens there, but they are aware of the merry song and dance in Elysium (844f.); for *strepitus* denoting the sound of musical instruments see OLD 1b. In the second place, the 'hendiadys' (Langen) *loca et … honores* can hardly constitute an opposition to the preceding description, introduced as it is with *et*. If, on the other hand, both lines refer to the Elysian fields, there is an enumeration of a) sounds, b) inhabitants, c) surroundings, d) what happens there. Finally, Cretheus in his last words had promised them the welcoming *pia turba silentum*; it seems hardly possible that the poet would use here the same noun to indicate the throngs of sinners. Liberman assumes two different parts of the Elysium, but there is not the slightest hint of this in the text. In fact, in his translation he introduces gratuitously 'd'un autre côté'. The 'lieu écarté décrit par Virgile' (*A.* 6.703–715) which he adduces as a parallel for 849 refers there to the abode of the souls destined to re-enter the material world, a detail completely absent from VF.

mirantur: another argument for the interpretation given above. Though the verb of course may simply mean 'to be amazed', the notion 'to admire' is very often present as well, or is even predominant: V. *A.* 6.651 *miratur*, 854 *mirantibus*; cf. also ib. 7.813 *turbaque miratur … euntem*.

For *strepitus* used in a positive sense there is a good parallel in V. *A.* 6.865 *qui strepitus circa comitum!* for the merry talk of companions. Here *strepitus* and *turbam* partly constitute a hendiadys, because the ghosts of Aeson and Alcimede first notice 'the sound (of the crowd)', then (visually) the crowd itself. Cf. also V. *A.* 6.709 *strepit omnis murmure campus* (also in Elysium) and ib. 1.422 and 725. Of course in dissimilar contexts the noun may also denote unpleasant sounds (V. *A.* 6.559).

turbamque ruentem: the same goes for *turba* as for *strepitus*; the word has no moral qualification in itself. See for instance V. *A.* 6.667 *plurima turba* (in Elysium), Hor. *Carm.* 3.24.46 *turba faventium*, and in the *Argonautica* for instance 1.101 *turba ducum* and (cited above) 750 *turba silentum*. In combination with the verb *Epic. Drusi* 199 has *obvia turba ruit* (of mourners); cf. also Ov. *Met.* 3.529 and 7.475 *turba ruit*. The element *obvia* is not mentioned but surely to be understood in VF as well: in *ruentem* the direction of the rush is not explicit, but the verb denotes 'meeting and greeting' in 5.117. This element is absent from Virgil's story because (the living)

Aeneas is not to be welcomed as a newcomer, as the spirits of Aeson and Alcimede are.

loca: cf. *locos laetos* V. *A*. 6.638. VF has the neuter form in seven more passages against eight instances of the masculine (all in the accusative). Since there seems to be no opposition between lines 849 and 850 (see above), there is no need to take *loca* and *infernos* … *honores* with Langen as a hendiadys 'the regions where the virtuous are honoured'. After marvelling at the voices of the crowd and at the multitude itself, Aeson and Alcimede now admire their new abode and subsequently take notice of the honours bestowed upon them.

infernos … *honores*: for the adjective in the sense of 'valid, present, below' cf. Prop. 4.11.3 *infernas* … *leges*, Luc. 6.781 *infernam* … *quietem*. The 'honours' are not mentioned as such in Virgil's version. In the sense of 'reward' the noun often appears in the plural (OLD 2c), but cf. V. *A*. 1.253 *hic pietatis honos?* with the genitive denoting the reason for the reward. With a dative added the noun occurs in Liv. 2.12.15 *est apud te virtuti honos*.

almae virtutis: the adjective 'conferring happiness, blissful' is not often coupled with abstract nouns; the other instances cited in OLD c and TLL 1.1704.75ff. are Lucr. 2.971 *dulcedinis almae*, Hor. *Carm*. 4.4.41 *alma* … *adorea* (glory), Stat. *Theb*. 10. 611 *alma salus*, *Silv*. 4.4.102f. (*amicitiae*).

Thus the book ends on a peaceful and serene note, which does not detract from the fact that Pelias is still responsible for his murderous intent and eventually will have to expiate for it.

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INDICES

General

Argo first ship ever, 6, 13, 54, 71, 164, 241, 312ff, 342ff, 358
Chiron, 94, 239
Clashing Rocks, 8, 51f, 162, 374
Claudian, 96, 150, 251, 254, 271, 284, 292, 334, 352, 353, 366, 379, 397, 487
Cynosura/Helice, 21f, 243, 278
enjambement (run on), 36, 137, 209, 327, 345, 372
geography, inaccuracy in, 14, 30, 37, 44, 423
golden lines, 123, 258, 264, 374
Hercules, role of, 36f, 78ff, 267f, 329, 375
Idas, role of, 266f
Jason, family relations, 27f, 42f
Juno and Pallas, role of, 60, 268
motivation and psychology, 28, 54, 146
new world order, 292f, 312ff
Phrixus and Helle, 43, 162ff, 247
sea forbidden for man, 111, 125ff, 141, 149, 358f, 372, 374
similes, 185f, 283
spondaic line, 272
wood used for ship, 72, 130, 377, 399

Index of Latin words

ardens, 197, 234, 283
caelatus, 236
ceruchi, 273
corymba, 162
damnare, 58
ducere, 250
eripere, 14f, 68, 140, 169
expressus, 233
fatidicus, 7, 177
flammifer, 9
fundere, 250
hoc caput, 159
ignarus, 58
in, 18, 282, 379
lupi, 264f
multifidus, 52
pendere, 259
perdere, 261, 272
plantaria, 57
praefigere, 484
primus, 6, 29, 116, 331, 445
sed non et, 295ff
sors, 276
spargere, 18, 73, 246
undare, 317f, 474f
vellera pl., 50, 52, 55, 68, 170, 189, 321

Grammar and Style

alius for *alter*, 95, 207, 482
anaphora, 111, 113, 136, 160, 305, 308, 319, 332, 380
anastrophe, 354, 362
ἀπὸ κοινοῦ, 475, 482, 487
apostrophe, 217, 321, 475
brachylogy, 68, 80, 127, 129, 143, 160, 173, 189, 201, 214, 221, 237, 242 (2), 243, 266, 297 300, 305, 309, 311, 316, 363, 380, 407, 449, 454
chiasmus, 252, 325, 370, 465
combination of models, 58, 264, 287, 343, 347, 351, 400, 410, 426, 444, 445, 474, 483, 485
compendious phrases, 115, 197
cum postponed, 66, 389
disjunction, 140, 213, 297, 390, 470
ellipsis of subjunctive, 48, 194
enallage (hypallage), 139, 172, 202, 463
enclosing word order, 170, 217, 333
hendiadys, 40, 66, 143, 201, 275, 305, 309, 356, 393, 434, 466, 491 (2)
homoioteleuton, 40, 66, 252
hyperbaton (*traiectio*), 36, 47, 56, 75, 77, 83, 84, 87, 218f, 256, 294, 318
hysteron proteron, 61, 72, 87, 197, 435, 437, 489
metonymy, 23, 30, 130, 131, 139, 246, 262, 263, 268, 274, 323, 324, 345, 377, 392, 425
new meaning of words, 15, 42, 180, 260, 303, 328, 332, 335, 347, 349, 406, 412
new words and constructions, 50, 57, 62, 72, 79, 86, 91, 106, 110, 157, 163, 170, 171, 189, 195, 213, 285, 287, 307, 310, 326, 336, 344, 412, 425, 444
oxymoron, 81, 169, 183, 242, 285, 456
personification:
- actions ascribed to non-animate subjects, 74, 112, 132, 253, 257, 263, 274
- states of mind id., 80, 98, 112, 116, 166, 234, 257, 354, 370, 425, (426), 463f
- qualities id., 85, 165, 216, 217, 443

periphrasis, 39, 253, 263, 329
pleonasm, 346, 385
prolepsis, 86f, 87, 88, 125, 212f, 261, 354, 370, 390, 407, 442
repetition at short distance, 32, 37, 52, 56, 61, 117, 144, 303, 370, 398, 438, 443, 444, 461, 482
synecdoche (*pars pro toto*), 14, 181, 220, 356, 373
variation in construction, 48, 55, 86, 148, 159, 242, 275, 277, 279, 291, 293, 301, 323, 405, 409, 469, 474
word order, complicated, 47, 75, 79, 168, 178, 217, 218, 236, 247, 279, 294f, 384, 389, 405, 470, 489
zeugma, 31, 82, 150, 167, 309, 328, 333, 384, 397, 410

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